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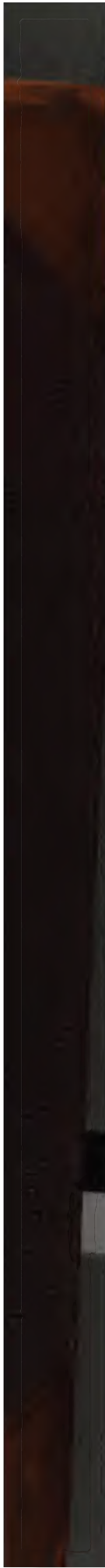
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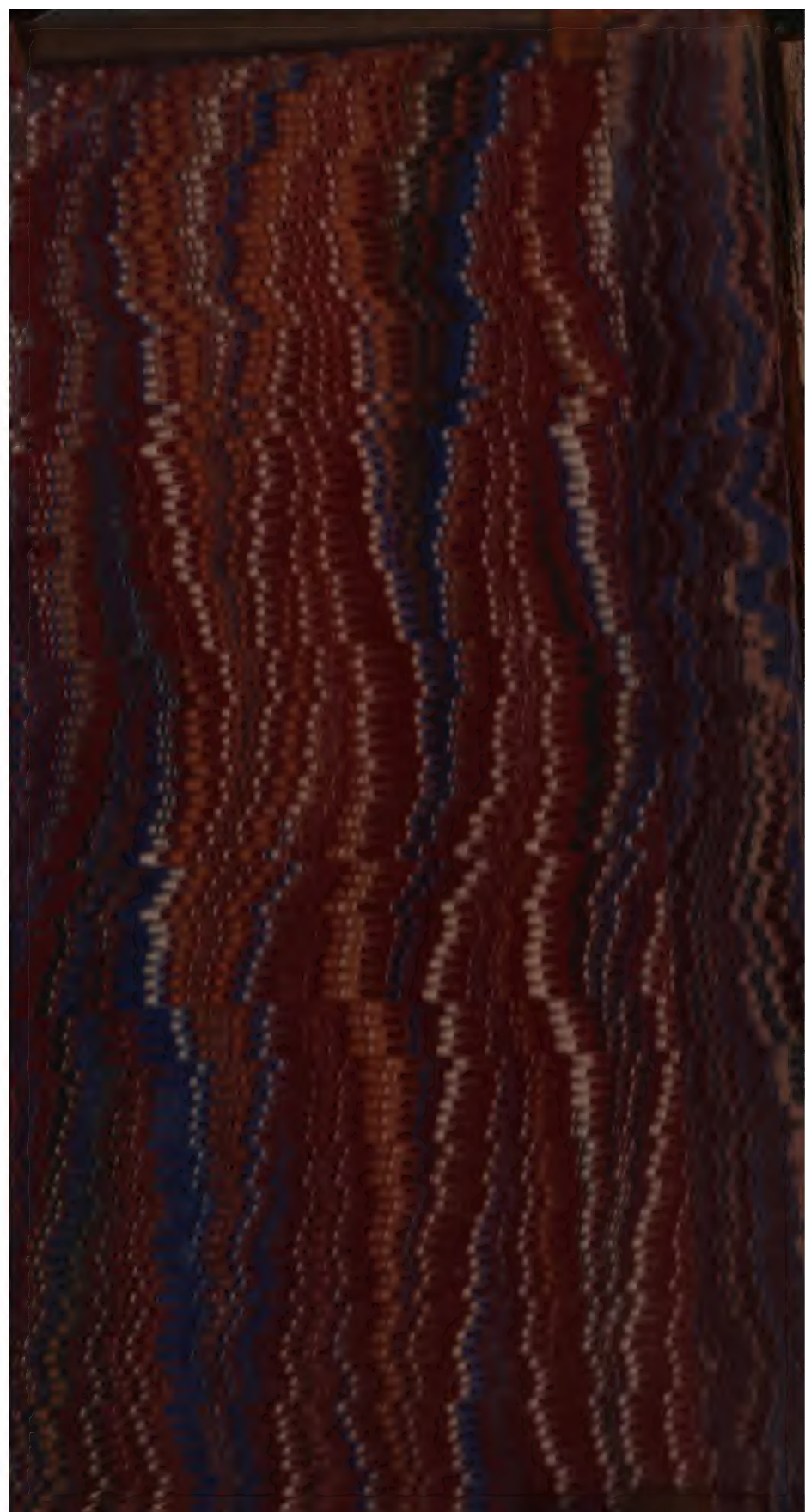
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France had a living preacher who knew how to fascinate the intellect, kindle the imagination, and touch the heart of the most cultivated and of the most illiterate. Whenever Lacordaire was announced to preach in Notre Dame, the cathedral was surrounded, long before the doors were open, by an immense and heterogeneous crowd. Before he appeared in the pulpit the vast nave, the aisles, and the side-chapels were thronged with statesmen and journalists, members of the academy and tradesmen, working-men and high-born women, sceptics, socialists, devout Catholics, and resolute Protestants, who were all compelled to surrender themselves for the time to the irresistible torrent of his eloquence. The Archbishop of Paris, who seems to have been a timid and cautious man, and who, in 1834, had interdicted Lacordaire from continuing his Conferences in the Collège Stanislas, and who hesitated very much about offering him the pulpit at Notre Dame, was swept away at last by the universal enthusiasm, and at the close of the Conferences of 1835-36, rising from his archiepiscopal throne, he hailed the preacher before all Paris as "the new prophet."

What was the secret of this remarkable success? Can the Frenchman teach us English preachers how to change the weary indifference of our audiences into earnest and sustained attention? To preach as he preached may be possible only to men of rare and exceptional genius in rare and exceptional circumstances; but can we learn from him how to redeem our sermons from the common reproach of being altogether uninteresting and unimpressive? I think he can teach us some things which many of us have never discovered for ourselves.

M. Edmond Scherer, indeed, maintains that the discourses of Lacordaire are "unreadable."* He thinks that all their charm vanished as soon as they were printed. There is, no doubt, some truth in what Charles James Fox said of parliamentary eloquence, that no good speech ever reads well; and it is equally true that very often sermons which were effective when delivered to a great congregation become intolerably dull when collected into a volume and read quietly by the fire-side. But Lacordaire's Conferences, though they owed a great deal to the living presence of the orator, to whom may be applied the words which Sir James Stephen applies to George Whitefield, "*Vividus vultus, vividi oculi, vivida manus, denique omnia vivida,*" will reward patient and thoughtful study. It was not his habit to write his sermons fully. They were taken down from his lips by reporters, and are printed with only very slight changes.

But they must be accepted for what they are. To read them for any other purpose than to discover how, among an irreligious and sceptical people, a great preacher compelled thousands of men to listen to him with respect, and sometimes kindled them into pas-

* "*Littérature Contemporaine,*" p. 166.

sionate excitement, would be to waste time and strength. Lacordaire was a great preacher—nothing more. But to be *that* was something.

His learning was neither extensive nor profound. In the discussion of the theories of modern unbelief, he was plainly, as M. Scherer phrases it, “*dépaysé*.” His philosophy had neither depth nor acuteness. His logic was often feeble and incoherent. Even his rhetoric was sometimes vitiated by a glaring want of taste. But still he was a magnificent preacher; and it is as a preacher, and a preacher only, that I propose to consider him.

The story of his life is very pleasantly told by Dora Greenwell in the little volume recently reviewed in these pages. “*The Interior Life of Lacordaire*,” by Chocarne, which has been translated into English, reveals the intensity of his devotion, and contains curious and pathetic illustrations of the severity of his asceticism. M. Montalembert’s sketch is a glowing panegyric. “*Lacordaire’s Correspondence with Madame Swetchine*” is really an interesting Autobiography, covering several of the most important years of his life. It is understood that an authoritative memoir is being prepared by M. de Falloux.

Lacordaire’s first sermon was delivered while he was still in the seminary. He preached it in the refectory while a hundred and thirty men were dining. His voice had to make itself heard above the rattle of plates and spoons.

“I do not believe,” he says, “that there can be any position more unfavourable to an orator than to have to speak to men who are eating. Cicero could not have delivered his orations against Catiline at a dinner of senators, unless, indeed, he had compelled them to throw down their forks at his first sentence. How would it have been if he had had to speak to them on the mystery of the Incarnation?”

Certainly the subject does not seem to have been very felicitously chosen, and it is not wonderful that when the young preacher looked at his audience, who appeared to be devoting all their attention to their dinner and none to himself, he felt very much disposed to throw his square cap at their heads—“*il me venait comme des pensées de leur jeter mon bonnet carré à la tête*.” He left the pulpit with the full conviction that he had preached very badly. He dined hurriedly, and went into the garden mortified and humiliated; however, he soon learned that he had done better than he thought, and that his congregation had been strongly impressed by his discourse.

In the spring of 1833 he preached for the first time in public. It was in the great church of St. Roch.

“I was there,” writes M. Montalembert, “with MM. de Corcelles, Ampère, and some others, who must remember it as I do. He failed completely, and

coming out, every one said, 'This is a man of talent, but he never will be a preacher.' Lacordaire himself thought the same, 'It is evident to me that I have neither sufficient physical energy, nor sufficient intellectual flexibility, nor sufficient knowledge of the world in which I always lived, and always shall live, alone,—nor, in short, sufficient of anything that a man ought to have in order to be a preacher in the full sense of the word.'*

A year later he delivered his famous Conferences in the Collège Stanislas, and within two years of his failure at St. Roch he was at Notre Dame, surrounded by an audience such as I suppose no French preacher had addressed for more than a hundred and twenty years.

He had, no doubt, the oratorical temperament. It was difficult for him to speak in private. There was a coldness and reserve in his manner which surprised those who had seen his frankness and fire in the pulpit.† He was conscious of the inspiration which every true speaker derives from the sight of his audience; he was surprised himself that his imagination and all his intellectual powers should be so stimulated when he came face to face with the people. He was acutely sensitive to the merely accidental circumstances in which he had to speak. He would have liked to have carried off the beautiful pulpit which he saw in the cathedral at Sienna and have had it placed in Notre Dame. Standing in such a pulpit he thought he could preach better. "These things," he says, "are not indifferent to eloquence; far from it."‡ He liked a great crowd before him,—“I have met with a saying of Cicero's which has greatly pleased me:—‘Non est magnus orator sine multitudine audiente.’”§ He was ardent; was easily excited to passion; his mind had a natural tendency to what the French call *les mouvements oratoires*; there was great boldness, enthusiasm, and vehemence about him. These things are not to be acquired by any culture. If they do not come to a man at birth they can never be his.

But though these high endowments cannot be acquired they may be *suppressed*; and I think it very possible that if Lacordaire had been a clergyman of the English Church or an English Nonconformist minister, the chances against the development of his characteristic genius would have been overwhelming. How is it that while our great political orators are unsurpassed, we rarely have a preacher

* "Le Père Lacordaire," par Montalembert, p. 92.

† "What difficulty I have in speaking! . . . Yesterday I made great efforts to entertain a young ecclesiastic, who is rather seriously ill at our house, and who begged me to tell him something that would amuse him; it was impossible for me to speak alone." He goes on to say that he cannot but admire the faculty that ladies have; "they are able to talk as much as they please, and how they please; their heart is a spring that flows naturally. The heart of man, mine especially, is like those volcanoes the lava of which flows only at intervals after a shock."—*Correspondance du R. P. Lacordaire et de Madame Swetchine*, p. 75.

‡ "Correspondance du R. P. Lacordaire et de Madame Swetchine," p. 59.

§ Ibid.

who even approaches the highest order of eloquence? No doubt the rank and file of English preachers speak very much more effectively than the rank and file of English members of Parliament. If the unfortunate man who made his sufferings in church known to the nation over the signature "*Habitans in sicco*" had been obliged to sit in the gallery of the House of Commons a night every week for five or six years, his wailings would have been much more heart-rending. But what names can be found during the present century, either among the clergy of the Church of England or among the ministers of the Nonconformist churches, that can be set over against the names of Plunket, Canning, O'Connell, Derby, Lyndhurst, Gladstone, and Bright? Political orators of the second rank we might match: Chalmers might be set against Lord Brougham, Melvill against Shiel, the Bishop of Oxford against Lord Carlisle, Spurgeon against Cobbett; John Henry Newman, Edward Irving, Dr. Manning, Mr. Liddon, Mr. Binney, Dr. Macleod, Dr. Guthrie, Mr. Angell James, would outweigh a crowd of Home Secretaries, Chancellors of the Exchequer, and Solicitors-General, to whose speeches the House of Commons has listened with admiration; but, so far as I know, there has not been a man since Robert Hall who could be compared with the great parliamentary orators; and the absence of pulpit eloquence of the very highest order deprives ordinary preachers of the stimulus and guidance they require.

It is incredible that of the vast number of men who have entered the Christian ministry in England, Scotland, and Ireland during the last fifty years there have not been a dozen, or a score, at least, who, if they had entered the House of Commons, would have rivalled the most illustrious political speakers. And although the eloquence of the politician is stimulated, developed, and disciplined by influences of which the preacher is deprived, it cannot be the preacher's duty to accept mediocrity as his inevitable doom; he is bound to try to overcome the disadvantages of his position. With whatever force and eloquence he might have been able to speak in discussing budgets, treaties of commerce, and reform bills, he ought to speak, at least, as forcibly and eloquently in asserting the authority of the Divine law, illustrating the depth and intensity of the Divine love, rebuking the sins of men, consoling their sorrows, appealing to their fears of a future judgment, and to their hopes of a glorious immortality.

But if he is to do this, he must not imitate with superstitious reverence the sermons even of the most successful preachers of past generations. If Jeremy Taylor, Robert South, Richard Baxter, Isaac Barrow, George Whitefield, and Jonathan Edwards were living now, their sermons would assume a form very different from that which was found to be most effective a century or two centuries

ago. They would treat topics they never touched; they would treat the same topics differently. The method and arrangement of their sermons would be altogether new. Lacordaire did not attempt to copy Bossuet, Bourdaloue, or Massillon. He had his own conception of what a sermon must be in order to interest, impress, and influence modern Frenchmen; and he walked in the light that God gave him. The *form* of his sermons was original. He knew how men at the Bar and in the Chamber won a verdict or carried a vote; he knew how M. Cousin fired a crowd of students with philosophical enthusiasm; and although the special objects of the preacher must always give his eloquence a special character, Lacordaire resolved that he would not refuse any of the legitimate and available resources of the barrister, the statesman, and the lecturer on philosophy. What had he to do with the classics of the pulpit? "It is not my business," he exclaims, "to observe the rules of rhetoric, but to bring men to the knowledge and love of God; let us have the faith of St. Paul, and let us speak Greek as badly as he did."* On this passage M. Sainte-Beuve observes acutely enough, that we must take it as the orator meant it; if he disregarded the common laws of rhetoric, it was only to observe its higher principles; and, to carry out his own comparison, "he does not speak Greek worse than his predecessors, but speaks it differently."†

What we want in England is a preacher of equal courage and equal genius, who shall emancipate some of us from the dull tyranny of "three divisions with an application;" and others from the strange delusion that a spoken address should be a written essay—sensible, perhaps, and with a certain scholarly finish—but colourless in style, with no touch of humour, or pathos, or of passion, no grace of fancy or intensity of moral appeal, no worldly shrewdness or spiritual fervour, —an essay without a solitary passage that could by any mischance provoke a smile or a tear, startle, melt, or interest any man, woman, or child in the congregation.

Lacordaire, of course, did not read his sermons. He did not even write them. It was his custom to think them out, dash down a few notes indicating the general course of the thought, and write a passage here and there, which he probably reproduced in the pulpit almost as it stood on the paper. Bossuet prepared in very much the same way; like Lacordaire, he trusted very largely to the inspiration of the moment for the precise language in which his thought was to be expressed.‡ Robert Hall did the same; though occasionally he verbally prepared whole sermons without setting pen to paper.

* Preface to "Conferences de Notre Dame." Œuvres, vol. ii. p. 7.

† "Causeries du Lundi," vol. i. p. 229.

‡ Many of Bossuet's sermons, however, were much more fully prepared than has been commonly supposed. See M. Gandar: "Bossuet, Orateur."

a fiery chariot would end only in humiliation and disgrace, and who know that apart from our "paper," as the Scotch call it, we should fail most ignominiously, may learn something from Lacordaire's success. We may, at least, think out our subject as though we were in the presence of the people, and master our sermon before we write it. The prolonged brooding over our arguments and appeals which this will render necessary, will be time well spent. Our thoughts will become more vivid. Illustrations, more or less felicitous, of difficult points will be certain to present themselves. We shall see the worthlessness of some ingenious fancies with which, when they first occurred to us, we were greatly struck. If the whole thought of a sermon is in the mind at once, the sermon will acquire a vital unity which will greatly add to its power.

"When I prepare my sermons," said a preacher, "I start like Abraham, who went out not knowing whither he went." He happens to be a man of some genius, and generally finds his way into the land of promise. Most men who write in this vague and unintelligent manner, fill page after page with aimless, loitering sentences; and if they light upon anything picturesque, beautiful, or noble, it is only by accident. Nor is the danger wholly escaped if a man begins with a blank "plan," which he fills up as he writes. He is almost certain to give the impression that his thinking was done "to order." There will be a pettiness and poverty about his thoughts which will betray the fault of his method. He will write like a man who, as Archbishop Whately puts it, "has to say something," instead of like a man "who has something to say." Men who read their sermons, should have their real preparation finished before their first sentence is written.

It is rather difficult to imagine how Lacordaire would have preached Sunday after Sunday had he been the clergyman of an English parish or the minister of an English Nonconformist congregation. His Conferences are all on great themes: an ordinary preacher in this country must discuss and illustrate many topics which hardly admit much boldness and freedom of treatment. Our difficulties arise not merely from the frequency with which we have to preach, but from the fact that we are obliged to preach on many truths of secondary importance, and on many very commonplace duties about which it is not possible to kindle in an audience any great enthusiasm. Lacordaire's subjects were nearly all of a kind to excite the keenest intellectual activity of his congregation. Many of them were subjects which, at the very moment he spoke, were stirring the passions of men, and creating political as well as religious antagonism throughout France. In his first series of Conferences he maintained the necessity of a teaching Church, and claimed for the Church that

freedom of instruction which many French statesmen still regarded with apprehension : he explained the constitution of the Church ; asserted its infallibility ; contended for the Papal supremacy ; he discussed the condition of religious instruction in the world before the Christian Church was founded ; he developed his theory of the Spiritual and Temporal Powers, and maintained the coercive power which is indispensable to the Church as an organized society. In the second series he spoke of the Doctrine of the Church, of Tradition, Scripture, Reason, Faith, and the means by which Faith is to be acquired. In the third series he illustrated the effects of Catholic Doctrine on the Intellect ; in the fourth series, its effects on the Soul ; in the fifth, its effects on Society. The sixth series is devoted to our Lord Jesus Christ—his inner life, his public power, the establishment of his kingdom, its perpetuity and development, his pre-existence, and the controversies raised by modern unbelief. The seventh series is on God. The eighth is on the Intercourse between Man and God. The ninth is on the Fall and Restoration of Man. The tenth is on the Providential Economy of Redemption. His Conferences at Toulouse are on Life—the life of the passions, the moral life, the supernatural life, and the influence of the supernatural life on the public and private life of man. Besides these Conferences we have three or four funeral orations which he delivered on the death of great statesmen and soldiers.

Every preacher will understand the prodigious advantage which Lacordaire derived from having to preach only on subjects of such magnitude and importance as these. Even great orators produce but a slight effect when they are not speaking on great questions. Mr. Gladstone himself could not have been very eloquent on the bill for facilitating the establishment, improvement, and maintenance of oyster and mussel fisheries in Great Britain, or on the bill for regulating the inspection of cattle-sheds and cow-houses within burghs and populous places in Scotland. It is when the leader of her Majesty's Opposition has to impeach the general policy of the Government, or when the First Minister has to meet a vote of want of confidence, that they reveal the force and splendour of their genius. There are many truths which ought to be explained, many duties which ought to be enforced in sermons, about which there can be no great excitement ; if sermons on such matters are clear, sensible, and simple, nothing more is necessary.

But do preachers sufficiently appreciate the importance and worth of topics which in themselves are noble and commanding ? Mr. Matthew Arnold thinks that modern poets err through choosing poor and trivial subjects. The following passage occurs in the preface to the second edition of the first series of his poems :—

"It has been said that I wish to limit the poet in his choice of subjects to the period of Greek and Roman antiquity; but it is not so. I only counsel him to choose for his subjects great actions, without regarding to what time they belong. Nor do I deny that the poetic faculty can and does manifest itself in treating the most trifling action, the most hopeless subject. *But it is a pity that power should be wasted; and that the poet should be compelled to impart interest and force to his subject instead of receiving them from it, and thereby doubling his impressiveness.* There is, it has been excellently said, an immortal strength in the stories of great actions. The most gifted poet, then, may well be glad to supplement with it that mortal weakness which, in presence of the vast spectacle of life and the world, he must for ever feel to be his individual portion."

The same advice may be given to preachers.

"How often do you preach?" said a distinguished French preacher to an English Nonconformist minister.

"Twice on Sunday," was the reply, "and once during the week."

"But that is altogether impossible," answered the French orator.

"I have no choice."

"Well, take my advice; once in two months preach a great sermon. Think about it; work at it; make it as perfect as you can; give to it all the time you can spare. On ordinary occasions satisfy yourself with a 'Meditation.' It is your duty to consecrate to God and to the preaching of his truth whatever learning you have, and whatever genius. Do your highest and your best as often as you can; but that can be only now and then."

The Englishman smiled and bowed; but thought that the Frenchman's advice was hardly practical.

There was, however, something in it; and by preparing fully at regular intervals a sermon on a lofty subject, a preacher will gradually elevate his ideal of what his sermons ought to be, and his ordinary preaching will become far more effective. The people will soon be conscious of the advantage they derive from these exceptional discourses. A sermon "once in two months," in which a great truth is fully and vigorously treated, a great duty earnestly enforced, a great heresy thoroughly discussed and confuted, will leave them at the end of the year with distinct and positive results from the preaching they have listened to. At present the mere fragment of a truth is commonly presented every week in a sermon hastily written; or the obligation to discharge a duty is authoritatively declared, but is not urgently pressed; or a popular heresy is just struck at in passing; and at the end of the year the congregation is neither wiser nor better for all the preacher's pains.

It is possible, I believe, to make even very ordinary sermons on which little time can be spent much more effective, if the principle of Mr. Arnold's advice to poets is uniformly remembered. We cannot always be ascending to the seventh heaven of religious thought;

the greatest topics can only be occasionally presented in a manner at all worthy of them ; but there are a thousand by-paths of truth which are exquisitely beautiful, and in which weary men find refreshment and peace, and there are a thousand minor virtues which are necessary to a perfect life. These secondary truths do not demand the strain and effort which are necessary when we endeavour to illustrate the fundamental articles of the Christian faith ; to speak of these unheroic virtues involves no exhaustion of intellect or of passion. But they have a real human interest, and will always be welcomed by the people though they may not produce any very great excitement. The real explanation of the dulness of sermons is probably to be found in this, that very often the subjects they treat have no charm to the preacher himself ; or, if they interest him at all, it is only because of his technical knowledge and professional habits.

“ What poets feel not, when they make,
A pleasure in creating,
The world, in its turn, will not take
Pleasure in contemplating.” *

Mr. Arnold has wisdom for us in verse as well as in prose.

But these digressions are extending to an undue length. It is not the purpose of this article to discuss the general principles of homiletics, but to illustrate the qualities and the defects of a distinguished preacher.

Lacordaire's *rhetorical art* is strikingly illustrated in nearly every sermon. For instance, in his fourth Conference, in which he maintains that spiritual supremacy and temporal independence are both essential to the Papacy, the argument, such as it is, is steadily maintained, with only slight interruptions from the exordium to the peroration ; he knew that the controversial interest of the subject would sustain the attention of his audience. But in the fifth Conference, on “ the instruction of the human race before the definite establishment of the Church,” he felt that he was in a region of thought remote from common sympathies ; discussion was not enough ; there must somehow be vehement appeal. How he introduced this the following extract will show :—

“ C'était donc avec raison que Saint Paul écrivait aux Hébreux : Après que Dieu eut parlé à nos pères en bien des fois et en bien des manières par ses prophètes, il nous a enfin parlé par son propre Fils. Et remarquez, messieurs, que le progrès de la tradition n'était pas seulement dans son renouvellement et son expansion, il était aussi dans sa forme. Jusqu'à Moïse, la tradition est orale ; à Moïse, elle est écrite ; à Jésus-Christ, elle devient sociale. A mesure que le genre humain résiste à l'enseignement de la vérité Dieu l'établit sur un airain plus puissant, lui communique un élément plus actif et plus immortel. De quoi se plaindre ? Fallait-il

* Matthew Arnold's “ New Poems,” p. 159.

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man. The greater part of his nature appears to be in a condition of suspended animation from the moment he enters the pulpit to the moment he leaves it.

"I once heard a preacher," says Mr. Emerson, "who sorely tempted me to say I would go to church no more. Men go, thought I, where they are wont to go, else had no one entered the temple in the afternoon. A snow-storm was falling around us. The snow-storm was real, the preacher merely spectral; and the eye felt the sad contrast in looking at him, and then out of the window behind him into the beautiful meteor of the snow. He had lived in vain. He had no one word indicating that he had laughed or wept, was married or in love, had been commended, or cheated, or chagrined. If he had ever lived and acted, we were none the wiser for it. The capital secret of his profession—namely, to convert life into truth—he had not learned. Not one fact in all his experience had he yet imported into his doctrine. This man had ploughed, and planted, and talked, and bought, and sold; he had read books; he had eaten and drunken; his head aches; his heart throbs; he smiles and suffers; yet was there not a surmise, a hint, in all the discourse that he had ever lived at all. Not a line did he draw out of real history. The true preacher can always be known by this, that he deals out to the people his life—life passed through the fire of thought. But of the bad preacher, it could not be told from his sermon what age of the world he fell in; whether he had a father or a child; whether he was a freeholder or a pauper; whether he was a citizen, or any other fact in his history."

This is only another way of saying that the sermon is too often insulated from the preacher's real life; it is the artificial product, not of his whole nature, but of a special faculty on which alone the duty and stress of creating it is charged. He may be a wit; but an epigram never flashes its light in the pulpit. He may have humour; but he never uses it to make his congregation smile at their follies. He may have a fund of worldly wisdom; but though the Book of Proverbs is in the Bible, he never ventures on a shrewd saying in church. He may be a capital story-teller; but he never gives his people a parable. His moral nature is as little trusted as his intellectual. He seems to think it a duty to speak as though his pulse never quickened. He can be indignant, pathetic, vehement, elsewhere; but there is neither indignation, pathos, nor vehemence when he warns his congregation against sin, and entreats them to do the will of God. Nearly all his reading is forgotten. He may remember something he has seen in Augustine or Athanasius, in Bull or Hooker, in Calvin or Baxter; but his novels and books of travel, his poets and biographies, his books of natural history, his Addison and Defoe, his Ruskin and Buckle, have all vanished, and there is no trace of them left. Lacordaire, ascetic as he was, did not believe that this "mortification" of intellect and heart was a preacher's duty. He went into the pulpit a living man. Everything he knew, everything he had read, everything he had

in liberal political principles, his dissatisfaction with the actual condition of society, his devotion to the glory of France, never forsook him. Writing from Rome to Madame Swetchine in 1836, he describes the variations through which he had passed; but he never wholly ceased to be the *mélange incompréhensible* of those troubled and exciting years. The passage throws so much light upon the secret of his power as a preacher that I venture to quote it at length.

"J'ai trente-quatre ans, et il est vrai de dire que mon éducation n'est achevée sous aucun rapport. Je sens une foule de pensées qui attendent de nouvelles lumières, semblables à ces ouvrages interrompus qui offrent aux yeux des ruines trompeuses. Né dans un siècle trouble jusqu'au fond par l'erreur, j'avais reçu de Dieu une grâce abondante, dont j'ai ressenti, dès l'enfance la plus tendre, des mouvements ineffables, mais le siècle prévalut contre ce don d'en haut, et toutes ses illusions me devinrent personnelles à un degré que je ne puis dire, comme si la nature jalouse de la grâce avait voulu la surpasser. Quand la grâce vainquit contre toute apparence, il y a douze ans, elle me jeta au séminaire sans avoir pris le temps de me désabuser de mille fausses notions, de mille sentiments sans rapport avec le christianisme, et je me trouvai tout ensemble vivant du siècle et vivant de la foi, *homme de deux mondes avec le même enthousiasme pour l'un et pour l'autre, mélange incompréhensible d'une nature aussi forte que la grâce et d'une grâce aussi forte que la nature*. Nulle main savante et pieuse ne prit ma main; les uns me condamnèrent, les autres eurent pitié; mais celui de qui les dons sont sans repentance ne s'est pas découragé, et il achève péniblement son œuvre."*

It would be easy to give a score of passages from his sermons in which, sometimes with a curious audacity, he compels the characteristic ideas and enthusiasm of the young men to whom he was preaching to do homage to the Christian faith. He glorifies the freedom of the human intellect; and, as if no charge of intellectual tyranny had ever been brought against the Church, goes on to maintain that it is the Church that decrees and defends freedom of thought. He dilates with all the ardour of a revolutionist upon the decay of ancient wrongs and the gradual growth of a new and fair and beautiful era in which the sorrows and sufferings of former centuries shall be forgotten; and as if no one had ever suspected the Church of being the ally of political injustice and arbitrary power, he demonstrates, after his manner, that the triumph of every reform is involved in the triumph of the Church:—

"On dit beaucoup que le passé est aux prises avec l'avenir, et cela est vrai; le monde ancien est aux prises avec le nouveau: et quel est le monde nouveau, sinon celui qu'a fait l'Eglise? Quel est le monde ancien, sinon celui qui a été sans l'Eglise? Comme le Chrétien est *l'homme nouveau*, selon le langage des saintes Écritures, l'Eglise catholique est *l'humanité nouvelle*. Quiconque l'attaque invoque le passé; quiconque la défend appelle l'avenir."

* "Correspondance du R. P. Lacordaire et de Mad. Swetchine," p. 69.

Political freedom—it is he, a faithful son of the Church, who is demanding it. The reorganization of society—the first idea of it was suggested in what he supposes to have been the communistic life of the Church at Jerusalem; and the idea has been perpetuated in monasticism.

Whatever sophistry there may be in all this, no one who has studied Lacordaire's life will believe that he was guilty of any rhetorical trickery when he used arguments and appeals of this kind. He believed in them himself with all his heart; and the remembrance of his own conversion made him hope that he might make other men good Christians and good Catholics by appealing to that very liberalism which had made many of them infidels. As St. Paul quoted a heathen poet against idolatry, and believed that the "law written in the heart of the Gentiles" was the same as that written in the sacred books of the Jews, Lacordaire, himself a fervent Liberal as well as a fervent Catholic, resolved to speak as a Liberal on behalf of Catholicism. Whether he converted the Liberals or not, they listened to him. And surely a Christian preacher ought to be at liberty to show that "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report," have their ultimate root in those eternal facts and laws which have received their highest manifestations in the person of our Lord Jesus Christ. Coleridge somewhere says that the men of the French Revolution of '93 took the rich clusters from the vine of Christianity and hung them on the brambles of Atheism; Lacordaire claimed the grapes back again.

No doubt there is a certain unique power about the preacher who dwells apart from the agitations and tumults of his age, "in the secret place of the Most High, and under the shadow of the Almighty." The supernatural peace of the soul that is surrounded perpetually with the majestic realities of the invisible and eternal world, and is never ruffled for a moment by the storms which shake the thoughts of common men, has an ineffable charm, and exerts over some hearts a mysterious control. It may, however, be fairly questioned whether, on the whole, Lacordaire was not right in speaking to his countrymen "in their own tongue," and making them feel that he was a man "of like passions" with themselves. Prophets and apostles did not isolate themselves from the common interests and thoughts of common men. Isaiah and Jeremiah, Amos and Micah, were keenly alive to all that was passing around them. St. Paul himself never ceased to be a Jew. Even St. John was not a rapt mystic, unaffected by the passions and conflicts of his age. The Incarnation is but the highest example and illustration of a law which the preacher can never forget without diminishing

his power. Even after the resurrection, the true humanity of our Lord remained. "Behold my hands and my feet . . . handle me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have." It is not by ceasing to be men, that we come to exert the mightiest power over the spiritual regions of human nature; God became flesh that He might bring man to himself. And if we are men at all, we may as well belong to our own country and our own times.

But whether Lacordaire was right or wrong in identifying himself so closely with what he felt to be the better and nobler spirit of his age, he appears to me to have assumed the only position which can rightly belong to a Christian preacher in relation to unbelief. He failed indeed to comprehend accurately its most recent phases; but he tried to comprehend them, and satisfied himself that there was nothing in them to render the truth of the faith he preached uncertain. This conviction he frankly avowed. Throughout his life he was a Christian apologist, but he never apologised for Christianity. Very many of our English preachers speak as though, after all, it was not quite certain whether God became incarnate in our Lord Jesus Christ. They seem to think it would be illiberal to be too confident. They always let you know that there is very much to be said on the other side. They discuss the Christian story as though its trustworthiness were an open question. They appear to be seeking the truth with their hearers. They are willing to be convinced that they are wrong, even in the fundamental articles of their creed. This was not Lacordaire's temper. He was a Christian preacher because he believed in Christ, with all his heart and soul and strength. He never hesitates, never falters, never suggests, even for a moment, that there can be any uncertainty about the merits of the controversy between faith and scepticism. He is not trying to find truth; he has it. It is not a discovery he has made for himself; he has received it as a revelation from God. When Peter preached in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, he preached with the same full assurance of faith. No doubt there was very much to be urged against the claims of Jesus to be the Messiah. Had He not been rejected by the scribes, the men who knew most about the prophecies? Did He not seem to contradict the teaching of Moses and the prophets? Was it certain that He was born in Bethlehem? Had He not lived for the greater part of his life in Nazareth? How was it possible for a man who was crucified to be the Christ? Where was the power, where was the splendour, where was the triumph over all the enemies of the Jewish race, which, according

to the hopes of a long succession of calamitous centuries, were to signalise the coming of the true King of Israel? But St. Peter's preaching was not qualified by the difficulties and perplexities of which the most honest Jew might be conscious. The apostle's own mind was made up; and he denounced the crime of the crucifixion with relentless severity, and affirmed, with all the energy of perfect conviction, that Jesus was the Prince and Saviour. The doubts of other men were not permitted to emasculate the expression of his own faith.

That in this confused and troubled time it is almost impossible for a Christian preacher, especially if he be a young man, to feel at all sure that he has found the truth on many grave theological questions, is freely conceded. He may hesitate between conflicting theories of the Atonement; may be perplexed about the historical character of some parts of the Old Testament; may have failed to solve to his satisfaction many difficulties which arise from the comparison of the four Gospels. He must never affect a firmness of conviction that he does not really possess. In many provinces of theological thought, no modest man, acquainted with the vicissitudes through which the faith of Christendom has already passed, will either speak or think dogmatically. But until a man has reached a clear and final conclusion on the supernatural origin of Christianity, he has no right to preach at all. The gulf is infinite between the recognition of Jesus Christ as God manifest in the flesh and every theory in which His Divine Personality is denied; a man has no right to become a religious teacher until he has made up his mind for ever on which side, in this great controversy, his conscience requires him to stand. Till then he has nothing to teach. Nor is it enough that he should have come to the conclusion that "on the whole, the balance of probability" is in favour of the unique claims of our Lord Jesus. Christ must be to his own higher nature "the Way, the Truth, the Life." The claims of Christ should be verified in his own spiritual consciousness, or he cannot hope to preach them to any good purpose. And if he has actually found God in Christ, and has risen, through Christ's power, into that lofty region of spiritual vision and activity into which Christ came to translate us, it is monstrous that he should speak as though after all he was not quite sure whether or not the Lord Jesus is the Son of God and Saviour of mankind. If he has known—as many thoughtful and honest men in these days must know—the agony of losing for a time all faith in the highest revelation of the life and thought of God to our race, there will be nothing in his spirit and manner, even when he speaks with the firmest confidence, that can justly offend or wound those who are still feeling after God in the darkness, if haply they may

find Him. But for a Christian preacher to speak hesitatingly and with qualifications on the supreme controversy between Christ and those who openly impeach or secretly doubt His authority over the religious faith of our race, is for him to betray the trust he has received from God, and to discourage and destroy the hopes of mankind. Insolence and uncharitableness to men who are endeavouring to solve the most urgent and practical of all questions—how the heart and the intellect and the conscience of man are to find rest in God—are unpardonable. But as unbelief is contagious, faith is contagious too; and a preacher's power is more than half ruined if he cannot, or if he does not, give men the impression that after fearless and intelligent inquiry he is irrevocably on the side of Christ.

Let a man preach what he knows. If he believes it to be his vocation to enter the Christian ministry, and yet has "verified" only the central articles of the Christian creed, let him be content to preach these until the secondary doctrines have also become clear and real to him. Let him say nothing at "second-hand." So long as he speaks of what he has "seen and heard" for himself, his words will have power; and he need not be afraid of wearying the people by dwelling incessantly on a few great truths, if only these truths have been divinely "revealed" to him. What the people weary of is the weak and lifeless repetition of a merely traditional faith.

Lacordaire believed not only in the authority of the Christian revelation, he believed also in the power of preaching. He never gave men the impression that he was simply speaking "against time." It was plain to every one that listened to him that he intended to break down the force of adverse prejudices and to remove the misconceptions which rendered faith in Christ impossible. He knew with what contemptuous indifference vast numbers of his countrymen regarded the claims of Christianity, and with what bitter hostility those claims were denied and resisted by others; and he stood there in the heart of Paris to compel them to acknowledge that the Christian controversy was not closed; and to master, by the sheer force of logic and passion, the scepticism and irreligion of his age. He cared nothing for the admiration which his eloquence might win; he spoke like a man who was resolved to make men Christians. This agonizing earnestness is perhaps most conspicuous in his earlier sermons; in those delivered at Toulouse towards the close of his life there is less of strenuousness and vigour.* However

* M. Montalembert speaks of the Conferences at Toulouse—delivered in 1854—with an admiration which appears to me altogether undeserved. In Lacordaire's earlier discourses his imagination is always under control; it is the servant of the orator, never his master; but in these Conferences at Toulouse imagination is no longer fused with passion; there are long passages which seem to have been introduced merely for the

difficult it may be to analyse and explain the power of successful orators, there can be no doubt that the success is in some way proportioned to their force of *will*. Their speeches or sermons are not mere intellectual efforts; they have the nature of moral acts.

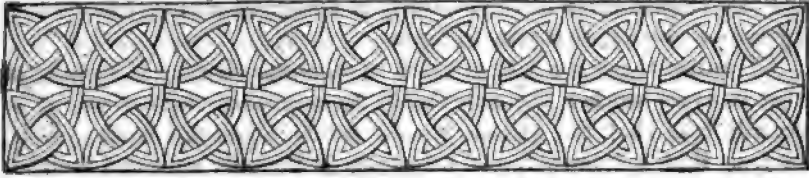
What were the permanent results of Lacordaire's preaching it is not easy to estimate. But it seems certain that he saved very many young men from drifting into unbelief; that he recalled to the Church many who had already forsaken it; and that he inspired French Catholicism with a new courage, hopefulness, and enthusiasm. The objects he strove for, he largely secured. It is unfair to contrast the effect of his preaching with the great revival of religious earnestness created by the labours of such men as George Whitefield or John Wesley. It was not Lacordaire's mission to rebuke common sins, to startle the conscience, to proclaim the infinite love of God, and to persuade men to penitence and a devout life. He appeared in France at a time when it seemed almost impossible to persuade cultivated and liberal Frenchmen to give a Christian preacher a fair hearing. Bishop Butler, speaking of his own days, says, "It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted by many persons that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry; but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious;" and he appears to think that it will be a great matter if he can convince men that "it is not, however, so clear a case *that there is nothing in it.*" These words were as true of France when Lacordaire preached his first sermon in Notre Dame as they were of England a hundred years before. It may perhaps be questioned whether he might not have done even more to restore the faith of his countrymen by reasoning with them of "righteousness and temperance, and judgment to come," than by assuming the position of a Christian apologist; just as it may be questioned whether the rude sermons of the preachers of the Methodist revival did not do more to rescue the English people from atheism and irreligion than the philosophy of Butler's "Analogy," and the ponderous arguments of the Boyle Lectures. But we must measure the success of men by what they intend to achieve; and in

sake of their poetical beauty. There are other indications that either the power of the preacher was decaying, or that he missed the stimulus he always received from a congregation in Paris. For instance, with a singular want of oratorical "courtesy," he begins by saying that at Toulouse he has to preach to an audience neither so large nor so distinguished as that which he had been accustomed to preach to. A still more glaring illustration of, at least, temporary weakness occurs in another of these Conferences, in which he asks the people to permit him to discuss part of his subject with simplicity, and without putting forth his strength, because he *must reserve his energy for something he has to say at the end of the sermon, and which he wants to say, if possible, in such a manner as that it shall never be effaced from their minds!*

the great struggle, protracted through so many weary and troubled centuries, with human sin and unbelief, every right-hearted and zealous servant of Christ has had his own work to do, the result of which should be cordially and generously acknowledged.

It may be that even Lacordaire did not possess those special gifts which are necessary for the ordinary work of the Christian ministry. The power to constrain men to forsake sin and to live a devout and saintly life, to console sorrow, educate the conscience, and develop the higher affections of the spiritual nature, comes from the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. It is not the prerogative of genius. It is not to be acquired by a rhetorical discipline. But the men who have received it should remember that the natural and supernatural gifts of God are alike necessary to the Christian preacher. The greatest of the prophets spake not only "as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," but with all the fire, splendour, and energy that belong to a lofty imagination and to vehement passion. The human culture of St. Paul rendered him capable of receiving himself, and conveying to others, that form of divine revelation with which he has enriched for ever the thought of the Church. The ordinary laws of the intellect and the heart are not suspended or suppressed by the mysterious and supernatural "gift" conferred upon every true minister of Christ; and from the study of a great orator like Lacordaire every preacher may learn how he can best explain, illustrate, and enforce the truth of God.

R. W. DALE.



TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

WE hear much talk now-a-days on the subject of "technical education." It is to be feared that two very distinct, and in fact opposite, views are often implied under this term; one which seeks to make the worker more of a man than he is now, the other more of a machine; one, which would simply superadd to his general training such special training as his particular calling requires; the other—justly stigmatized by Mr. Huxley in his late fascinating Inaugural Lecture at the South London Working Men's College—which would be satisfied with any machinery that would give the English workman special dexterity in his calling, and would turn out ready-made carpenters or bricklayers, weavers or spinners, watch-makers or engineers, dyers or printers, as the Mint turns out sovereigns or farthings. Behind these two views, which have at least a nominal meeting-point, stand respectively two others, which indeed also meet by a roundabout—the severe theoretic view, which turns aside with contempt from the idea of special training altogether, and would only give the workman a general human training in the principles of each study included in his art; and the self-satisfied practical view, which ignores principles altogether, and holds that proficiency is only the result of a happy-go-lucky experience, such as owes, and can owe, nothing to any set scheme of training. The two latter views would agree in doing nothing for the end in question;

the two former agree in the necessity of doing something, but are not agreed as to what that something is.

Of course there is a side of truth to all these views. If it be true that in every worker the man should be more than the artisan, it is equally true that the artisan should not be above his work. If it be true that a knowledge of principles is the only sure and fruitful source of progress in any branch of human activity, it is equally true that experience is the only soil on which progress can flourish, and that without it principles remain barren, as seeds in the seedsman's closet. How to conciliate these various aspects of truth is the real problem. We cannot do so unless we fairly grapple with the actual facts; and by facts I do not mean figures.

Now, it is a fact that a working man can acquire in England the very highest scientific training, and rise to a point at which he shall be able to expound the principles of science in the most lucid language to crowds of eager listeners. That fact, but a few months ago, had an illustration in a name honoured by all—Faraday. England, then, can bring forth men who are far greater than the trade they work at, and can educate them to the uttermost. She cannot afford to lose any Faradays; it should not depend on the accident of a Humphry Davy to develop their genius; she needs that these should find everywhere within reach the means of their development.

But it is equally a fact that those means are very seldom at hand. Beside a Faraday who meets with a Davy, you will find a George Stephenson struggling unhelped to acquire the very rudiments of knowledge, and even obliged to educate himself with and through his son. And who can tell how many more George Stephensons are groping yet in the thick darkness of unhelped ignorance in the nether depths of the labour-world? The society which allows the genius of a Stephenson to be weighted with such burdens as he had to stagger under is one which—let the familiarity of the expression be forgiven—*does not give God fair play.*

I have chosen these two typical instances of the helped and unhelped artisan rising to equal eminence—the one scientific, the other practical—as showing clearly what magnificent material for education God has given us amongst our artisans, and how we must be squandering that material. For the ultimate eminence of the Faradays and the Stephensons is not only the exception, but the rule is directly contrary. It is not merely that the means for their development are too often wanting, but the appetite for using such means remains for the most part as yet unkindled. For instance, the working class which has given to the world a chemist like Faraday is a class of bad chemists, and indifferent to chemistry. Mr. Samuelson, in his late letter to Lord Robert Montagu, speaks of the complaints made

at Nottingham "of the want of technical knowledge and skill of the dyers employed in the hosiery trade. I was told and shown that it was rare to find yarns, intended to be of the same colour, receive the same tint in two successive dyeings." Again: "There is no science instruction at Bradford. Dr. Parkinson, a pupil of the University of Giessen, residing at Bradford, taught inorganic chemistry during several winters to a small class, with so little encouragement, that the fees which he received were insufficient to defray the expenses of the materials employed in his illustrations." And yet chemistry is precisely one of the dominant subjects in the schools organized under the inspection of our "Science and Art Department;" so that the same experienced observer urges that we should "remove the temptation to the teachers of science schools to ride physiology and inorganic chemistry to death." Here, then, we have the further anomaly that one of the best encouraged amongst us of scientific studies is precisely one in the application of which our people are avowedly deficient. Now, every English workman need not and cannot be a Faraday or a Stephenson; but every English workman ought to be a good workman, and to be a good dyer a man should be, within certain limits, a good chemist. Why is he not such? Why does he not even care to be such?

The more deeply we probe this question, the more, I think, we shall convince ourselves that the mischief arises not so much from absolute want of means whereby the workman shall acquire the knowledge he requires, as from those means being unavailable to him through defective adaptation, or want of previous training. Mr. Samuelson puts his finger on the real source of the evil—though in connection with quite another branch of knowledge—when, after praising the Science and Art classes at Oldham, he remarks that "mathematical instruction was, however, all but absent," and accounts for it as follows:—

"That any attempt to teach mathematics, or theoretical and applied mechanics, must necessarily be unsuccessful in these and similar schools, under the present conditions, appears to me . . . to be obvious. The science teaching, under the Minutes of the Privy Council, is designed for those classes of the population who receive their education in the elementary schools; and that education does not carry them far enough to understand the processes of reasoning, the language, if I may use the expression, of the mathematical sciences."

He adds, indeed, immediately that—

"Pupils of a higher condition of life . . . would, in the great majority of cases, be as little prepared by previous training as the artisans are to avail themselves of scientific instruction. An engineer of Manchester stated that the young men whom he receives as apprentices with large premiums, and who have been brought up at our higher schools, come to him ignorant, not only of the most elementary mathematics, but of the ordinary rules of arithmetic."

So, at Nottingham, "the imperfect school training of the young clerks was stated to procure a decided preference and more rapid advancement to the numerous Germans and Scotchmen who are met with in the Nottingham warehouses."

We are thus led on to the conclusion that the problem of technical education is at bottom the problem of all education; that it can only be imparted to those who are capable of receiving it; that our present educational appliances do not, as a rule, develop that capacity; that, in order to do so with effect, the battle must be fought out in the elementary schools of the country.

I have no intention here of laying down any cut-and-dried scheme of national education—a task for which I should be very ill-qualified. My object is simply to insist upon the issues which lie underneath the surface of a now much-talked-of subject. If our artisans are ever to become as able, as scientific, as tasteful as they might be,—as the best interests of their country, nay, according to some, her already urgent necessities, demand that they should be,—we must make up our minds between two opposite views of education, the dead-level and the progressive—if more scientific terms be desired, the statical and the dynamical; the one typified in Mr. Lowe's "Revised Code," which aims at giving only such education to any man as is "fitted to his station;" the other, which aims at giving free scope in every man to all the aptitudes which God has given him, which recognises for him no "station" but that of manhood, and no manhood but the fullest of which he is capable; the one, which treats the child as so much matter to be cast in a mould—the other, which views him as a living power clad in flesh, the expansion of which may be infinite. That the latter will more and more be felt to be the only truly Christian view of the subject, I feel thoroughly persuaded. The ideal education would be that which should begin by looking upon every infant as having in him, *until the contrary be proved*, a Shakspeare, an Aristotle, a Newton, a Cuvier, a Faraday, a Raphael, a Mozart, a Stephenson, a Chatham, and a St. Paul, and should train him as such accordingly, until observation should show both the bent of his faculties and the limits of each, when the special training of his special faculties should commence. And such an education, we may rest assured, would turn out by the way, and without the least effort, the very best carpenters, dyers, bricklayers, shoemakers, nay, mole-catchers and scavengers, in the world.

How nearly we can ever reach that ideal I do not care to discuss. All that is needed is the thorough *working* conviction that we are too far from it—that we must advance towards it—and that so long as any notion remains lingering in men's minds that the "three r's" are the only things worth paying for in primary education, so long

are we certain of not having as good carpenters, bricklayers, &c., as we should and might have. The resolutions lately adopted (Jan. 23, 24) at the Conference on Technical Education of the Society of Arts afford the most cheering evidence of the growth of public opinion in this direction; and well might Mr. Bowring, referring to sixteen years back, say that "it appeared to him that he had awakened from a sort of Rip van Winkle dream whilst listening to the liberal opinions that had been expressed on the question of education." Still more important are the Minute of the 21st of December, 1867, and more recent Explanatory Memorandum, of the Committee of Council on Education, as to the encouragement of Science and Art education in elementary and other schools. And from another quarter of the educational horizon, the "Report of the Commission on Middle Class Education" comes, as it were, into focus with all that has been said and quoted above, through its suggestions for the development of secondary instruction by means of schools of different grades, and of exhibitions from school to school, open only to merit, which would "do that work which the grammar schools once did and can do no longer."

Only I would venture to urge that the main question is not so much that of adding new "subjects of instruction" to a definite course, as that of a delicate tentative handling of those living powers clad in flesh of which I spoke, trying what they are or are not fit for. Take, for instance, that in which we as a people are, for the most part, notoriously deficient, taste in colour—a deficiency the more unnatural, the more shameful, that it is precisely as colourists that our best artists have shown signal excellence. Why, with a few rags in winter, a few flowers in summer, the natural elementary laws of colour might be taught as in play to every English child not colour-blind before it left its infant school. Elementary drawing itself should be little more than child's play to the bulk of scholars, and the habit of it will always take away half its awe from geometry, from which many a grown man has ere this turned aside in despair, not from any inability to comprehend its theorems, but simply because he cannot give three straight sides to his triangles.

I believe, indeed, that the obligatory introduction of drawing into all elementary education would be the most important single *outward* reform which could at present be effected in it. (I say outward, in contradistinction to the *inward* reform of imparting to infant education, as its dominant character, that of a widely observant and variously stimulative process.) Nothing at present can be so utterly absurd as that a country, whose main source of wealth lies in the hands of its workers, should do nothing in the first instance to educate those hands beyond the formation and combination of pothooks and

hangers—though even these are by no means to be despised. It is not that all arts involve design; it is that the reproduction of form in any shape, be it only the tracing of a triangle or a square, trains the hand how to move, where to stop, gives correctness to the eye. Add to mere drawing, modelling of however simple forms—and how many children deem it other than fun to knead a lump of clay?—and you increase enormously the child's mastery over form. And form, be it observed, is in most cases the only, for almost all minds the easiest, bridge to law.

But anyhow the fact remains that at present a gap—too wide for the bulk of our population to pass over, especially since the clumsy bridge which alone to some extent spanned it, that of pupil-teachership, has, thanks to Mr. Lowe, been in great measure broken down—is open between our elementary and our superior instruction. Hence, I heartily sympathize, so far as it goes, with the second resolution of the Society of Arts' Conference, that "efficient means of primary and secondary instruction should be brought within the reach of the working classes everywhere, and encouragement should be given to the study of the elements of Science and Art in the upper classes of all primary schools which receive aid from Government;" as well as with the system of grants in aid of Science and Art classes which has been elaborated from South Kensington. But I doubt very much whether mere encouragement by grants is sufficient to compass the end in view, and I miss still on both sides a sense of the breadth of that *human* education which a workman has a claim to, because he is a man. How, for instance, has it come to pass—taking even the term "technical education" in its narrowest sense—that the study of language seems entirely overlooked in the Society of Arts' theory of the artisan's training? Open almost any report in its own recently published volume of "Artisans' Reports" on the Paris Exhibition of 1867, and you will find the writer apologizing on the one side for his own defects of style or grammar, on the other, lamenting that his ignorance of French hampered him so much in acquiring the information he sought. Depend upon it, that a knowledge of his own language and of at least one other is required for the English working man. The Middle Class Education Commissioners' Report—in which the value of language as a means of development for the mind is not overlooked—has greater breadth of view than is shown by the Adelphi reformers, but is limited in its objects. What it proposes for the middle class is really needed for all classes.

We must not, indeed, undervalue what has been done already for our working classes in the way of supplying them with the means of superior instruction in Science and Art, especially the latter. Our nearest neighbours and rivals certainly do not. Listen to this extract

from the report of the Lyonnese working goldsmiths delegated to our Exhibition of 1862 :—

“ The English, the first traders in the world, perhaps the first manufacturers, have bravely undertaken to acquire the artistic elements which they were in want of. They have spared no cost with this view. They have lately founded the Kensington Museum, which contains in goldsmith's work, bronzes, sculpture, &c., the finest, rarest things ; a collection of unheard-of wealth . . . which takes the form of a palace, and which is at the same time a school. Scholars and workmen, manufacturers and artists, will be able to draw from thence, and from many other public or private collections, the best means of study, the most exact information.”

So the delegates of the La Martinière school dwell on the facilities for study offered to working men at Kensington through the slight payment on certain days, which keeps off idlers, and through the museum being kept open till 10 P.M. ; on the affiliated provincial schools, and the loan collections ; whilst, as respects private efforts, here is the picture drawn by the Lyonnese engineers of the facilities for intellectual development offered to the English workman :—

“ The masters have understood that in raising the intelligence of the workers they would draw from it an assured profit, and therefore give to the workman who is anxious to learn every facility for so doing. To each workshop is joined a reading-room, a room for study, in which he may spend his evenings, and acquire whatever knowledge he wants. He finds here newspapers, books, maps, drawings or prints having reference to engines, boilers, &c. By means of these establishments, created at the employers' cost, results really surprising are obtained, as well in regard to theory as to practice. It is not rare to see English workers second in a marvellous degree the ideas of the engineer, and become themselves distinguished theorists. The contrary obtains in France, where professional instruction is not sufficiently developed, and where one can only acquire ability in certain callings by dint of routine and good-will.”

This is, of course, in its generality a fancy picture, derived apparently from visits to two of our most celebrated engineering establishments, Maudslay's and Penn's ; but a quite similar one is traced by other hands, showing that the impression produced was at least not a singular one. Conversely, the delegates of the La Martinière school at Lyons, which occupies a page of Mr. Samuelson's report, mention the fact which, they say, has no parallel in France, that they found at Penn's sixty paying pupils occupied in learning the practical part of the engineer's business. It is thus clear that if we see much to envy in the facilities for technical instruction which may exist amongst our neighbours, they in turn have seen much to envy amongst ourselves. I do not wish in the least that we should overlook our own deficiencies. But I believe the worst way of doing good is to start from the assumption that all is worthless hitherto ; the best, to mark carefully whatever good exists, in order to make the good a stepping-stone to the better.

And I therefore entirely agree with that resolution of the Society of Arts' Conference, which bears that "it would be right to consolidate and improve, rather than overthrow, what has already been done."

It is in art education, no doubt, that our deficiencies have of late been most sharply brought home to us. I would quote on this point the evidence, not of manufacturers, but of working men, as it is to be found in the before referred-to volume of "Artisans' Reports on the Paris Exhibition of 1867." Mr. R. Baker, a wood-carver, says :—

"In comparison with the French, the English carving is tame and spiritless; the French workman seems imbued with a true love of his art, and executes it with a warmth of feeling which gives it light and sentiment, and this gives his work its superiority. . . . Not that there is a total absence of this artistic feeling in the English work, but they seem to have studied cutting their work sharp and clean, in preference to anything else."

Mr. J. Connolly, stone-mason, says :—

"When a stone has to be worked to a mould, or fitted to a square or a straight-edge, no man can do it more workmanlike or to greater perfection than an English mason; but when the hands have to realize the imagination, the Frenchman's familiarity with art, and his early training in its principles, enable him to outstrip us. . . . That he outstrips the Englishman in this respect does not, I feel certain, arise from the possession of a special art-genius, but because whatever of it is in him is fully developed, and encouragement is given to its practice; and if English workmen are behind in this respect, it is not because art-genius is deficient in our nature, but because it is not developed and encouraged sufficiently."

Mr. George Page, silversmith :—

"I find the French artisans are in advance of those of other nations with regard to the art of surface finish in my respective branch. Their variety of tasty designs and designed textures show (*sic*) admirable tact on the part of the workers."

Mr. William Letheren, art-metal workman :—

"As far as I am able to judge, the French excel in taste and effect, but I do not consider them more skilful as smiths."

Mr. T. C. Barnes, practical glass-worker and artist, Birmingham :—

"In England there has been latterly a marked improvement in design, though in this there is yet much to be learned; and here it is that the foreigner has an evident superiority. . . . The English department is superior in workmanship, the French in design and colour."

Some of the reporters, be it observed, expressly state that, as respects the mere means of superior instruction, we are not behind-hand. Thus, Mr. S. Berry, engraver :—

"I visited the *Ecole Imperiale de Dessin*, and inspected the works of the students; there were some very good drawings, and the same may be said of the modelling, but I do not consider this school any improvement on our *Kensington School of Art*."

of the elementary teaching of boys connected with flint-glass making, is one of those wicked societies, the constant butts for oburgation to the *Times* and other enlighteners of public opinion, which late legal decisions have made pretty nearly *capita lupina* for any swindler, and which a large portion of our politicians and writers openly avow their wish to maintain in that position.

It may be observed that the proposals of the Flint-glass Makers' Society only apply to elementary education. But there is another still larger society, of over 8,000 members, and one of those which have been lately victimized through the state of the law,—the "Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners,"—which is now considering a proposal by Mr. Fleeming Jenkin, C.E., Professor of Engineering at University College, London, to establish for its members a system of instruction comprising mensuration, drawing, elementary geometry, mechanics, the construction of stairs, &c. The executive committee of the society declare themselves, in their last published "monthly report," so impressed—

"With the importance of the undertaking, and of its value to the trade, that they have resolved to leave no means untried to make its adoption general and successful; and in the event of any branch or branches conjointly, or any number of members from thirty upwards, considering that a loan would enable them to start a school with greater chances of success, the Executive Committee will be prepared to entertain an application for a loan from the Contingent Fund, and be ready to grant such loan when satisfied that the money will be usefully applied."

Here then we have one of those societies which are habitually accused of keeping labour to a dead level, and putting an extinguisher upon the workman's abilities, entering upon the task of assisting its members to acquire the higher technical education. With two such instances before us, at the bottom and the top respectively of the educational scale, surely we have every encouragement to take the work manfully in hand of completing the education of our people.

But these very instances show once more what I have before insisted on, that it is in the middle of the scale that most remains to be done—in the development, I mean, of whatever special aptitudes may reveal themselves in our elementary schools. Now I know nothing in the French educational system so enviable as the *Ecole Turgot* (see Mr. Samuelson's report), of whose 800 pupils 100 are exhibitioners from the primary communal schools, and who receive in this a three years' training (with two supplementary years if required, one at each end of the scale), which fits "for every career except the learned professions and the higher grades of the public service." "If Paris had a dozen schools like that of the *Rue Vert Bois*" (*i.e.*, the school in question), says Mr. Samuelson, "all would be filled." And M. Jules Simon, in his lately-published work,

"L'Ouvrier de Huit Ans," says to precisely the same effect: "If to-morrow an Ecole Turgot were to be opened in each of the Paris *arrondissements*, there would not be after three months' time, in any one of such schools, one empty place." He recommends, accordingly, the multiplication of superior "primary schools," of which "Turgot" and "La Martinière" are the fully perfected types. But let us observe, with M. Simon, that in such schools—

"One does not learn . . . to be a turner, engineer, spinner, weaver, cabinet-maker. One learns what ought to be known in order to become distinguished in one's own calling, and even in any calling; but one does not learn one's calling. A working man leaving the Ecole Turgot has every chance of becoming a foreman, and even an employer. The foremost scholars get places at once in the direction of workshops. Some enter the special schools of Angers or Châlons, or even the Ecole Centrale, which makes engineers of them. . . . In the Industrial Museum of La Martinière one may see, inscribed on a table of honour, the names of those of its pupils who have reached the Ecole Polytechnique."

Now there are institutions already existing amongst us which appear to me just fitted to take this middle place, by somewhat widening their scope, and unbending the stiffness of their scholastic theories. I mean our Working Men's Colleges; now, I believe, deserving and ripe for a measure of public and State recognition and encouragement which they have not yet received. Let them extend downwards, in point of age, through affiliated schools—as the recently opened "South London Working Men's College" is doing already—and establish, at least for younger pupils, a definite curriculum (including, however, some alternative, or even optional elements), and they will be able to take up the more promising National or British school-boy, and turn him out fit to become anything that he has a bent for. The three years' course at the Ecole Turgot comprises, besides religious instruction, English, German, French (both language and literature), history and geography, book-keeping, free-hand and geometrical drawing, singing, the theory of music, mathematics (including logarithms), spherical geometry and trigonometry, natural history, chemistry, and natural philosophy—a final supplementary year carrying the pupil yet further. It would be easy to criticize the elements of this curriculum; the fact remains that a boy of from thirteen to fifteen may fight his way to it from an ordinary primary school, and after three years take his place at once, as M. Jules Simon tells us, in the higher ranks of labour.

Quite apart from such establishments are what M. Simon calls "Apprenticeship Schools," the Society of Arts' "special institutions for technical instruction"—i.e., the schools where one learns a trade or calling; such, for instance, as the "Horological School" of Besançon, which our working watchmakers have examined and carefully

reported on to the Society of Arts. Without contesting the utility of these for the more delicate and scientific trades (of which watch-making is a good example), I confess to a great distrust of their over-multiplication, lest the human element should disappear in them before the commercial one, and they should become mere patent machines for the manufacture on a large scale of some particular kind of workman whose services happen to be in demand for the time being. But I conceive that if our Working Men's Colleges were, by a development of juvenile education, relieved gradually from the task of imparting elementary instruction in any branch to the adult workman, it would be most appropriate that they should, side by side with classes imparting the highest kind of theoretic instruction, exhibit also the practice which corresponds to theory, in the shape of classes of applied science and art—*e.g.*, geometry, &c., as applied to building, chemistry to dyeing, &c., design to carving, &c., acoustics to pianoforte-making, &c. Otherwise the ordinary training in (not *for*) any given trade can only, I conceive, be acquired within the workshop or factory, and through actual labour. I am far from denying that such training is not itself in most cases very insufficient or very deficient; that apprenticeship is too often a farce; that the law is powerless to make it a reality. In this respect we are certainly no worse off than our neighbours. Mr. Samuelson, after visiting the spinning and weaving schools of Mulhouse, says:—

“Accustomed only to our English factory system in its maturity, it was long before I could understand how, and why, the plan of teaching trades in a school was first conceived. It appears to have arisen from two causes; the first was the *insufficiency, the insincerity of the ordinary apprenticeship to handicrafts.*”

But that question is one too large to be more than hinted at here, and confines upon others larger still in the more purely social sphere. Since, however, it may be said that as a rule the apprentice learns his trade from the workman and not from the employer—even when he is bound to the latter—anything that tends to improve the former must be favourable to him; whilst he himself, by means of a larger primary instruction, would be better fitted to learn what the workshop has to teach him.

Factory schools, again, are institutions which, in their most perfect examples, strongly resemble what I conceive of as the junior department of a Working Man's College, and which should, I think, be made as far as possible to conform to that pattern. But they are still, I fear, too often far below the mark even of good elementary schools of the ordinary type. Again, though institutions of various descriptions for adult education are to be found in connection with many of our industrial establishments, yet Mr. Akroyd's example

remains, I believe, as yet unfollowed in the creation of the Halifax Working Men's College. Yet what should be the more natural homes of such colleges than those true labour-cities, our great mills, works, and factories?

To sum up, then, what I have said on a subject capable of infinite development: In the question of improving the so-called "technical education" of our artisans lies involved, as I venture to think, and as it is in part felt already, the completing of our whole educational system; the broadening of its basis in elementary instruction; the organizing of appliances to connect that instruction with our higher Science and Art (teaching which I hold to be already on a footing far from unsatisfactory), and to develop it generally; above all, a resolute determination to bury henceforth no human talent on the plea that it ought to be buried, but to put it out to the utmost usury; to crush henceforth no God-given powers to some level of "station," which we blasphemously choose to fix for them, but to develop them, whenever discovered, to the uttermost. When we shall have thus learnt to train men as men, the training them as carpenters or bricklayers, weavers or spinners, will become a far easier, as it is a far less important matter—one not by any means to be neglected, but which will easily fall into its place as a mere detail of the larger work.

J. M. LUDLOW.



HENRY WATKINS ALLEN.

Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, Brigadier-General, Confederate States Army: Ex-Governor of Louisiana. By SARAH A. DORSEY. New York. [1867?]

I.

ON an autumn day in the year 1859 two English travellers were looking (perhaps without any very enthusiastic admiration) at Canova's Venus in the Pitti Palace at Florence. One of them was in the act of moving towards the side which was in shade, for the purpose of examining it, when a gentleman entering from an inner room volunteered the information that the pedestal was so contrived as to allow the figure to be turned round. Although the stranger, in the fairness of his complexion and in some other respects, was very unlike our typical idea of an American, it was impossible to mistake his nationality. There was something in his appearance and in the few words which he spoke that led the Englishmen to suppose him somewhat of a character; and, having expressed this opinion to each other, they thought of him no more.

Two days later, however, on embarking at Leghorn for Civita Vecchia, they observed their acquaintance of the Pitti Palace among the passengers. He too recognised them; and before long they had (without any pumping) learned a good deal about him. His name was Allen; he was a sugar-planter in Louisiana, and had called his estate Allendale. In earlier life he had been engaged in various occupa-

tions; among other things, he had been a soldier, and from his military service was entitled to style himself Captain. He had been at college too, and had, in his way, a strong taste for literature; his way in this, as in other things, being somewhat different from that of his English acquaintances. He had been engaged in a good many duels—or "difficulties," as he called them—fought, for the most part, on behalf of other persons whom he supposed to need a champion; and there was a comical story of an adventure with a Frenchman at Strasburg, to whom he was offering "satisfaction," when the police appeared on the scene, and walked off their countryman to prison. As a slave-owner he was no admirer of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and was vehement against the policy of the Northern Americans; indeed it was from his conversation that we first learned to understand the intensity of the exasperation between the two sections of the United States which was soon to burst out into war. He was in the habit of writing regularly to "the democratic paper of my State—the *Baton Rouge Observer*." He was President of the Louisiana Assembly, and had various stories to tell of his experiences there; for instance, that he was once obliged to address a refractory member in these words—"Sir, if you come here cutting up shines like that, I shall order you into custody;" that the hon. member, by further insubordination, obliged him to fulfil his threat, and afterwards sent him a challenge, which Allen, in obedience to a law of the United States as to the duty of officials in such cases, and in reliance on his own well-established character as a man of courage, refused. We ventured to suggest, with reference to something which he had before said as to the un-wisdom of the English in submitting to "the mummerly of court-dresses," that if the Speaker of *Baton Rouge* were gowned and wigged like his brother of Westminster, the most audacious member of the Assembly would never venture to question his authority; and he allowed that there might be some truth in the remark. At *Civita Vecchia* he startled one of our fellow-passengers, an American lady, usually resident at Rome, by asking her, "Does the Pope go much into society?" But happily the questions which divided the North and the South were not mooted between them.

At Rome we were in the same hotel with him. During the day-time we saw little of him, for he rushed about from one sight to another in the way which is possible for none but Americans, and we believe that during his short stay, which lasted only from Tuesday afternoon to Saturday evening, he contrived to see more than his English friends saw in three weeks. Now and then, indeed, we lighted on him in some gallery—admiring, for instance, in the Vatican, a group of "Venus chastising Cupid"—*giving him scissors*, as he expressed it in an idiom which was then new to us; or he greeted us in the

streets from a cab which was urged along at more than the ordinary Roman pace. But our intercourse with him was chiefly at the dinner-table and in the evening. His first impression of Rome was summed up on the day of his arrival, after a survey of about two hours,—“I think, sir, this Rome is a one-horse place;” but his sojourn there was nevertheless a time of intense delight. His pride in his own country might have seemed incompatible with the enjoyment of any other country. He could never admire anything without violently dragging in something finer of the same sort from America. In mountains, rivers, lakes, and the like, we, of course, allowed him his own way, without any questioning of the New World’s superiority. As to art, he avowedly preferred Mr. Hiram Powers to all the ancients; even as to ruins we are not sure that he was willing to let America be outdone. Yet he enjoyed Florence and Rome exceedingly. “We are a great nation,” was a sentence continually repeated, although certainly never contradicted; and, having a vehement horror of the Roman religion, fed by apocalyptic theories of the kind which are usually associated with the name of Dr. Cumming, he entertained imaginations of throwing down the “scarlet woman drunken with the blood of the saints,”* and of seeing the “star-spangled banner” wave over the harbour of Civita Vecchia and the castle of St. Angelo. On the evening after our arrival, as we were threading our way by scanty light through the dingy lanes between the Corso and the Forum, and one of the party observed that the streets of Rome were said to be not always safe after nightfall, our gallant companion brought out with a triumphant air an account of the “Five Points” at New York, where it was “as much as a man’s life is worth” to pass at night; and how he himself, with the very sword-stick which he was then carrying, gave the brigands of that dangerous locality something more than as good as they brought. So determined was he that the States should not be surpassed, even in the badness of their police. Yet, with all his proneness to brag—much of his nation, and even somewhat of himself—there was in him a singular mixture of modesty. And very widely as his ideas differed from any that we had been accustomed to, we liked him much, and were heartily sorry when he left us, little expecting that we should ever see him or hear of him again.

The authoress of the book before us says of her hero:—

“He was extremely sick for several weeks on his return to London in the fall of 1859. He received during this dangerous illness the most devoted attention from two English gentlemen, whose acquaintance he had

* Rev. xvii. 4, 6. This phrase had strongly laid hold of his mind. One day, while walking with him in the Loggia of the Vatican, we met a cardinal. “Look,” said Allen, “at his stockings dyed with the blood of the saints!”

formed whilst travelling in Italy. He was very grateful for the affectionate services rendered him in the hour of need by these gentlemen, and often spoke of it."—(P. 47.)

It is pleasant to find that the acquaintance which we have described was not forgotten ; but it would be yet more pleasant for the survivors if they could feel themselves entitled to the gratitude which is here spoken of. But in truth they had no opportunity of rendering the services for which credit is given to them. One of them—the writer of this paper—was not in London at all during Allen's stay there. The other, whose return to England and whose residence Allen had accidentally discovered, complied at once with a request that he would call on him at his hotel ; but, although he would assuredly have been ready to show him further kindness, found that this was impossible, as the sick man had by that time so far recovered that he was resolved to set out homewards the very next day. In the course of his violent sight-seeing at Rome, Allen had disregarded all warnings as to the danger of exposing himself to the air at certain hours, and the result of this was, that on board the Marseilles steamer an attack of Roman fever developed itself. With characteristic energy he struggled against this disease as far as London ; but there he found himself unable to struggle any longer, and lay for some time between life and death, without any other attendance on which he could reckon than that of the people of his hotel, and of a doctor whom they called in. It is, however, possible that the kindness which his acquaintances of Florence and Rome feel themselves bound to disclaim, may in reality have been rendered to him by a gentleman who had been his companion from Marseilles.*

Weak as he still was, Allen resisted all entreaties that he would put off his start for a few days. Some weeks later a letter was received, giving an account of his arrival at Allendale, and of the joyful welcome with which he had been received by his "servants," who had been alarmed by a report of his death ; and after this letter we heard nothing of him directly. During the great contest which began soon afterwards, a friend, whose acquaintance with its details was much greater than our own, occasionally sent us scraps of information from American papers, by which it appeared that Allen was prominent on the Southern side : one scene in particular we remember, in which, amidst immense enthusiasm, he unfurled the new flag of the Confederacy, declaring the accession of Louisiana to the Southern cause.† At length he attained the honour of being quoted in a leading article of the *Times* as having written to

* This is the impression of the writer's fellow-traveller. His own is that, in the letter written from the hotel, Allen spoke of himself as having been utterly without friends during his illness.

† This is not mentioned in the "Recollections."

the Confederate Secretary of State—"Sir, the time has come when we must arm the black man;" and the impersonation of all the Southern negroes in this phrase reminded us unmistakably of the writer's style of language. But the advice came too late, and this letter was followed very closely by the utter ruin of the Confederation. It was not until the end of last year that we had an opportunity of inquiring what had become of our old travelling acquaintance; and we then learnt that he was dead, and that his life had been published in a volume, of which, by special order, we have been able to procure a copy. The character and career set forth in this book are so remarkable, that we have thought it worth while to draw up a brief sketch of Allen's life, prefacing it with our own reminiscences of him.

II.

The authoress, Mrs. Dorsey, appears to have known her hero intimately, and to have stood high in his esteem. She is one of those who have suffered severely by the war, and her strong feelings as a "Southern woman" are expressed without reserve. She is evidently a lady of unusual learning, the display of which has been somewhat barbarously marred by her printer;* and from a specimen of her conversation which is given at pp. 310—317, it would seem that, although a Southern, and (we are happy to say) an orthodox Christian, she might be able to hold her own against the most illuminated and eloquent ladies of the Bostonian coteries. If we do not criticize her work, therefore, we are willing that this should be set down to a humble consciousness of our inability to soar so high; in any case, we should not be disposed to make any unfriendly remarks on a book which sets before us a lively image of one whom we have known, and which adds to our recollections of a passing acquaintance with him a knowledge of his earlier and of his later life, with important lights as to parts of his character which were not called forth during our intercourse with him. We may, however, notice that a very large part of the volume belongs rather to the history of the American war than to the biography of Governor Allen, although it is our intention to confine ourselves to this narrower and personal subject.

Henry Watkins Allen, one of seven children of a medical practitioner in Virginia, was born in 1820. His descent on the father's side was from Scotland, and on the mother's from Wales; but, instead of following Mrs. Dorsey into her ethnological speculations on the

* We would, however, gladly allow the printer to do his worst with the bits of Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, German, French, and other tongues, which are so profusely scattered over Mrs. Dorsey's pages, if we could only trust his figures. But these are often very puzzling as to dates, nor is Mrs. Dorsey herself so distinct as her readers might wish in this respect.

effects of a pedigree thus compounded, we shall content ourselves with quoting her sketch of the character which resulted from these and other influences :—

"A proud, romantic, chivalric nature, in which we find so much to admire—perhaps something to condemn—a courageous rashness, an impulse to strike at a word, which oftentimes leads, indeed, sometimes *did* lead, to sorrow and regret in our hero, for a hasty speech or an angry stroke. But there never was any malice or nursing of wrath in this nature,—rash, but true; quick, but not malignant; flashing with sudden ire, but sweet and sound in temper; with nothing hidden, nothing mean; heartfelt warmth, earnest affection, constancy, generosity, no revenge; with a softness and tenderness of soul almost feminine. Behold here the qualities which have made the name and memory of Henry W. Allen a sound of love and pleasant recollections in the ears of Louisianians."—(Pp. 20-21.)

Having lost his wife, Dr. Allen removed in 1833 to the State of Missouri, where Henry, after a somewhat scanty allowance of schooling, was placed in a commercial store. But we need hardly say that every American of note runs through half-a-dozen occupations before finding out that to which he is to settle down for life; and so it was with young Allen. His dislike of trade was so strong that his father allowed him to give it up, and to enter at Marion College, where he remained two years. But Dr. Allen, a worthy but somewhat grim man, of reserved character, and an elder in the Presbyterian congregation, was very unlike his impetuous son; and in consequence of some quarrel, the youth resolved to push his way in the world by his own energy and in his own fashion. Leaving college at seventeen, he boldly sought out for himself a new sphere, where he became first a private tutor, and afterwards master of a school. While thus employed he was able to devote his spare hours to the study of law; and having in due time been licensed to practise as a lawyer, he is said to have made a good start in his profession (although as yet only twenty-two) when the war in Texas irresistibly attracted him. He served for some months with much distinction, and, when the war was over, he returned to his legal employment at Grand Gulf, on the Mississippi. Here he married a beautiful girl, the daughter of a wealthy planter. The match was a stolen one; but the parents were brought to acquiesce in it, and all seemed to be going well, when the young wife began to droop, and after a marriage of six years, left Allen a widower in 1850. Of this part of his story he said nothing to his English friends. His loss would seem to have been deeply felt; and, although there are hints as to some love affairs of later date, he never married again.

A visit to a watering-place for the sake of health led to an acquaintance with an old Louisiana colonel and sugar planter, who was so much pleased by Allen's kindness, that he proposed to him

a change of occupation, which Allen, eager to leave a place which had lately been the scene of so much grief to him, gladly accepted. He became manager of the colonel's estates, and the old man at his death left him the option of purchasing a large property on such terms, in regard to price and time of payment, as virtually made it a gift. In 1852, then, he settled at Allendale, as the place was thenceforth called, and, as we have already intimated, he soon entered into the politics of Louisiana, and became distinguished in the Assembly of the State. Perhaps it may have been with a view to fit himself better for public life that at the age of thirty-four he left his sugar-canes for a time, that he might complete his long-interrupted academical studies. For this purpose he repaired, not to Marion College, but to the more renowned University of Cambridge, Massachusetts, where he matriculated as a student of law; and thus he was brought for a time into intercourse with people of a different type from those among whom he had before lived—with "Parsons, Loring, Worcester the lexicographer, Edward Everett, Green of the *Boston Post*, and other lions among the Bostonians" (p. 45).

Then followed the European tour, of which we need only say further that he was partly induced to undertake it by a wish to share in the Italian war—a wish which was happily frustrated by the war's coming speedily to an end; and that he published in a collected form his letters to the *Baton Rouge Observer*. These letters, however, are unknown to us. For a time after his return to America he occupied himself in cultivating his estate, and, as before, in public business. But the most important part of his life was yet to come.

III.

When the civil war broke out Allen was at Havana for the sake of his health; but the pugnacity which had made him eager to mix in a quarrel so remote from his own concerns as the war of Northern Italy was now quickened by patriotism, and he at once returned home, joined the Fourth Louisiana regiment of cavalry as a "high private," and was elected lieutenant-colonel. His reputation both as a soldier and as a man of administrative ability speedily procured him important appointments. His first command was at Ship Island; and here he displayed not only the energy of his character, but his power of making himself at once respected and beloved by those who were placed under him.

"He kept his men amused and healthy by making them build sand-bag batteries,—warm work under a tropical sun! The labour was hard, though essential; one company (not of the Fourth Louisiana) mutinied about it, and refused to work. Allen promptly ordered the guns to be turned on the mutineers, marched the whole force with loaded muskets upon them, and quelled the mutiny without shedding a drop of blood. The soldiers liked

him none the less for his resolute discipline. The Confederate army, being composed, in the beginning of the war, principally of volunteers from the highest walks of social life in the South, was a peculiar body of men. . . . Allen was the right sort of a commander for such men. Strict and rigid in discipline, off duty he was the companion and genial friend of his men, whom he knew to be as well born and educated as himself. He never forgot that his was an army of gentlemen; some of our officers did."—(P. 55.)

There was no actual fighting at Ship Island; but Allen tried very hard to get up a little affair of his own.

"Taking offence at an expression of the Federal officer in command opposed to him, regarding the observation as individually insulting, independent of the public quarrel, Allen sent him a cartel. The officer refused it; the Federal did not understand Sir Lancelot *redivivus*. Allen fought duels. He thought it right. I know from his own lips that he always said his prayers as piously before going out to fight a duel as when he went into battle. . . . This code governs the whole South; and all men, except they may be clergymen, are considered to be bound by it, by the adamantine fetters of opinion, caste, and custom. We have seen how ready Allen was to assume the championship of such persons. Whenever he found the weak or the defenceless attacked, he regarded it as his duty to defend them."—(Pp. 56, 61.)

For us, who well remember the time when duelling was regarded as a disagreeable necessity in England, but have lived to see it utterly extinguished by a change in social opinion, it is needless to controvert the arguments by which Allen is represented as justifying the practice, while admitting that "in the millennium of ploughshares and pruning-hooks" it would be no longer desirable. But the high view of it—as a thing to be undertaken out of charity towards those who could not fight for themselves; as a solemn ordeal, for which he was to prepare himself by religious exercises, like the knights who formerly watched and prayed before the shrine of St. Drausius at Soissons—this view may be noted as very remarkable in a man of the nineteenth century, and, above all, in a citizen of the United States.

From Ship Island Allen was transferred to the town of Jackson, where he was appointed military governor by General Beauregard. He had by this time risen to the colonelcy of his regiment; and here is an account of his behaviour in his first action—the battle of Shiloh, fought on the 6th of April, 1862:—

"In the morning he was ordered by Bragg to charge a battery of the enemy stationed in a thicket; it was a strong position on an eminence, and the guns were very troublesome. The aide-de-camp who took the order to Allen says, 'I found him near a small copse. He received the order in silence; then, turning his head round, he called his servant Hippolyte, who was standing near by. "Hippolyte," he said, in his rapid way, "we are going to charge; stand here in a safe place, but watch that flag. I shall either be before it or by it. If I fall, search for me, and take me to the rear, if wounded; if dead, bury me decently; and now, God

bless you; you have been a faithful servant," wringing the hand of his now weeping slave.' Allen led his regiment. Twice he charged on the battery; his men were fearfully cut up, but they heard the voice of their beloved colonel, clear and distinct, through the noise of battle, and they followed him through the storm of shot and shell unhesitatingly, never faltering an instant. Allen's heart bled to see his men dropping around him—wounded, dying. After the second charge, he sent to tell General Bragg that his regiment was suffering fearfully, and to ask if he must make another charge with them. 'Tell Colonel Allen I want no faltering now,' was the stern reply. Allen was startled and stung at the unjust accusation of lack of courage. He never forgot nor forgave it. Rising in his stirrups, without a word of reply, he waved his sword to his men to follow, and charged the guns once more. The men rolled from their saddles like leaves about him. This last charge was as useless and ineffectual as the other two. The enemy's position was too strong. A Minié ball struck Allen in the mouth, as he cheered his men on this fruitless ride to death for so many of them. The ball passed out through the cheek. Catching up a handful of cotton lint, Allen stuck it on the wound, which, though painful, was not serious; tied his handkerchief around his jaws with *sang-froid* in the midst of the rain of bullets and shells. His clothes, cloak, and cap were riddled with shot-holes; but he remained in his saddle all day, never quitting the field, but doing his utmost to the last lingering hours of daylight before he sought medical relief or repose. The day declined on a glorious victory for the Confederates. Bragg made the *amende honorable* to Allen by a very flattering report of him and his beloved Fourth Louisiana in the official report of the battle."—(Pp. 74-5, 79.)

Like other troops, the Confederates, having suffered great hardships before their victory, were injured by indulgence in the good things which it threw into their hands; and something of this was visible among the Fourth Louisiana on the following day. The same officer of General Beauregard's staff who has already been quoted describes the colonel:—

"There was Allen, his face tied up in a bloody handkerchief, with a bit of raw cotton sticking on his cheek—which certainly did not improve his beauty—one minute entreating, praying, weeping, tears streaming as he implored the men to stand; the next moment swearing, raging at them, abusing them, berating them, giving them every angry epithet he could think of; then addressing them in the most affectionate words. But he succeeded in gathering together not only his own men, but a number of stragglers from other regiments, whom he coaxed or abused back into the ranks. The last I saw of him, he was off with them like a whirlwind into the thick of the battle."—(P. 76.)

After various other employments, during a time when some grave and (as it proved) fatal errors were committed by the Confederates, and during which New Orleans fell into the enemy's hands, Allen was appointed to take a share in the defence of Vicksburg, which held out for sixty-seven days. Here is another specimen of his manner, both in action and in language:—

"Six batteries were completed under the eyes and fire of the enemy. Allen was given one of these to construct. The enemy, discovering him,

poured their fire on the spot where he stood. Just as he had placed his last gun, aiding with his own hands in setting it, the shells fell about rather fast. Allen's men, unused to what our Indian allies called 'the firepots and kettles,' began to dodge from their work. Seeing this, their intrepid commander sprang upon the most exposed gun, and shouted to his command, 'Soldiers, you came here to fight. You are ordered to build this battery, and' (drawing his revolver) 'd——n me if I don't shoot down the first of you that dodges from this work; by ——, no soldier of mine shall dodge from his duty!' This had an electric effect. He remained standing on his gun. The men rushed around him, saying, 'We won't dodge; get off that gun; we'll die by you!' Setting rapidly to work again, they soon had their dangerous task completed—to his and *their* satisfaction."—(Pp. 119, 120.)*

Another side of his character is shown in a story of the gallantry which, during a lull in the siege of Vicksburg, he displayed towards a young lady unknown, by twice swimming his horse across a furious torrent in order to enable her to take part in a wedding festival, from which, but for his courage and courtesy, the rising of the stream would have debarred her (p. 124). He was, it appears, a great favourite with the fair sex, who honoured him with complimentary addresses during his life, and with poetical elegies after his death; even in his solemn State-papers he takes occasion to pay such compliments as no English statesman would venture to put into black and white to the fair patriots of Louisiana.

Still the war went on, the Confederates endeavouring by valour, daring, and endurance to make up for their vast inferiority in strength and in resources, and Allen continued to distinguish himself. But at the battle of *Bâton Rouge*, on the 5th of August, a check was put to his career.

"Before going into the fight, he had been commanded by General Ruggles 'to march straight to the front until he was ordered to stop.' He obeyed this order to the very letter. But he now found himself almost surrounded by the enemy; he had gone on too fast. Square in his front were posted along the roadside the enemy's skirmishers; to their left, a battery was planted at the mouth of a street, in front of the outskirts of *Bâton Rouge*. A regiment supported this battery; its men were placed behind the fences and houses hard by. Allen, turning to his men, shouted gaily, 'Boys, we *must* take a battery,—we want one!' Then seizing the colours of Boyd's battalion, he gave the order to charge, and dashed at full speed, ahead of his troops, upon the battery, holding the staff of the colours firmly with his bridle-hand, and waving his drawn sword with his right. His men responded with a shout, and dashed after him across the open field. Over that open space, for three hundred yards, the enemy poured a raking and murderous fire, both with small arms and artillery. But Allen had been ordered 'to charge to the front.' On he went, his men not close behind him. Man after man

* At this part of the story we are told that "Captain Brown worked with *him*" (p. 120). Is this a naturalized American word?

went down on that dreadful ride. . . . Still on, on, Allen pressed, up to the very muzzles of the guns. At this important moment a shell struck his horse, killing it instantly; the canister-shot scattering, struck him, shattering one leg just above the ankle, and passing through the other. Allen falling, the flag went down, but it did not fall to the ground; private Cedars, of the West Louisiana rifles, sprang forward and caught it. 'Tell them to go on,' said Allen with the last effort of expiring consciousness, and fainted from pain and loss of blood. A cry of despair went up from the lips of the Fourth Louisiana as they saw their beloved commander go down. They rushed up like a tornado in a fury of vengeance, and killed every man at the guns in their angry desperation."—(Pp. 188-9.)

But soon, dismayed by the supposed loss of their commander, they fell back, and got into confusion—an almost unavoidable result, for which Allen was always eager to excuse them when any one ventured on that account to cast reflections on the gallantry of the Fourth Louisiana (p. 147).

"Allen had been borne off the field on the muskets of his men. They laid him down under the shade of a tree, a mile from the town. He had recovered consciousness enough to recognise his condition, and the men who were weeping over him. He asked them faintly to lay him down, to give him some water, and to leave him. 'I must die—I feel it!' he said; 'God bless you! Go back, and help some one else whom you can benefit; I am past it.' But they would not leave him; they sat around him, trying to stanch the blood, watching him for several hours. He was wounded about nine o'clock in the morning, and it was past noon before Dr. Amzi Martin, a skilful surgeon, was despatched by General Breckenridge to look for him. 'Find Allen; save him, and stay with him, doctor; he is as brave a man as God ever made,' said Breckenridge."—(P. 144.)

This Dr. Martin—for whose singular *prénom* we can only account by supposing it to be abridged from Amaziah—is described as a Scotch highlander, and seems to have been as decided a character as Allen himself, who, although deeply grateful to the "old cuss" for his skill and kindness, proved a very refractory patient—rebellious against all rules of diet, and outrageously violating them when the doctor's back was turned. Wounded in both legs, and in one of them very severely, Allen declared that he would rather die than submit to amputation; and the doctor, after long and close attention, succeeded in effecting something like a cure without maiming him. But his wounds continually caused him great suffering, and to all appearance shortened his life; whereas, if he had consented to sacrifice the more seriously damaged of his limbs (like another famous governor, Peter Stuyvesant, of New York, or like a later American worthy, Birdofredum Sawin), he might probably be stumping about stoutly at this day, with a reasonable hope of life, usefulness, and honour for many years to come.

"When he had recovered sufficiently to use crutches, he went to visit his old regiment. It was a most affecting scene. The scarred men pressed

around him with shouts of applause. They seized his hands, and kissed them. At last some of them picked him up in their arms, embraced him, and bore him aloft through the camp, cheering and weeping as they went. Allen wept like a child."—(P. 147.)

The readiness to shed tears, which Gibbon has noticed as a peculiarity in Villehardouin's crusading heroes,* seems to have been equally prevalent among the gallant soldiers of the American Confederation.

During the course of Allen's recovery various civil offices were pressed on him for acceptance; but, in the hope that he might yet be equal to service in the field, he declined all such offers. At length, about a year after the battle of Bâton Rouge, he supposed himself to be again fit for military work; and when, in September, 1863, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general with a command in "the Trans-Mississippi Department," a Federal paper, in announcing the fact, described him as "one of the best fighting-men the rebels have in the south-west, and quite popular with the rank and file" (p. 234). His appointment was partly due to the magnanimity of Colonel Thomas, who urged Allen's claims on President Davis in preference to his own, and was the first to greet him with the title of *general*; and Allen soon had the pleasure of repaying the obligation by recommending Colonel Thomas as his successor in the brigade, when he was himself almost unanimously elected governor of the State of Louisiana (p. 246).

IV.

The difficulties which surrounded him on undertaking this important office were enormous. New Orleans and Bâton Rouge had already been lost, and it was in the character of a "war governor" that Allen was chosen at Shreveport, which had become the capital of the remaining part of Louisiana. He entered on his work by making a "progress" round his territory, in order at once to see with his own eyes the state of affairs, and to raise the spirit of the people. Everywhere he was received with enthusiasm, which seems to have been partly a tribute to his well-known past career, and to the visible marks which he bore of having suffered in the service of his country, and partly to have been excited by the power of his stirring addresses. Mrs. Dorsey's account of his oratory is discriminating, and agrees well with our ideas of what might have been expected from him:—

"His style of oratory was peculiar—full of energy and excitement, made up of short, curt phrases; a conglomerate of rapid thoughts, fanciful, almost exaggerated illustration; an occasional sentence of striking beauty, melody, and deep pathos, interlarded with bits of verse, or peculiar quotations from all sorts of authors; bursting out frequently into the most fervid,

* Gibbon, vi. 17, ed. Milman, 1846.

impassioned appeals to all that was high, romantic, noble, true, and patriotic in man's nature; vehement, earnest, impulsive, declamatory; very unequal, sometimes rising into loftiest eloquence, then sinking into mere spouting, but always exciting, almost enthralling to his auditors, who never were allowed to become cool enough for any sense of criticism; with a queer sort of whimsical, rare simplicity and singleness of idea and utterance; with no sense of the humorous; * honest, intense, going straight to the centre of things; fearless, audacious, spirited in gesture, never ungraceful.—Henry Allen's speeches were as unique as he himself was in everything else."—(Pp. 236-7.)

Perhaps, indeed, the very defects of his taste may have made his eloquence all the more effective with congenial hearers. He himself answered to a friend who advised him to cultivate a somewhat purer style, "My dear sir, the people understand me. I always speak to them from my own heart; I know my words will go to theirs:" and no doubt this was true. Of his speeches no specimens are given; and, although it would have been amusing to see his style of handling the notorious General Butler—"Beast Butler," as he calls him—Mrs. Dorsey is probably right in declining to reprint these "fiery utterances," as likely, in the altered relations of the South with the North, to cause needless irritation to the victorious party.

After having accomplished his tour of inspection, the governor settled down to the business of his office at Shreveport. His first object was to repair the finances of the State, and this he contrived to do by a skilful operation. As the Confederation was largely indebted to the State of Louisiana, he arranged with the general of the district that he should be allowed to collect so much as he could get of the taxes on cotton, and that this money should be transferred to the credit of the State until the debt due by the central government should be cleared off. He then, by granting permits for the exportation of cotton beyond the Rio Grande, and receiving the price of the proportion due by way of tax, got into his hands a large sum of money.

"This portion, belonging to the State, was only expended in articles of prime necessity for the people—in plain dry goods, cotton and wool cards, machinery, &c. All articles of luxury were prohibited. Then Allen established his system of State stores, factories, foundries. He arranged a State dispensary, from which the people were supplied with pure medicines at cost price . . . while the medicines were given to the poorest of the people without money and without price. The Federals had declared all medicines contraband of war. We were reduced to the use of herbs, tisanes, barks, and all indigenous vegetable medicaments. Allen established his laboratories for the preparation of these indigenous medicines. They were of inestimable value to the people. He put up turpentine-distilleries; he had a castor-oil factory; a factory for making cotton-cards. He had promised to give every woman in Louisiana a pair of cotton-cards. He

* This is elsewhere explained as meaning that he could not suppose anything about himself to be laughable.

redeemed this to his utmost ability. He also began one establishment for making carbonate of soda, and two distilleries for making pure medicinal alcohol ; while, not out of any puritanical scruples, as he explained, but as a necessary measure during the war, he forbade all distillation of intoxicating liquors " (p. 248). " He purchased a fourth interest in the Davis County Texas Iron-works, not finding the ore so good in Louisiana. He supervised salt-works. In every way he endeavoured to develop the resources of the State, and supply the multitudinous needs of the people. Receiving State money at the State stores, he soon brought up the currency to a respectable valuation. He also improved the rate of Confederate money. Every day added something to the steady plan for the amelioration of the lamentable condition of the people of the greater part of the State, suggested by his tender heart and clever brain."—(Pp. 239—241.)

There is a letter of instructions to an officer who was commissioned to make a tour for the purpose of getting information as to machinery, directing him to pay attention to a wonderful variety of objects (p. 386). Then we read of the Governor printing school-books for children ; of his bringing all sorts of necessary supplies from Texas—among the rest, paper for the journalists, who had previously been obliged to print on wall-paper, and thus earning the loudly-expressed gratitude of these leaders of public opinion ; of his active measures to prevent the stealing of negroes, " especially children from the river parishes, on plantations whose owners had been forced to fly." He also added nearly a thousand men to the forces of the Confederacy—the Eighth Louisiana Cavalry, who did good service at Mansfield and Pleasant Hill. The labour which he underwent would have been enough to task the energies of the strongest man ; but he, weakened as he was by his wounds, endured it without sparing himself, and there are stories at once humorous and pathetic of the indomitable kindness and good-nature with which this fiery-tempered man endured the worrying applications to which he was continually subjected by suffering, but very unreasonable people. Here is a specimen :—

" A friend narrates that he stepped once into Allen's office, and found the Governor seated before the fire between two countrywomen—soldiers' mothers—all three taking a comfortable smoke with their pipes. The people of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas use tobacco inordinately in every form. They always carry their pipes in their pockets ; even some of the women of the more uneducated classes smoke. These people are never seated five minutes anywhere without drawing out this panacea for all their ills, and ' taking a smoke.' Allen was too courteous a gentleman not to conform himself immediately to the customs of ' the ladies.' So, as he rather enjoyed a pipe, he would join them very sociably. The following conversation occurred, to the intense amusement of the unexpected [unsuspected ?] auditor :—' Well, Governor, we come to bother you again ; you are such a good friend to us poor women. Now, Gov., we got the corn you sent us, but we ain't got no hoes and no ploughs to plant it with.' The Governor took his pipe from his mouth, and, turning to his secretary, said, " Mr. Halsey, give these ladies an order for a plough and two hoes free of

charge.' 'But, Gov.,' they continued, 'we want some meal, and some meat, and some sugar, and some molasses.' 'Mr. Halsey, give the order for these articles.' The women received the orders, knocked the ashes from their pipes, shook hands with Allen, and started out of the room; but, halting at the door, said, 'Well, Gov., we hate to bother you so much. You're the best man alive! We are all going to name our next grand-children after you; but we forgot—we want a well-rope and—a pig.' 'Ladies,' said the governor kindly, but with a perceptible smile curling around the corners of his mouth, 'you shall have the well-rope, but—at present we are out of pigs.'—(Pp. 251-2.)

And among those who were driven by misfortune to be thus importunate, were many women of much higher condition than the worthy dames who figure in this anecdote.

It was natural, in the circumstances of the time, that collisions should arise between the Confederate soldiers who occupied Louisiana and the people of the State, whom the Governor held himself especially bound to protect. On this subject there is a very clear and manly paper (pp. 247-49), in which Allen declares that he will allow no military oppression, and invites any who may suffer from such grievances to appeal promptly to the courts of justice. "While I am Governor of the State of Louisiana," he concludes, "the bayonet shall not rule her citizens, but they shall be protected at every hazard in all their legal and constitutional rights." Happily, the officer in command of the district, General Kirby Smith, was a humane, reasonable man, and on excellent terms with Allen, so that there was no risk of giving offence to him by denouncing the misconduct of those who were under him. On one occasion, however, when the general, after listening to a vehement remonstrance, asked, "Well, Governor, suppose we differ in opinion, what then?"

"In an instant Allen sprang to his feet, though he was scarcely able to stand on them. Bringing his hand down with violence on the table, his whole face aglow with anger and indignation, he replied, 'What then, General Smith? By —, we will fight you, sir! You shan't tread the civil rights of the people of Louisiana under foot!' Smith looked at Allen, then extending his hand kindly to him, said with a smile, 'I believe you would, Governor!'"—(P. 250.)

Not only was Allen beloved throughout his own State, but his fame was carried into Arkansas, Texas, Missouri, and elsewhere, by those who had shared in the charities which he liberally dispensed to all the needy who came within his reach.

In a matter of a different kind Allen's interest with the same general was exerted to the great benefit of his people. General Smith had resolved to burn all the cotton which was likely to fall into the hands of the enemy, as was largely done in other parts of the South. Against this the Governor protested in a well-reasoned letter, which diverted Smith from the execution of his design.

"It is very apparent," says Mrs. Dorsey, "that the people of Louisiana are indebted to Governor Allen's firmness for every bale of cotton saved, amounting in value to millions of dollars. They thus owe to his wisdom and right judgment whatever foundation of future prosperity is left them—the means to begin life anew."—(P. 288.)

But, successful as Allen's administration was within his own sphere the fate of the Confederacy was not to be averted. The time came when its favourite general, Lee, was compelled to surrender, and the South lay at the mercy of the North. In this crisis Allen's conduct appears to have been admirable. While others were for still carrying on a hopeless and ruinous struggle, the fiery and pugnacious man saw that the only hope for his people was in submission; and, having been honoured by his brother-governors in the neighbouring States with a commission to act as their plenipotentiary, he succeeded, by his wise and conciliatory policy, in making favourable terms for the conquered party, while he himself, ruined in his private fortunes, and crippled by his wounds, resolved to become an exile. He issued a farewell address to the people of Louisiana,—a document which is at once dignified and pathetic. He recounts, with a not ungraceful air of satisfaction, some of the good deeds which he had done; he advises those whom he is leaving to make the best of their circumstances,—to "repair, improve, and plant." "If possible," he said, "forget the past, look forward to the future. Act with candour and discretion, and you will live to bless him who in parting gives you this last advice" (p. 300).

Notwithstanding the vast difficulties with which he had had to struggle, he left in the treasury of the State enough to pay all its just debts; and with the proud consolation of having done his duty, and of having kept his hands clean, he accepted as a loan from a friend part of a sum which was offered to him as a gift, and set forth to make himself a new home and a new career in Mexico.

v.

We shall not dwell on the details of the journey, although as in the course of it the ex-governor spent some days with Mrs. Dorsey and her family, who had taken refuge in Texas, the biographer naturally devotes a considerable space to the remembrances of her last personal intercourse with him. Let it be enough to say that his reputation had gone before him, and that everywhere he met with respect and kindness. The same was the case in the Mexican capital, where he arrived towards the end of July, 1865. He gratefully acknowledges attentions received, not only from his own countrymen, but from Englishmen, and especially from the British minister, Mr. Scarlett. He was repeatedly invited to the imperial court, where he was charmed with Maximilian, and with the beauty, cultivation, and

affability of the empress ; for his residence in Mexico was during the earlier and brighter part of that chequered adventure which was soon to end in deep and awful tragedy. Of such an ending, however, Allen had no foreboding ; his fellow-exiles seemed to prosper under the shadow of the new power ; he believed it to be stable ; and, although a strong republican at home, he was quite willing to admit that a monarchy might be the best form of government for Mexico. The gallant way in which he set himself to begin life again was thoroughly characteristic. "My means are nearly exhausted," he writes, "but I do not despair. I shall go to work with a hearty good-will at anything by which I can turn an honest penny" (p. 328). And again, "Let my property go to those who have seized it—I can make another fortune" (p. 335). The first resource which occurred was to give lessons in English, in order to which it was necessary that he should learn Spanish ; and he went to work boldly with grammar and dictionary. But although he was not without pupils, he must have suffered much hardship about this time. "Yes," he writes afterwards, in answer to a question from Mrs. Dorsey, "I have lived for weeks on twenty-five cents—one meal—*per diem*. *Who told you ?* But that is all over now ; don't fret about it. How could I complain, and 'tell you of it ?'" (p. 339). He had, indeed, one reserve in some gorgeous diamond sleeve-buttons and studs, for which he had paid 3,000 dollars in Paris, and which we have a dim notion that he once displayed before our own unworthy eyes. These, on the eve of one of his battles, he had given to a friend who was going to Cuba, saying to him, "I don't want the Yankees to get them. Take care of them for me, and if I am killed, keep them for my sake." He now recovered the jewels, and turned them to account, as Le Balafre did the links of his big gold chain ; but it would seem that, before he could get possession of these ornaments, he had to pass through the distress which has been described. By-and-by, however, a promising idea was started, that he should become editor of a newspaper—an employment which was new to him, but which seems to come quite naturally to every American. A sufficient capital was somehow raised, for which Allen, as proprietor of the paper, made himself answerable, and early in September *The Mexican Times* began to appear. Allen set to work with vigour. He had his printers and presses in his house ; he superintended, edited, and wrote largely—among other things a number of little poems, and, although Mrs. Dorsey does not rate his poetical gifts highly, some of these pieces found favour with the Empress Charlotte ; while he still continued to give English lessons—"which helps me to get along." His confidence in himself was unabated ; but the work—twelve hours a day—told on him ; the climate was unsuitable

for him; he found the Mexicans an uncongenial race, whose empty frivolity was combined with a religion which he regarded as little better than idolatry—"high mass at 8, bull-fights at 4 p.m., operas at night," p. 335)—and he sighed for more intellectual society. His wounds again gave him much pain, and his spirits were often greatly depressed. Thus he writes, after having been to the opera (to which, as an editor, he had free admission):—

"The *Trovatore* was beautifully rendered, and I could not keep from shedding tears. Music has upon me now a strange effect. It takes me back to the scenes of my childhood and my early manhood—to the pleasant days I have spent with the warm hearts from which I am now for ever parted—and leaves me for a while sad, and almost broken-hearted."—(P. 385.)

From his editorial greeting at Christmas we may extract a few touching words:—

"*Christmas comes but once a year.*"

"Before this issue of our paper reaches most of our readers, the anniversary of our Lord and Saviour will have arrived. It is a day of rejoicing for the rich and the poor, the bond and the free, in all Christian lands; and even the captive in his lonely cell, if not permitted to participate in the festivities of this sacred and joyous occasion, will have pleasure in the recollections of the past.

"On last Christmas-day we were seated in our executive chair, the chief magistrate of the great State of Louisiana, the governor of a noble constituency of lovely women and brave men. The Christmas before that we were a brigadier-general in the field. On the next previous Christmas we were confined to our bed, given up to die, and suffering all the agonies of terrible wounds.

"To-day we are in this great city, editing this humble paper, and coining our brains into daily bread; but, thank God, in good health—as it were rejuvenated—and now enjoying the hospitalities of the good and generous people of Mexico.

"God bless the exiles, wherever they may be, in this wide world of sorrow! and may they on the coming Christmas-day with grateful hearts thank all who have been kind to them in the land of the stranger! That Heaven may bless our native land, and bind up the bruised and broken hearts, and dry every mourner's tear, is our sincere and fervent prayer!"—(P. 337-8.)

Some other specimens of his articles are given, and are in a different strain. In one he administers a dressing to Mr. Horace Greeley, one of those American "celebrities" whose names have long been familiar to us, but as to the grounds of whose fame we are utterly in the dark. In another he writes to a certain Federal colonel who had commanded at the plundering of Allendale, had carried off his favourite charger and his best gun, and had (strangely enough) been immediately opposed to him, "mounted on his (*our*) white horse," at the very moment when Allen fell at the battle of *Bâton Rouge*. While he was "lingering between life and death,"

the colonel had sent him civil messages, assuring him that he had only taken the horse "as a military necessity," and solemnly promising to return it. Allen now writes to him, saying that he has "lost 200,000 dollars in the war, which he cheerfully offers up as a sacrifice towards paying off the national debt:—"

"We poor Confederate exiles," he continues, "are very forgiving. We have long since forgiven every man in the United States of America, Horace Greeley and all, except Beast Butler, and we are trying hard to forgive him too. We fear we never will,* for he is such a black-hearted, cowardly villain. Now, Colonel, send me the horse and the gun. I am not going to fight anybody any more; my fighting-days are past and gone glimmering, and—you know the rest. I have lost all taste for such sport. The only fights I assist at now are bull-fights. They are very exciting, and my sympathies are always with the bulls. When I get my little ranche (farm?) it will be so pleasant to ride my own horse that I once was accustomed to ride in former days over my beautiful plantation, now ruined and gone. As to the gun, I will promise you that it shall never be used except against the parrots and the monkeys, the lions and the tigers, that infest the jungles near my little ranche."—(Pp. 390-1.)

He was now making a good income. His paper was firmly established, and, after much consultation about his wounds, in the course of which he had at one time all but resolved to part with his leg, he made an arrangement for revisiting the old world, in order to place himself under a famous French surgeon, from whom he expected a certain cure. And, beyond this, he reverted to plans of which we had heard in 1859 for a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The funds were to be supplied by his paper, which, besides his interest as proprietor, was to pay him for a weekly letter; and, although his spirits still fluctuated, so that a musical air or some verses of a poem which touched on his memory or on his present circumstances were enough to dissolve him into tears, he wrote cheerily of the future. We find him reading Prescott and Buckle, and in mind as vigorous as ever.

While preparing for his European voyage, he wrote the following letter "to a coloured servant,"—the last but one of his printed letters:—

"TO VALLERY.

"I have just received a letter from Mr. Texada, in which he mentions your name, informing me that you were working at the State House, and were doing well. I am very glad to hear it, for you deserve to do well. I am also glad to hear that you have not forgotten me; for I think of you very often, not only as my faithful servant in former days, but as my companion in arms and on the battle-field. God bless you, Vallery! I don't know that I shall ever see you again, for it is possible I may never

* This book would have furnished the lamented Sir Edmund Head with abundant proofs that—as he states in his little book on "Shall and Will" (p. 19)—the confusion between these words is American as well as Scotch and Irish.

return. I am just about starting on a long and painful journey to Paris, to see if I can't get well. I would like so much to have you along to assist me and cheer me up in my exile, but I have not the means to pay your expenses. You must be temperate and prudent and industrious, and save your money. If I am ever a rich man again, I will help you, and make you comfortable for life. If you should see any of our people again, tell them that I send them all my love. I hope in God that I shall meet them all once more. Good-bye, Vallery. Remember my advice. You were ever true to me, and I will never, never forget your services. God bless you!

"Truly your friend,

"HENRY W. ALLEN."—(Pp. 352-7.)

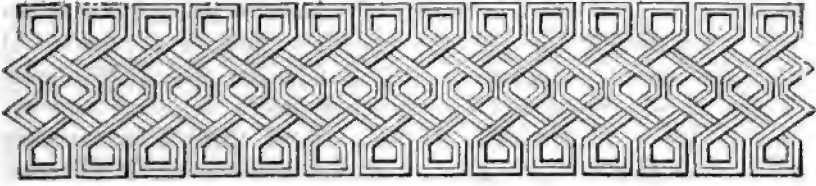
As a master, Allen seems to have been thoroughly kind to his "servants" (as he euphemistically styled them); he could advise the "arming of the black man," without any fear that the black man might turn the arms against his owner. And, utterly as we abhor the very thought of a system which makes one human being the chattel of another, we cannot doubt that, in the Southern States of America, the bitterness of slavery was very largely mitigated by the character of the masters. Even Mrs. Stowe has her Shelby, as well as her Haley and her Legree.

In the meantime an attempt had been made by some indiscreet admirers to get Allen re-elected as Governor of Louisiana; but before he could hear of this, his more judicious friends on the spot put it down, as likely to compromise, not only Allen, but the State and its people, with the Government of Washington. He himself appears to have despaired of restoration to his country; yet it would seem that, chiefly through Mrs. Dorsey's friendly zeal, explanations were given to President Johnson which would speedily have resulted in his being allowed to return on parole. But this was too late to benefit him; he was never again to see either Europe or Louisiana. In the midst of his preparations for the intended voyage he was seized with sudden illness, "a breaking down of the whole system, which culminated at last in a severe inflammation," and on Sunday, the 22nd of April, 1866, he breathed his last in the city of Mexico, having been soothed on his deathbed by the affectionate attention of his brother exiles. Throughout Louisiana, his death was mourned as a calamity which came home to every one. His body was after a time translated (it is the only adequate word) to New Orleans, and honoured with a public funeral, the burial service being read over him by the Bishop of Louisiana, the successor of that Leonidas Polk who, like some doughty prelate of the middle ages, had taken arms in the late war, and had fallen in battle as a general of the Confederate army. For these last facts we are indebted, not to Mrs. Dorsey's narrative, which does not reach so far, but to another American bishop, who himself took part in the solemnity.

The character which we have been endeavouring to sketch is in many

respects very remote from our ordinary sympathies. Henry Allen was thoroughly an American of the Southern States. He was a slave-owner, and all his ideas of patriotism were bound up with the maintenance of slavery; he was a duellist on principle; he was much given to energetic language, which in the ears of most of us would sound coarse as well as profane; he had much of the American tendency to boasting, which is contrary to our ideas of good taste and of good manners; his ways of thinking on very many subjects were widely different from ours. A slight acquaintance with him was enough to show us something of his better parts—his strength of character, the energy which would make itself a way, his courage, his honesty, his love of fair play, the singular modesty so oddly combined with qualities which might have seemed altogether incompatible with it. But the great administrative ability which he afterwards showed; the thorough kindness and tenderness of heart which made the poorest man and woman in Louisiana feel that in the Governor they had a friend who would help them to the utmost in all their needs; his lofty superiority to all selfish interests; the grand flow of romantic feeling which led his friends in a spirit of humorous admiration to style him Sir Lancelot, Bayard, and Don Quixote; the heroic resolution with which, after having seen the ruin of his private fortunes involved in that of his country, he turned to seek the means of life by humble occupations in a foreign land; the deep and hearty religion which (as is abundantly clear from the details given in this volume) lay under appearances which could little have led to a suspicion of its existence—these were things which we should not have guessed at; some of them because, from their nature, they did not come to light in a short and superficial acquaintance; others, because his capacity for them lay dormant until the occasion arose which was to call forth the display of them. Having judged him according to such opportunities as we had, and in no unkindly spirit, we can hardly feel ashamed or penitent because we did not rate him at his full value. But now that ampler materials for estimating him have been placed before us, we venture to hope that some at least of our readers will take in good part this memorial of the acquaintance which was begun in the Palazzo Pitti.

J. C. ROBERTSON.



PROFESSOR BAIN ON THE DOCTRINE OF THE CORRELATION OF FORCE IN ITS BEARING ON MIND.

*Proceedings of the Royal Institution of Great Britain, vol. iv. part 8.
Macmillan's Magazine, Sept., 1867.*

AMONG the great scientific discoveries of these times which the Friday evening lectures in Albemarle Street have helped to popularize in the best sense of that word, none has been more prominent than that doctrine which Mr. Grove has designated as above, but which the highest of our later English authorities agree in calling the Conservation of Energy. One can hardly take up a single season's *Proceedings* without finding that a night or more has been devoted to its illustration.

It was therefore with some curiosity that I saw the announcement of this lecture for May 10th, last year. For Professor Bain is a philosopher of whom Mr. J. S. Mill speaks as "an aspirant to philosophical eminence," who "has stepped beyond all his predecessors, and has produced an exposition of the mind, of the school of Locke and Hartley, equally remarkable in what it has successfully done and in what it has wisely refrained from." Such a man, on such a stage, would surely measure his words.

But, on the other hand, a perusal of "The Senses and the Intellect," though it had interested me, and, I hope, taught me much, had left me with the conviction that Mr. Bain's special strength

does not lie in those departments of science in which the precision of the mathematician and the experimentalist is required. If, then, he meant to controvert the conclusions which Helmholtz, Thomson, and Frankland had enforced before the same audience, was he likely to succeed? If he accepted them, what meaning could be attached to his title which would not make it delusive? Much may yet be said about mind and body; but the Conservation of Energy would have about the same bearing on the subject as the Balance of Trade upon Digestion: this requires food; and food is supplied by trade; and so, what disturbs trade disturbs digestion.

And this seems, in truth, all the connection which Professor Bain succeeds in establishing. I was not present at the lecture; but, besides the usual abstract in last November's *Proceedings*, the whole lecture, apparently pretty much as it was delivered, appeared in *Macmillan*. But for this last circumstance, I should have thought the whole thing had been a mistake, such as will happen—the consequence of a promise hastily given and carelessly performed—and that it might as well be forgotten. In some men's opinion anything is good enough for a popular lecture. But the publication, even in a somewhat ephemeral shape, must be taken to show that Mr. Bain offers his work as a serious contribution to science; and, as such, it calls for criticism. Moreover, he is announced to deliver a course of lectures this spring at the Royal Institution "On Popular Errors." If the estimate I have formed of last year's work be at all correct, his audience may carry away more errors than he rids them of, and the Board of Managers should look to it.

My task would be short if I might assume in my readers such knowledge of this doctrine as may easily be gathered from various accessible sources in our periodical literature, or from the abstracts of Royal Institution lectures; but Professor Bain's opening words warn me that such acquaintance with the subject cannot be relied on; for he as good as confesses a doubt (well justified by the sequel) whether he himself fully understands it. In the following extracts the italics are mine:

"The doctrine is a generality of such compass, that no single form of words seems capable of fully expressing it. . . . My understanding of the doctrine is, that there are five *chief powers or forces* in nature—one mechanical, or molar, the *momentum of moving matter*; the others molecular, or embodied in the molecules, *also supposed in motion*; these are heat, light, chemical force, electricity. . . . Taking the one mechanical force and *those three* of the molecular named heat, chemical force, electricity, there has now been established a definite rate of commutation or exchange when any one passes into any other. The mechanical equivalent of heat, the 772 foot-pounds of Joule, expresses the rate of exchange between mechanical

work. Be this, however, as it may, the conceptions of space and form, once attained, are the most absolute and self-sufficing that science has to deal with. Geometry has nothing to do with physical experiments or conjectures; the most remote of its conclusions are purely deductive; and, when doubted, are tested only by a revisal of the steps, or, if possible, by hitting upon some fresh logical starting-point, or variation of the route, to see whether it leads to the same result.

These characters of intuitiveness or necessary logical connection do not belong to our belief in *Substance—Things in Space*—having an existence and permanency independent of our actual perception of them. That such things are, seems rather an hypothesis we spontaneously and irresistibly make at a time to which our memory does not reach back. Perhaps Comte's theory is true, though hardly the whole truth, that primitive, unguided man explains to himself all external phenomena by attributing to them that nature of which he is personally conscious, and which does not appear to him itself to need explanation:—*he personifies everything*; and, moreover, admits that the things he individualizes may move and undergo some change, as he does, without losing their identity. But he has no intuitive power of distinguishing between what is substance and what is appearance, nor what amount of change in phenomena is enough to indicate that some substance has been added or taken away. The child is not foolish who runs after a rainbow; nor the man who thirty years ago believed in caloric. Eleatics, indeed, and Hindoos were so persuaded that all existence is absolute and unchangeable, as to deny any reality to nature. With these, as Aristotle said, there is no occasion for natural philosophers to argue. Another more modern school there is, of which the more liberal members do, and the more strict do not, allow one without blame to hold that there exists "a hidden external cause of our sensations," to which we may give the name of Matter, or Substance; but who all maintain that this is at best a barren opinion—that what we know is sensation only, and what we infer from experience or reasoning is only the order in which sensations have occurred and will occur. While they keep to generalities, the logic of this school seems irrefragable. But when they descend to particulars, they find themselves obliged to use terms, and even arguments, only fitted to the common notions which they denounce; and no fundamental discoveries in science have ever been made by their methods, or enunciated in accordance with their formulas. We will, therefore, for the present at least, keep to the question in the form first proposed. How do we test the identity of substances when phenomena vary?

If Thales was the first man who both observed and reflected on

the fact that water can become invisible vapour, then snow, and thence back to its original form, unchanged in quantity or any other respect, he deserves to hold his rank as the originator of sound Physics. The previously barren notion, that the same substance may have varying attributes, becomes pregnant with consequences when thus connected with the notion of a reversible cycle or series of cycles. Proteus, the elemental god, may be trusted as unerring, if you can keep your hold on him through all his changes, and see him resume his pristine shape.

And, perhaps, we are unfair to Thales, when we charge him with so rash a theory as that "water" is the material of which all bodies are made. First thoughts are crude; but the language used by early thinkers is also vague; and we are wrong to insist on interpreting the thought by a strict adherence to the proper meaning of the terminology. If we render "earth," "water," "air," by solid, fluid, and gas, the proposition that these words refer only to three *conditions*, not to three *kinds* of matter, is almost certainly true, and is perhaps as near to what he thought as the more usual statement.

He may, indeed, well have believed also, that all the apparently different kinds of matter may be in truth one; for this notion is perhaps not, even now, quite obsolete; though chemistry tells of some three-score "simple substances." But whether the kinds be many, few, or one, the practical meaning of the indestructibility of matter, so far as we have as yet seen, will be much the same. Water is conceived as indestructible within the cycle of its own changes, because, when it reaches any given stage of the cycle, the quantity and quality are constant. Oxygen and hydrogen may also be conceived as indestructible, because, though they change through a wider and more varying cycle (including water and its various conditions within it), there is the same possibility of recurrence, and the same constancy of quantity and quality at each stage. And so of the whole series of chemical substances and combinations.

But this is not all. Proteus is found to be substantial not only because he can be made to resume his shape, but because we can hold him fast through all his changes. There is one quality belonging to all matter—its capacity for motion, or, as Newton terms it, not perhaps very happily, its *vis inertiae*; and this, when duly estimated, is uninfluenced by any change of condition or combination. A full explanation would be out of place here. A concrete illustration must suffice.

Suppose we have put any materials (as our oxygen and hydrogen, in due proportions) into a vessel, and connect it with any machinery and contrivances by which we know we can impart motion to it. Common experience tells us that, generally, the actual motion that

will take place—its *rate*, and often its *direction*—will vary when we vary the quantities of the several materials: with a small quantity of water in the bucket, it can be raised; with a large load, it will overpower the hand at the winch, and so forth. Now it is found that the act of combination (making the materials into water in the supposed case), or subsequent consolidation or vaporisation, or the like, makes no change in the motion. *Whatever the changes of condition or combination*, so long as no quantities are added or subtracted from without, *the relation to "moving force" remains constant*. For ordinary laboratory purposes this is equivalent to saying, the weight remains unaltered; but this is misleading without careful explanation.

It has always been recognised that, for good reasons, the sense of touch and the "muscular sense" are the natural tests between body and mere appearance. Now, muscular exertion is one way of producing motion or "applying moving force." Full scientific investigation, therefore, confirms and gives precision to our first notions, when it defines "equal quantities of matter" as those which take up equal motion (velocity) when subject to the same moving force.

And now we have in outline the full doctrine as to the reality and indestructibility of matter as far as it is the subject of science. The whole quantity of matter in the world remains unchanged, because we measure that quantity by its *vis inertia*, and no physical changes are found to affect that quality in any portion of matter: and the kinds of matter remain permanent, because, defining each kind by all its properties, separate and in combination, new kinds come only from the combination of the old and known kinds, and can be reconverted into them with absolutely unchanged attributes.

In spite of Comte, I am persuaded that some of the old Greeks were fairly on the way, and with good luck might have made some progress in the direction thus indicated, resolving one by one some of the compound substances around them into simpler elements, and in the course of the process establishing some of the chemical laws of combination, and the phenomenal results of them. But the laws of motion, or *Dynamics*, and those branches of science which in modern phrase are classed as general Physics, invoke other principles and require other methods, and it is with these that the doctrine of Energy is concerned.

Motion, or change of place, is a purely geometrical phenomenon; and its laws, once ascertained, lead to purely rational deductions. But the knowledge of these laws lagged behind the progress of geometry, mainly, perhaps, because the fundamental hypothesis (in the Platonic sense) was missed till Galileo's time;—viz., that the *direction and rate* of a body's motion at any time is to be taken as one point of its *actual condition* at that instant, just as its density,

temperature, or colour. We are not to inquire why, being there, it continues to be; but why, if so be, it ceases or changes. This is known as the *First Law of Motion*. We then find that the course of nature allows us still to retain the proposition already arrived at; the *vis inertiae*, or relation to *moving force*, is as independent of this condition—the actual velocity—as of chemical or other conditions. This, properly unfolded, is the substance of the *Second Law of Motion*. And the series of conceptions and definitions to which we are thus led—so naturally, as to seem to many mathematicians necessarily—comes to this: the “quantity of motion”—technically *momentum*—of any body in any direction (the result of past actions) is measured by its velocity estimated in that direction and by the quantity of matter in the body conjointly,—i.e., by the product of the two quantities; and the amount of “moving force” at any moment effective in producing changes in any direction is in like manner measured by the *rate* of change in the momentum. And then we find, as an universal experimental law, that the changes which take place in the motion of any one body are always determined by its *position* with respect to other bodies, and that no such change takes place in one body without an equal and opposite change (according to the measures established) in other bodies, so as to leave the difference between the whole momentum in any one direction and in the opposite direction unchanged by the correlated actions; which is Newton’s *Third Law of Motion*, “Action and reaction are equal and opposite.”

This is probably what Professor Bain had in his memory when he put down *momentum* as one and the sole “molar force.” But in truth it is not one of the correlated energies, though this law enunciates one of the numerical permanencies in nature. We may now pass on to our proper subject, the meaning of the term and doctrine of Energy.

The word and the doctrine must, as is usual, grow fully intelligible together. Roughly, the energy of a body or system is the capacity which it has, and by exercising loses, of changing its own condition or that of others. Thus, a mass of hot iron may heat or convert into steam a mass of water, and in so doing will cool itself. Here the iron has energy to heat or vaporise the water, and the water to cool the iron; and the two relative energies cease together, but leave the compound system of iron and water in a different condition from that in which it started, and therefore with a different capacity for further changes in relation with other masses. A new technical term was needed, because the word “force” is used by mathematicians, English and French, to denote the *time rate* of change of momentum, not the total quantity of change that may take place in given circumstances

before all action ceases. And the doctrine develops itself into this: that we may so define and measure the energies in nature, that as one increases some other diminishes by an equivalent quantity—action and reaction are equal and opposite in a new and extended sense—so that if hypothetically, or on any ground of experience, we assume such an entity as the *total quantity of energy* in the universe, we may say that, like the total quantity of matter, and like the excess of motion in any one direction over the opposite, this is “indestructible.” But this statement demands a caution, which will be given hereafter.

One branch of the doctrine—that which relates to motions free from collision or friction—has long been implicitly known to mathematicians under the familiar name of the conservation of *vis viva*; only the new name was needed to bring out its relation to the other laws of change. It is purely rational—a mere deduction from the laws of motion; but, for that very reason, is more difficult to expound to the uninitiated than is the experimental extension of the doctrine.

Consider any piece of machinery with a limited play in it; for instance, the body of a steam-engine without its boiler, with an upright piston at one end, and a fly-wheel at the other; and suppose it so balanced that the piston will rest at any height we please in the cylinder, with no tendency to rise or fall. We may say that such a system, once at rest, has in it no energy of motion. Let a weight be now placed on the piston. It will press it down; and if we moderate the motion with our hand, the system will come to rest when the piston has reached its lowest possible position. The system has again no energy.

But if we should leave the weight to produce its full effect, it would acquire velocity in its descent, and on its reaching the lowest point, the whole system would have a swing or power which would carry the fly-wheel further round, and the piston up again. If, besides putting on the weight, we give an impulse, whether upwards or downwards, to the machine, we shall increase the whole actual play of the machine, causing, it may be, the fly-wheel to make a complete rotation, and the action to recommence and complete more than one entire circuit. And if we could suppose the surfaces and sockets of the machine such as mathematicians call perfectly smooth, and that it works in a perfect vacuum, calculation shows that motion, once commenced, would continue for ever, the state of the machine as to motion being exactly the same each time it has completed a cycle; the average velocity of the parts being greatest when the weight is at its lowest, and least when it reaches its highest point. The parts of the original machine, which was itself indifferent to motion or position, are now alternately gaining and losing velocity;

while the imposed weight, which, if unfettered by connection with the system, would fall vertically with continually increasing momentum, now alternately falls and rises. We may conceive the whole system as undergoing simultaneously two changes, one (of motion) increasing while the other (of average height) diminishes, and *vice versa*; and attribute them to two *energies*—one of motion, or, as it is coming to be called, kinetic energy,—the other which, for the moment, we will term energy of position.

Calculation shows that if we measure the kinetic energy of each portion of the system, at any instant, by half the product of its momentum and its velocity, and its energy of position by the product of the moving force with which each such portion would fall to the ground if unimpeded, and its height above the lowest point to which it can fall in the connected machine, the sum of these energies remains the same throughout the cycle, is indestructible by any change not brought on by external influences. Our placing the weight on the piston-rod, and our giving an impulse to the machine, were external additions of one energy and the other respectively: our resisting the downward motion was an external diversion of kinetic energy.

Engineers measure the "work done" by horse or coal power, by the weight moved, and the height to which it is raised conjointly. Our proposition is therefore equivalent to saying that in a machine left to itself "work" is alternately done and undone by an equivalent loss and gain of kinetic energy.

The notion of matter once formed, this kinetic energy is an absolute quantity, having no relation to the place and connection of matter in a system; whereas the estimation of energy of position, as above presented, requires a knowledge of the moving force with which free bodies fall towards the earth, and also of the special construction of the machine, so far as regards the limits of its play. The latter restriction can be got rid of by modifying our proposition thus:—"The increase or decrease of kinetic energy between any two positions of the system is equal to the quantity by which the energy of position has been diminished or increased in the interval." We thus deal with relative, not absolute, energy of this kind.

The system of sun and planets (supposing no resisting medium pervaded space) differs from the one we have been considering, in that the moving forces by which each pair of bodies would be affected, if alone in space, are directed in the lines of their mutual directions, and vary according to their mutual distances, instead of being uniform in direction and magnitude, as we there tacitly supposed. Calculation shows that here also the increase or decrease of kinetic energy in the whole system between any two

positions is to be found by estimating (according to mathematical rules applicable to variable quantities like these) all the products of the moving forces acting between each pair of bodies (supposing them alone) by the increase or decrease of their mutual distances, and taking all the mutually approaching bodies as increasing, and the receding ones as diminishing, the kinetic energy. And we thus get a conception and measure of relative energy of position quite analogous to what we got for the action of ordinary weights.

Kinetic energy, whether from its absolute irrelative nature or from its correspondence with the unscientific use of the substantive, is sometimes called "actual" energy. And what I have called energy of position is commonly known as "potential energy," the stuff, I suppose, out of which actual energy is made. Aristotle, had he known and appreciated the facts, would have understood that the raised weight had *δυνάμει* the *ἐνέργεια* with which it finally crashes on the ground. Unfortunately for symmetry of terms, Dynamics, in scientific English, is associated with quite other conceptions than that of potentiality.

Such is the old theory about *vis viva*. But no motion on earth, or, it is surmised, in the heavens either, is free from collision, or friction (which is but a form of it). And in every collision there is an element which does not rank with moving force as we conceive it. The theory, then, fails us; the *vis viva* is always less than that calculated from it. But, on the other hand, we find that every such case of motion is accompanied by some other physical change besides those of position and velocity, generally by an increase of sensible heat in the system. And a true conception of the part which heat plays among phenomenal changes not only completes the theory of motion, but connects it with those of chemical and other changes. Its discovery is one of the great achievements of the present century.

By "heat" technically we do not mean the sensation of warmth; but an energy, in the sense already explained, which we know to be in action when we have that sensation or feel cold, but which we trace throughout nature in other ways also.

We measure "temperature" by the change of density in mercury, or some other standard; and warmth and cold accompany our touch of bodies having temperatures different from that of our finger. But even temperature is not the complete measure of heat. An iron heater, say of 400° temperature, placed in a certain quantity of water, and left to cool down to 390°, will raise the temperature of the water by a measurable number of degrees. If plunged into the same weight of mercury, and allowed to cool just as much, it will have raised the temperature of the mercury about thirty times more than it would the water. We reckon the cooling of the heater as a definite

expenditure of heat, and we conclude that it takes thirty times as much heat to raise water as to raise mercury one degree; and thus we get a definite notion of "quantity of heat."

This being understood, we find, first, that when energy of motion disappears, or its generation is hindered by friction or collision, and no other change takes place but heating—as (for a rough instance, sensibly correct,) if a weight falls into a vessel of water and loses all its impetus,—the quantity of heat generated is exactly proportional to the kinetic energy lost. If a pound of water fall from the height of 1,544 feet into a pound of water, the common temperature will be raised 1° ; or one pound is heated 1° for each 772 "foot-pounds" of potential energy lost.

So far, then, it remains true that energies are commuted, but the sum total—the standards of comparison being duly fixed—remains unchanged. But suppose, now, some other physical change does take place in the collision—for instance, that the water is partly vaporised?

It has long been known that to convert ice into water, or water into vapour, requires a definite expenditure of heat. And we should find, in the case put, that just so much heat as was wanted for the conversion of that quantity of water is non-apparent in the form of temperature: the lost *vis viva* has done one kind of work in partial substitution for another, but the sum is equivalent. And these processes may be performed in the reverse order. Steam passed through cold water, and so reconverted, heats the cooling water, not only in proportion to the difference of temperatures, but also by the whole amount of heat which was required to make the steam. And if compressed air or steam be allowed to expand in the cylinder of our engine, it will raise the weight and give velocity to the fly-wheel, creating both kinetic and potential energy; but in exact equivalence with the energy so produced, will it be found that the air is cooled down, or the steam ultimately condensed with a less supply of cold water.

We pass, as easily in the doctrine of energy as in that touching matter, from the consideration of states of one substance (solid, fluid, gaseous) to that of the combinations and decompositions of chemistry. The main source whence heat is newly generated (not merely transmitted and diffused, as from the sun) is chemical combination; combustion, or combination with oxygen, being the most familiar case. Hydrogen combining with oxygen in definite proportions becomes water, and produces a definite quantity of heat; and exactly the same quantity, or some equivalent energy, must be furnished from other sources before the water can be decomposed into oxygen and hydrogen again. Potassium burning produces still more heat; con-

sequently, if it be thrown into water and decomposes it, the heat, or energy, required for the latter operation will be furnished by the former, and some heat will remain. And so through the whole round of chemical action and reaction.

Was it a true scientific instinct which led the old Greeks to comprise all physical changes under the one name of motion—*κίνησις*? Certainly all these equivalences readily lend themselves to the theory that actual heat is "a mode of motion"—a real *molecular* motion,—and that vaporization, decomposition, &c., which require heat, are modes of *internal work* done against molecular attractions (like lifting the weight, or separating the planets from the sun); while combination, condensation, &c., is the approximation and rearrangement, in virtue of their mutual action or "attraction," of the molecules; in other words, the potential energy is greater in uncombined and less in combined elements. Only we must add to the theory that the *vis viva* of the contracted molecular system does not remain confined to the system, but is rapidly caught up and transferred to other bodies by radiation, conduction, or convection; sensible temperature being entirely due to this transference, and the technical measurement of temperature resting on the definition that it is equal in those bodies which produce no mutual change.

It is not absolutely necessary, however, to accept this view of the ultimate nature of heat, or the molecular constitution of matter. The important fact is that we may take as "unit of energy," either a definite quantity of kinetic, or its equivalent thermal energy; that all mechanical systems in which the natural or free moving forces are simply dependent on the position of the parts, and all chemical and other physical conditions of continuous matter may be classed according to their differences of potential energy—the equivalent in heat, or *vis viva*, of the passage from one to the other—and then, by whatever means and through whatever steps any changes take place, the changes will be numerically equivalent—the sum of energies, actual and potential, remains permanent and indestructible.

It may be well to point out (which is the caution promised in a preceding page) that this does not mean that the activity of the universe, in its popular sense, is permanent. On the contrary, the doctrine of heat brings out more clearly than any previous scientific theory, that whereas all life, all play of phenomena, consists in interchange; the inevitable course of nature is towards dead uniformity by the equal diffusion of heat, the destruction of difference of motion by friction and collision, and the gradual establishment of the most stable chemical combinations. The actual *κόσμος* must, it seems, have started supernaturally at a definite past time, and will, if allowed, run out its series of changes at an incalculably remote but definite date.

This by way of parenthesis. But we have still to mention the electric condition of matter, and its correlation to others.

Its importance is great in tracing the course of operations in nature; but in our present business it takes a subordinate rank, being apparently but a temporary strained state—like that of a spring under pressure—subsisting while other actions are going on, but relapsing into the natural state when these are over, and so leaving no permanent mark in the condition of things.

Thus the common electrical machine is excited at the expense of “a deficiency of heat of friction in the plate glass and rubber,” says Sir William Thomson; and it discharges itself in heat, either in an electric spark or gradually in the “resistance” of the conductors, and resumes its unexcited state. In the galvanic pile, while in full action, chemical combination is going on in the cells, destroying potential energy (as already said); if the circuit is of simple conducting wires, and the whole is mechanically at rest, the due equivalent of heat is produced, partly in the cells and partly in the wires, but distributed according to special laws quite unaccordant with those of the ordinary diffusion of heat from the cells as centres. But if the circuit consist in part of water, or another compound, which may be decomposed at the expense of less heat—*chemical equivalent* for equivalent—than would be generated by the cell combinations, decomposition will take place, and only the difference of potential energies, lost and gained, will appear as heat. And if the wires be movable, and sensible motions take place in virtue of the electric attractions, the *vis viva*, or work done, again reduces the spare heat. When all the chemical action is over in the cells, there will be some almost instantaneous reaction in the system before it reduces itself to the ordinary condition of so much metallic salts and electrically neutral wire; and this will be the measure of the electric energy which was, during the action, subtracted from the other energies of nature and devoted to this use.

Professor Bain, in “The Senses and the Intellect,” has an odd notion that this “undying endurance of an electric wire”—that is, the fact that its electric state, while chemical actions and reactions are going on, is temporary—is owing to the wire being a “compact, resisting, and sluggish mass;” which seems like saying that an elastic ball is more sluggish than a lump of putty. Before proceeding to consider energy in the organic world, one or two remarks may be useful on the nature of the doctrine already sketched out.

It teaches us that there is a certain condition of equivalence in all changes, but it does not tell what kind of changes will take place under any given circumstances. In what direction the parts of a machine will begin to move, what the reactions will be in a mass

of chemical materials, and so forth, are questions to be answered by the engineer or the chemist. What we know beforehand is that if weights descend velocities will be increased, and *vice versa*; if the result is water and carbonic acid, so much heat will have been evolved; and so on. And the circumstances which determine to change are sometimes the consequences of great primeval facts, as the positions of the stars, sometimes small artifices of our own contrivance, founded, of course, on knowledge of nature's laws. Thus oxygen and hydrogen may remain in contact indefinitely long; but throw in a piece of spongy platinum, and the mixture is converted into steam. Or, again, the steam-engine may be ready charged with its water, its fuel, and a lucifer-match, and all its energy remain potential; rub the match, and you start chemical change—heat, vaporisation, kinetic energy, and mechanical work.

In these cases a slight expenditure of external energy has been required to move the platinum, or to rub the match; but the amount of this has no correlation with the amount of the internal energies set in mutual action. We have *stimulated* potential into active energy, not added sensibly to their sum. Again, when the flues and boiler are already at work, we may open the safety-valve, and let all the energy come out in the form of heat and vaporisation; or we may alter the gear, and instead of pumping, it may be, drag a train, or merely increase the velocity of the fly-wheel: or, without our present volition, the machine may be so constructed, that at stated intervals, or under certain circumstances of pressure, &c., changes of this kind take place of themselves. In these cases we neither add energy nor stimulate action, but *direct* it; though I could not undertake to draw the exact line between the proper use of the two words.

It is also observable that our measures of equivalence—as, indeed, all measurements in Physics—are not of sensations, but of quantities of space and time. Bodily fatigue, warmth or cold, blueness, redness, shrillness, nay, even intensity of light or sound, have not been in our thoughts; but motions of the balance, or of the quicksilver, or (had we pursued the subject) the *vis viva* of the vibrations of air, or of the medium in which light is propagated.

In the organic world the range of change is very wide, and its laws very complicated and necessarily difficult to unravel; perhaps, too, some special forces and energies may here come into play. Still, in the opinion of high authorities, I believe of all who have recently studied the subject, such observations and experiments as have been made tend to show, or, at the least, are quite consistent with the belief, that the law of conservation holds here also.

Plants grow by decomposing carbonic acid and other chemical combinations—a process which, in the laboratory, would require

heat, or some equivalent energy, to be supplied. Now plants require solar heat for their growth, and it is conceived—I do not know whether on any direct experimental grounds—that they absorb so much heat as is wanted for their purpose, destroying it as temperature. On the other hand, animals move, do mechanical work, or give out heat; while by respiration and other processes they oxidize their food,—a process which we know is competent to produce these effects. If we take a man in full vigour and in his ordinary state, we may suppose his weight and chemical and other conditions to be approximately the same from week to week for a considerable time. If, then, we could take accurate account of the food he eats, and of the substances which in all ways he throws out of his system, the difference of the potential energy in these two accounts ought to be found equal to the mechanical work and the heat together produced in the same time. Taking a hundred or a still larger number of men would average the results and make them more trustworthy. And experiments of this kind have been made by several observers; and I know not that any of them have misgivings as to the theory of conservation, though there is some divergency in their views as to the course of interchange of internal energies. One of these differences of opinion was the subject of a lecture at the Royal Institution, in June, 1866, by Professor Frankland; and Professor Bain tells us he was of the audience, but he does not appear to have carried away the appropriate lesson and caution.

We move and exert mechanical force by means of our muscles; and our muscles, like all parts of our frame, rapidly wear out, and have to be renewed out of our food. We are a self-repairing engine. Now, Liebig thought that the immediate source of our mechanical power—the energy which disappears when work is done by us—is the potential energy of the muscle itself; for the waste of the muscle is by oxidation or slow burning, which we know is competent either to produce heat or to do equivalent work. It would be as if, in the steam-engine, the work was done by the wear and tear of the piston, wheels, &c., and the business of the coal and steam (food and circulating blood) were only to replace the worn iron. This Professor Frankland, following in the wake of others, disputes; and his conclusion is that “the combustible food and oxygen coexist in the blood which courses through the muscle; but when the muscle is at rest, there is no chemical action between them. *A command is sent from the brain to the muscle; the nervous agent determines oxidation; the potential becomes active energy—motion or heat. Like the piston and cylinder, the muscle itself is a machine: both are subject to wear and tear, but neither contributes in any important degree by its own*

oxidation to the actual production of the mechanical power." I believe some still attribute more of the effective result to this consumption of tissue than Dr. Frankland here admits, but that Liebig's theory is in the main abandoned.

This theory of the Conservation of Energy throughout organic action, and of food being the sole source whence the waste or outward dispersion of that energy is repaired, cannot be said to be so thoroughly established by experiment as to leave no room for rational scepticism, if any one thinks he has *a priori* grounds for doubting it, or merely declines to accept, even provisionally, what may possibly be disproved hereafter. But, if accepted, it has two or three corollaries.

First, the external excitors of sensation—the appulse of sound, light, or odour, or the action of contact—as they act through the nerves, so, no doubt, they affect the physical state of those organs; but their action must be conceived as stimulative only, like that of platinum on the gases, not as sensibly altering the amount of energy in the system.

Next, their total amount must be estimated at any moment by the physical state of all the parts, by the motion, the heat, the position, and mechanical tension, the electric and (may be) *nervous* condition, and the chemical composition of the organs, tissues, and juices. Whether the actual state is, either necessarily or accidentally, associated with a particular mental condition, or whether it has been brought about through volition or emotion, or simply by spontaneous or external agencies, we being unconscious, is quite beside this question.

And, thirdly, our volition—the “command of the brain”—must be viewed as giving a direction only to existing energies, like the engineer opening a valve or altering the gear.

I have spoken throughout hypothetically of a “nervous” condition among those which may interchange with one another in the animal body, subject to the law of conservation. Professor Bain makes its existence a cardinal point in his speculations.

“Animal combustion *maintains* nervous power, or a certain flow of the influence circulating through the nerves, *which circulation of influence*, besides reacting on the other animal processes—muscular, glandular, &c.—has for its distinguishing concomitant the mind. The extension of the correlation of force to mind, if at all competent, must be made through the nerve force, a genuine member of the correlated group.”

If I still expected accuracy in Mr. Bain's use of technical language, I should ask whether “nervous power” and “nerve force” be meant to be identical; and what the “influence” itself is, the circulation of which only is “power;”—whether it is conceived as a self-

existent entity, like matter, not "maintained" at all. But I have learnt to be thankful for a glimmering of meaning.

Now physiologists are apparently not yet agreed whether there is any special "nerve force," or agent requiring a name; that is, any special condition of the matter of the active brain and nerves apart from its state of motion, temperature, electric and chemical energy, analogous to the electric tension of a galvanic pile or frictional electrical machine, the production of which abstracts, for the time being, a definite quantity of physical energy from other forms, to restore it again, in heat or some equivalent, when "nervous excitement" abates. Professor Huxley, lecturing in 1857, maintained the affirmative: whereas Professor Du Bois Raymond, in another lecture, inclined to think that "what we have termed the nervous agent is some internal motion, perhaps even some chemical change, of the substance contained in the nerve-tubes," which he conceives as the result of a special arrangement of "minute centres of chemical action, acting upon each other electrically, and controlling their mutual deviations from their position of equilibrium."

But we are not much concerned here with the precise nature of nervous excitement. What Mr. Bain aims at, so far as the doctrine of energy is concerned, is to show that mental states and changes can be numerically estimated by reference to the changes of physical energy which take place through the nervous machinery. In this point of view all that is of importance is to ascertain, first, whether any physical energy disappears altogether when the mind is affected any way, in which case we should truly have such a measure as he wants, but at the cost of entirely giving up the theory of the conservation of physical energy in the animal body; and, next, whether the energy of the excited nerve is developed entirely from the potential energy which was previously in it, or in the blood-vessels, &c., or is partly derived from that which was in the external exciters of sensation,—in which case the doctrine that the oxidation of food is the sole appreciable source of vital action must be given up.

Without any question, Mr. Bain means to repudiate the notion of mind and body acting and reacting, in a physical sense, one on the other; and to maintain that body is throughout acting on body, mental activity accompanying part of the chain of sequences; although the rather long passage in which he argues this point is, I think, very much obscured by false physics and equivocal terminology. But, then, what does he mean by saying in another page that, according as "the demand of the brain to sustain the *purely mental functions*" is above or below the average, "there will be a corresponding, but inverse, variation of the remainder" of the energy of oxidation of food "available for the more strictly physical processes, as muscular power,

digestive power, *animal heat*, and so on"? If I am to-day in the same nervous state, intense or languid, as I was yesterday, the oxidation of food in the mean time must have come out either in physical work done or in animal heat. The heat may have been produced in the head, and have done harm, or in the toes, where perchance it was needed. But this is matter of direction, not of quantity.

On the second question it is not so clear what his opinion is; or, rather, his notions seem too indistinct to allow us to suppose he has any. Neither in "The Senses and Intellect" nor in his lecture does he ever show any power of discriminating between stimulus, moving force, and energy—between the act of cutting a string by which a weight is suspended, the force of gravity by which it then falls, and the numerical measure of the potential energy (of position) which it loses, to gain the same amount in motion or in heat. He does not assume the attitude of a sceptic, but of an implicit believer of the "usual position" that animal combustion "yields *all* the manifestations of power in the animal frame." But then, after laying down the fundamental postulates of his theory (on which I shall have something more to say presently) in these terms—

"The mental manifestations are in exact proportion to their physical supports. If the doctrine of the thorough-going connection of mind and body is good for anything, it must go this length. There must be a numerically proportioned rise and fall of the two together;"

he proceeds to say—

"There is, although we may not have the power to fix it, a *sensational equivalent*" (the italics are here his own) "of heat, of food, of exercise, of sound, of light, of alcohol, of *odours*, of music, of *spectacle*. It is this definite relation between outward agents and the human feelings that renders it possible to discuss human interests from the objective side; and, although the estimate is somewhat rough, *this is not owing to the indefiniteness of the sensational equivalent*, but to the complications of the human system, and chiefly to the narrowness of the line that everywhere divides the wholesome from the unwholesome degrees of all *stimulants*."

But if food be the "support" of all mental manifestations, then music, or any of the substantive nouns I have italicized, are not. How, then, can the "manifestation" be at once proportional to one and equivalent to the other? Is the work or any other manifestation of power of a steam-engine proportional to the lucifer-match which fires the coal? As an energy, the music of the *Messiah* impinging on the tympanum is equal to that of a salvo of artillery of so many guns at such a distance; but as stimulants that set going our complex system of nerves, arresting our attention, exciting our emotions, recalling associations, they have no fixed equivalence whatever.

Here, in the midst of this confusion, we seem to reach the central

point of Professor Bain's speculations, which are seen to resolve themselves into two main positions : one, of the proportionality of mental "manifestations" to the accompanying physical changes ; the other, that where excess of mental excitement, or mental work, disturbs or destroys bodily functions or vitality, it is because it uses up the limited supply of energy that we get out of our food.

1. Definitions are good or bad as they help or hinder good classification ; but they are not essentially true or false, but, within wide limits, arbitrary. If it be found that a ploughman, carefully managing his tackle, and directing his own and his horses' footsteps during a week, has oxidized his brain as much as Professor Bain while he composed this lecture, he is logically free, if he chooses, to call the one exertion equal to the other. But unless this supposed fact necessarily or ordinarily connotes some other, the definition is barren at best ; and it may well be bad, misleading, if the relation between either ploughman's or lecturer's work, viewed objectively as works of art, on the one hand, and brain-waste on the other, be in reality very fluctuating. What, for instance, if the effective work of the nerve, when really measurable (as in exciting muscular motion), should be found proportional to some mechanical vibration or some electric state, and the waste of tissue to be principally by wear and tear of the machine ; as in the muscle itself, according to Dr. Frankland ?

But Mr. Bain is not here professing to lay down definitions, but asserting or postulating a proposition ; which, to have any meaning, presumes that mental manifestations are measurable in their own nature, without reference to those physical supports with which they are to be compared, and that his readers know how, in principle at least, so to measure their proportions.

Physical philosophers, we have seen, eschew as much as possible any such attempt. It is fit that the psychologist should give us some hint how he would have us proceed. What is the proportion, as matter of pure consciousness, between a sound, a colour, a touch, and an emotion of surprise or grief, that Mr. Bain should tell us the truth of his theory depends on these proportions being found to be the same as those of their respective physical supports ? Nay, I am disposed to go further, and to question, at least, whether our use of the more indefinite words "greater" and "less," even in regard of sensations which we consider as modifications of one confined species, be not founded on association with facts of size and number. If a child be placed in a lighted room, the source of illumination being concealed, and first one, then two, then three candles be used for that purpose, he will, no doubt, perceive a similarity and a difference between the three phenomena ; and also, probably, that the difference

between the first and second sensation is something like in kind to that between the second and third. But let him be taught the meaning of greater and less by reference to number or to size, by letting him see and handle one, two, and three yard measures separately and together; will he see any analogy between this numerical and measurable difference and the former? When he has learnt the machinery by which the gradations of light are produced, no doubt he will associate the sensations and the names. But, if this speculation be rejected, there yet appears to be no bridge, besides the physical machinery, to connect even blue with green, warmth with cold—let alone blue with warmth, and so forth—by any independent scale of proportion.

2. No one disputes that when our minds are very active, or much excited—when we either think very energetically and continuously, or receive shocks of pain, fear, or even pleasure—our health often suffers; and it would be a worthy task for a physician to investigate, in the light of the newest physiological discoveries, what course of life is safest, and what are the chief dangers and safeguards in any given course of life. No fanciful theory of numerical equivalences, no *a priori* notion about mind and matter, or body, is necessary to justify such an inquiry, however much right or wrong preconceptions may help or hinder. Being no physician, I must content myself with pointing out what appear to be errors in Mr. Bain's treatment of the subject.

First, then, he supposes that in "a human being with average physical constitution in respect of nutritive vigour, and fairly supplied with food and with air, or oxygen . . . the result of the oxidation of the food is a definite total of force, which may be variously distributed." I apprehend, however, that, in such a case, the appetite will exercise a discretion, and take in so much food, more or less, as is needed, which the stomach will proceed to digest, and the arteries and glands to distribute. So that if one such man does think a little more than his neighbour, his physical power need not necessarily be diminished one jot—at least not for want of supply. This vitiates a large part of Mr. Bain's reasoning. An odd instance is, that he puts down our relish for food as one, though among the "least extravagant," of the modes in which our blood is *spent*. Surely, eating heartily is seldom found to "cost the physical system" much, unless in the way of over-stuffing. And the general drift of his illustrations—I cannot call them reasonings,—and the mild Epicureanism which he founds on them,—Be not too intellectual, nor righteous overmuch, nor yet too fond of pleasure—lose most of their point when we bear in mind the elasticity of our nutritive apparatus.

But there appears to me to be a much greater error running

through the whole of this part of the lecture. He treats as kindred processes mental excitement and mental labour, pleasures and pains, sensations and recollections, with attention and volition,—in his own classification, Feeling, Will, and Thought : and he speaks of no other mischief or danger in the excess of any of them, but from excess of pressure on the “physical supports”—a greater demand for nourishment than the organs of digestion can supply.

But surely there are other diseases of our complicated organization besides atrophy, or over-oxidation of the tissues. Mr. Bain is fond of comparing our nerves to telegraph-wires. Do these never go wrong from any cause except want of power in the batteries? Is there never faulty insulation or actual disruption of continuity?

And if so, is it not natural to expect, while no proof is alleged to the contrary, that such essentially different mental states and actions as he lumps together will generate different classes of diseases? In simple sensations we are passive :—

“The eye it cannot choose but see ;
We cannot bid the ear be still ;
Our bodies feel, where'er they be,
Against or with our will.”

And so, to a great extent, when we let our memories follow their natural associations, or when we simply yield to emotion :—

“Nor less I deem that there are Powers
Which of themselves our minds impress ;
That we can feed this mind of ours
In a wise passiveness.”

This is quite in accordance with Professor Bain's own philosophy, as elsewhere developed. Is it likely that a sudden shock in this kind produces its ill-effect by chemical exhaustion?

But the active mental functions—attention, dwelling on or sustaining the nervous excitement—volition ;—these would, indeed, seem likely to bring on exhaustion ; not, however, in proportion to the actual excitement, which, on Mr. Bain's theory, must be feebler than the original sensation ; but as the wear and tear of machinery is greater when we strain it to go our way, instead of that most natural to it ; or as we may stretch india-rubber till it loses its elasticity.

I speak in ignorance of the probable answer ; but what, in fact, are found to be the conditions of the various organs according as death occurs from fright or from mental exhaustion? What is the condition of a paralyzed nerve, a softened brain, or an undigesting stomach, in respect of nutrition and chemical potentiality? Is the main fault, in all the cases, there? Or is it sometimes in some small chemical or even mechanical change, which induces deadness to the

ordinary *stimulants*—a refusal to obey the helm? And now, having gone through all the points where this lecture grapples with physical science, we may ask ourselves what it comes to.

That the laws which govern the world which we perceive, and those under which we do thus perceive it, or even afterwards recollect and act upon our sensations, have some meeting-points, is certainly not news now-a-days. But Mr. Bain's thesis is, that there is some notable connection between these mental acts and that aspect of nature which enables us to estimate its condition quantitatively, and to assert that, in that respect, it never varies; an aspect only obtained by dis severing our standards of measure from our direct mental impressions. And setting aside mere assertions (which, moreover, contradict one another), the utmost his argument reaches to is that nervous action, with which mental action is in close relation, may sometimes fail from starvation!

There is intercalated in the lecture an episode, not unprovocative of discussion, on the history of opinion as to mind or soul, and on the "specially metaphysical difficulties" of the relationship of mind and body. I have occupied space enough on more definite and tangible questions, and must content myself with giving a specimen of what the reader may find there.

He thinks most of the difficulties others have made are "factitious." The real difficulty (if I do not misunderstand him) is, that sometimes the emotions which are excited by external objects—the smell of the hawthorn is his example—are so overpowering, as for the time to obliterate our perception of external objects themselves. "We think of nothing extended; we are in a state where extension has no footing; there is to us place no more. Such states are of short duration, mere fits, glimpses, &c." In short, the state of Trench's Monk listening to the bird.

I do not understand the difficulty, as existing in the mind of a philosopher who holds that our attribution of extension to the objects of sensation is by an acquired habit of rapid judgment. But, such being the statement of the difficulty, here is the solution:—

"We are entitled to say that *the same being* is, by alternate fits, *object* and *subject*, under extended and under unextended consciousness; and that without the extended consciousness the unextended could not arise. Without certain peculiar *modes of the extended*—what we call a cerebral organization, and so on—we could not have these *times of trance*, our pleasures, our pains, and our ideas, which at present we undergo fitfully and alternately with our extended consciousness."

Shade of Berkeley! What, and to whom belonging, is our extended consciousness? Does it mean that I cannot feel or think unless some one else sees my brain? And is this an explanation?

D. D. H.



A SHORT PLEA FOR LATIN VERSE.

I PURPOSE to speak of Latin verse as a school exercise. To this my space confines me, though I would gladly say something on its behalf as a recreation, and even, if I may venture to use the expression, as an occupation of more mature years. My very subject, of course, implies that classical training is to remain the basis of education, but nothing will be said inconsistent with a liberal recognition of the claims of science and of our own language and literature. My own feeling is strongly in favour of Mr. Sidgwick's suggestion* that Greek should be excluded from the regular curriculum, at least in its earlier stage. I state this opinion, though I cannot now attempt any justification of it, because it defines the position which I wish to take up. I would have one of the classical languages taught thoroughly; there are preponderating reasons, which it is not now the time to discuss, why this one should be Latin; and I maintain that, in teaching Latin, the practice of verse composition not only cannot be dispensed with, but is one of the most efficient means which an instructor can employ.

1. I plead for Latin verse alone. Greek verse composition, indeed, must form part of the examinations which are to test the highest scholarship, and must be practised by those who purpose to compete in them, that is, by the very best scholars of the very best schools. To them I would gladly see it confined. To

* "Essays on a Liberal Education," p. 141.

make it a general exercise for the upper forms of any school seems a mistake. From the vast majority of those who practise it nothing is ever obtained at all equal to the vast cost of production. It is one of the worst mistakes in the system of our great classical schools that we subject whole classes of boys to the discipline which suits only the finer spirits among them. We treat a fifth form (I use the term to describe that which comes next to the highest) as if every boy were capable of acquiring the scholarship, which is in fact utterly beyond even the hopes of four out of five. And even for those who have some special aptitude for classical study, Greek verse is very seldom an appropriate task. It is never written with enthusiasm, very seldom with anything like success. The iambic—for the other forms of versification are practically out of the question for school-boys—is, in truth, like our own blank verse, a metre which it is easy to write in some fashion, and very difficult to write well. Often tame and monotonous, even in the hands of a master, it fails to catch the ear of a tyro with any marked melody. It has further disadvantages in the rigid laws which limit its diction, and in the paucity and mutual resemblance of the models which it is bound to imitate. Its ordinary success is to be a skilfully composed cento of phrases from the Greek tragedians; to give it anything like originality is generally beyond the power of even accomplished scholars.

2. I plead for Latin verse *translation*, not for original composition. The practice of the public schools exhibits a remarkable diversity in this respect.* At Winchester and Eton, for instance, the amount of original composition largely exceeds that of translation. At Merchant Taylors' and St. Paul's it is seldom or never practised. But it is from the customs of Eton that the popular notion of verse-making is derived, and the customs of Eton seem to be, in this respect, singularly injudicious. I find that in the first and second divisions (for the sake of clearness, I substitute these for the local names) the exercises are divided in about equal proportions between original composition and translation; but that in the six divisions following these, numbering about three hundred boys, the exercises are wholly original. The age of these lads will range, I suppose, from thirteen, or even twelve, to sixteen. This is with most minds, clever as well as dull, a period of great poverty and barrenness of thought. Exceptions, of course, there are, which become not unfrequent as we approach the later limit.† But the rule is that

* I draw my information from the returns given in the Report of the Commission (1861), as being the latest accessible evidence.

† Such was Bishop Lonsdale, in whose biography we find two or three original compositions of great merit, written when he was fifteen. But then Bishop Lonsdale was a very extraordinary case. A friend said of him, at *three*, that he could read better than his father.

during this time the originating faculties are inactive. The fact is that the energies of the mind are otherwise employed; that, busy with acquiring and arranging knowledge, it ceases to invent. Every one must have observed how often the brilliant fancy of the child becomes obscured in the boy. A system which ignores this fact is surely a great mistake. Nothing can be more wasteful of energy, more dispiriting, both to the teacher and the taught, than the habitual exaction of an inappropriate task. It is against this practice that much of the outcry which is commonly made against verse-making is in truth directed. It is from this that the evils which popular opinion associates with it chiefly spring. Manifestly there must spring from it *the* evil which always arises where an insufficient supply encounters a demand that must be met, namely, that the article supplied is not genuine. The scholar gives up as his own that which is not his own, often honestly thinking, according to his light, that it is, when he has ingeniously pieced together fragments of Virgil or Ovid, not too large to be appropriated; sometimes, it is to be feared, knowing that it is not, when he has had recourse to the more fertile talent of a contemporary or to the traditionary wisdom of the *Vulgar-book*. But the system is happily passing away. Five-and-twenty years ago it prevailed almost universally. My own recollections (I was taught by a Winchester man) are that, after a course of "Bland," I never did a verse that was not original. I hope that the experience of the next generation will be entirely different. Original composition should, I think, be wholly banished from the routine of school exercises. Any exceptional faculty of producing it that might exist would be sufficiently encouraged by the stimulus of an extra prize. It is hardly necessary to say that these observations are not intended to apply to scholars of a more mature age. Translated verse must always move in fetters, however gracefully and easily these may be worn. If the art is to be preserved from decadence, it must occasionally be practised under conditions which admit of perfection.

3. I plead for Latin verse translation as *practised within reasonable limits and after a reasonable method*. Prosody must, perhaps, be illustrated by some metrical exercise of a mechanical kind, as long as we retain our strange insular fashion of teaching quantities by a laborious system of rules, and unteaching them by a monstrous pronunciation. But, after Prosody has been learnt, I would exclude verses from the next period of school work. The special advantages which they possess are not such as to be generally available under the circumstances of that period; they are simply another difficulty, to some minds peculiarly aggravating, superadded to the other difficulties with which the learner is then struggling. What has been said

before about the premature and indiscriminate use of exercises which belong not to general classical training, but to scholarship, finds here an illustration. We are seeking to discover whether a boy have any faculty of acquiring language, and, before we have ascertained its existence, we apply what is really a somewhat searching test of its power. We demand a literary effort of some nicety from minds which can have no real appreciation of the literature which supplies the model, and only the most rudimentary knowledge of the language in which it is to be written. I cannot blame any vehemence of invective levelled against this system, or against the mechanical appliances which it uses. These, of whatever kind they are, full sense or half sense, limbs to be pieced together, or skeletons to be clothed with flesh, are almost equally detestable. I would banish the whole tribe, and indeed all verse-making whatsoever, from the earlier period of education (reaching, say, in the average boy, to the age of fifteen). At present, our pupils write too much and read too little. If we could abridge for them the weary task of exercise writing, if we could deliver them from the unnecessary burden of a second dead language to be learnt, we might make our classical teaching not only a discipline to them, but also a culture; we might awaken in them a sense of human interest and literary beauty where now they see only a series of puzzles which they are required to disentangle. It would help to this end if we could make our exercises for this period chiefly translations into English, in which surely all the rigorous exactness that constitutes the essential value of a mental training might be required. But again I can only indicate, not justify my opinion. I pass on without delay to my main proposition, that for the second period of a classical education Latin verse composition is the best, the easiest, the most readily available exercise which the teacher can command.

But it will be asked, Will these boys be able to accomplish a task for which they are now prepared by practice, early begun and continued without interruption, which will then be wholly new to them? We cannot really answer the question without an experience more extensive than what we now possess. Instances, indeed, may be alleged. I have in my mind, as I write, the case of a lad who never wrote a Latin verse till he was sixteen, and now is at least a match in the art for any of his fellows, and that in a school where it is held in especial honour. But such instances are sure to be exceptional cases, and may be said to prove nothing but what may be done by a boy of unusual powers. We can but say that no faculties are strengthened by premature exercise, that the mind is very likely to be irretrievably prejudiced against a task which has been imposed upon powers as yet inadequate. In a greater freshness of the intellect, in a vigour which has not been wasted in grappling with difficulties,

too great only when encountered too soon, and in the wider range of reading which the relief from other tasks will have made possible, we shall find more than a compensation for the little that we may lose in the way of mechanical skill and the knack that is acquired by practice. Is it not certain that for this purpose, not to mention any other, time will be better spent in reading Virgil and Ovid, in thus learning what Latin verse ought to be, than in perpetrating innumerable blunders and barbarisms, which it must be thenceforward one of the scholar's chief duties to forget? With this we must leave the matter, which, indeed, is not of essential, though it is of considerable, importance.

It is plain that when we have reached the period in which *scholarship* is to be taught, we must use the exercise of translation from English into Latin (it is of Latin alone that I am speaking). The question is simply this: Is this translation to be of prose only, or of prose and verse? Now, though it is true that we all talk prose continually without knowing it, it is not true that prose is the earliest and most natural *literary* form of language. On the contrary, in every literature that we are acquainted with, the poet has come before the prose writer; and, what is more to our present purpose, the development of the individual resembles the development of the nation. A metrical form generally attracts both the rarer faculty in childhood which invents, and the more common talent which appreciates. In the causes which account for this preference, we have the best defence of the practice of verse writing, and it so happens that the Latin language exhibits them with peculiar distinctness.

Latin verse is far *easier* than Latin prose. I cannot do better than quote the words of Professor Conington on this subject:—

“I believe it [verse composition] is a thing which falls much more [than prose] within the range of a clever boy's capacity. The points which distinguish a good verse from a bad one are perceived and appropriated with comparative ease at an age when the framing of a sentence is still a mystery—a mystery all the greater because it is at first sight so simple.”*

I presume that few of my readers need to be cautioned against the delusive notion that it must be easier to put fifty words together without the restrictions of metre than with them. It may be useful, however, briefly to indicate some of the facts of the case. The first and most obvious advantage which Latin verse possesses is that it consists, for the most part, of short and simple sentences. In the Elegiac metre, to which I would for a considerable period restrict the exercises, the sense is rarely carried beyond the end of the second line. Where there is not an absolute period there is almost always a pause which is syntactically equivalent to it. There is, consequently, nothing that resembles that elaborate structure of

* Report of Public Schools Commission, Appendix, vol. ii. p. 22.

sentences which, in the great Latin prose writers, defies the successful imitation of even the most practised scholars. The long chain of clauses, with their subtle connection of thought, the exact and logical sequence of moods and tenses, find no place in the easy and simple fluency of the Elegiac couplet. From the great difficulties of the *oratio obliqua*, and of that subtle use of the conjunctive mood which baffles regular definition, verse is almost wholly free; and so we are told, and with perfect truth, that it is a less efficient test of scholarship than prose. But this fact is its best recommendation for the purpose for which we want it. At the period of which we speak the simpler test is the more useful. The verses of "fifth form" boys will exhibit many degrees of differences; their prose will be almost equally bad, or, at least, unlike what prose should be. Its relative merit will be little else than that of the most rudimentary exercise, the absence or rarity of false concords.

Besides its greater grammatical simplicity, verse has another advantage in what—paradoxical as the statement may seem—appears to be its chief difficulty. Metre is regulated by laws which are simple, well defined, and easily followed. The rhythm of prose is an extremely subtle and delicate quality, which it requires long practice to appreciate, and which it is impossible to describe by rules. Give even a good mature scholar the *disjecta membra* of a long Ciceronian sentence, and he will probably lose much of the spirit and melody of the original in putting them together, while he would be able to reproduce almost exactly a page of Virgil. The unpractised ear will catch the strongly marked music of verse long before it can note either the absence or the presence of the same quality in prose.

The practical result is that good prose is very seldom written by boys, I might say by scholars, while good verse is comparatively common. Whether it is good enough to have satisfied a Roman ear we cannot say, but it is certainly often such as would escape detection, were it presented to us under the name of Ovid or Tibullus. We have, however, chiefly to consider what lies within the reach, not of unusual, but of average abilities; and it is here that the superiority of verse is most conspicuous. Many boys who are quite unable to construct a good prose sentence will frequently hit on a good verse or couplet—a small achievement absolutely, but of immense relative importance both to the pupil and the teacher.

This naturally suggests a consideration the importance of which it is not easy to overstate. Latin verse is *the* part of a boy's school work in which he is most likely to feel a certain pleasure and pride. For this preference it is not difficult to account. Verse is written, as has been said, with comparative ease. Its excellence is such that a taste imperfectly formed can, at least in part, appreciate it. It does

something to satisfy the love of melodious sound which is often a strong instinct in minds of a finer temper. And, above all, it has the charm of being something which the mind itself has produced. In everything else the learner feels that he is treading old paths; but his verses are his own. Πᾶς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔργον ἀγαπᾷ is as true of school-boys as of men. To many a lad *versus meditari canoros* is almost his earliest intellectual delight. A task that is done with pleasure is no common thing, and never will be, whatever changes we may introduce into our systems of education. I am sure that no schoolmaster can afford to give up a part of his work which rouses an interest, I might almost say an enthusiasm, which boys are not ashamed to confess, and which is particularly independent of the perilous excitements of competition. I would welcome any new means which may be discovered of compassing this end. To those who advocate the claims of science and of other branches of knowledge I wish all the success which the more moderate among them desire, and that chiefly because they will add to what we already possess new tests of ability, will do something to lessen the great mass of stupidity with which we contend in vain. But I earnestly deprecate the abandonment of an efficient instrument which we find ready to our hands,—an instrument of which the German teachers, most weighty authorities on such a matter, envy us the possession. Work that requires a real intellectual effort, but can yet be done with comparative ease, be done well, and be done with pleasure, seems to me to fulfil all the conditions of a good exercise.

ALFRED CHURCH.



THE NATIONAL INCOME OF THE UNITED KINGDOM—WAGES, PROFITS, RENTS.

1. *National Income of the United Kingdom.* By R. DUDLEY BAXTER, M.A. Read before the Statistical Society of London, 21st January, 1868. London: Macmillan & Co. Pp. 100.
2. *Wages and Earnings of the Working Classes; with some Facts illustrative of their Economic Condition, drawn from Authentic and Official Sources, in a Report to Michael T. Bass, Esq., M.P.* By LEONI LEVI. London: Murray, 1867. Pp. 140.

“**I**NSTEAD of using only comparative and superlative words and intellectual arguments,” says Sir William Petty, in the Preface to his “Political Arithmetic; or, Discourse concerning the Extent and Value of Lands, People, Buildings, Husbandry,” &c., “I have taken the course (as a specimen of the political arithmetic I have long aimed at) to express myself in terms of number, weight, or measure; to use only arguments of sense, and to consider only such causes as have visible foundations in nature, leaving those that depend upon the mutable minds, opinions, appetites, and passions of particular men to the consideration of others.” When this was written, probably about 1680, it was a great innovation and discovery to despise the “comparative and superlative words and intellectual arguments,” and to seek the truth in national affairs by using only “arguments of sense.” Petty wrote, as he tells us, to disabuse his countrymen of the unreasonable despondency into which they had fallen after the great Fire, the Plague, and the Dutch invasion.

“The king,” says he, “has a greater navy and stronger guards than

before our calamities; the clergy rich, and the cathedrals in repair; most land has been improved, and the price of food so reasonable as that men refuse to have it cheaper by admitting of Irish cattle; and, in brief, no man needs want who will take moderate pains. That some are poorer than others ever was and ever will be; and that many are naturally querulous and envious is an evil as old as the world. These general observations, and that men eat and drink and laugh as they used to do, have encouraged me to try if I could also comfort others, being satisfied myself that the interest and affairs of England are in no deplorable condition."

Mr. Dudley Baxter and Mr. Leoni Levi have written books on the principles of Petty, but not impelled by the considerations which influenced him, namely, to rescue their countrymen from undue despondency. On the contrary, the object of both writers is rather to show solid reasons for enlarging the estimates which have lately been received regarding the amount of the national income.

In a speech at Liverpool, in the early part of 1866, Mr. Gladstone placed the earnings and incomes of the working classes of the United Kingdom at two hundred and fifty millions sterling. Both Mr. Levi and Mr. Baxter believe they can prove that it reaches a very much larger sum, as we shall see presently. The scope of Mr. Baxter's inquiry is larger than Mr. Levi's. Mr. Baxter treats of the entire national income—that is to say, of the annual revenues accruing to the owners of lands, houses, mills, shops, and other real property; to the proprietors of shares, mortgages, stocks, bonds, and all other descriptions of personal property; revenues or incomes derived from all kinds of trade and business, wholesale and retail; and earnings or incomes arising from professions and official employments, and from the wages of manual labour. Mr. Baxter divides his inquiry, from first to last, into two principal categories of (I.) upper and middle classes, and (II.) manual-labour class; and in each of these classes he further seeks to distinguish between (A.) persons or heads of families receiving or possessing incomes in their own right, or by virtue of their own position, services, or exertions, and (B.) the still larger class of persons—wives, children, and relatives—dependent on these incomes. Mr. Baxter's phraseology takes the descriptive form for these two categories of (A.) persons with incomes or wages, and (B.) persons without incomes or wages.

Before, however, we consider the results arrived at by Mr. Baxter and Mr. Levi, it will assist us materially to ascertain what sort of corresponding figures have been arrived at by previous computors of authority. If we can ascertain pretty clearly how much progress we have actually made since a given date, we shall be better able to understand both our present condition and our future prospects.

And here we naturally recur to the wonderful tract by Gregory King, compiled somewhere about 1696, freely and unfairly used by

Davenant, but not published in full till 1802,* when it was given by Chalmers as an appendix to an enlarged edition of his own valuable "Estimate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain."

The sixth chapter of King's treatise is entitled "The Annual Income and Expense of the Nation as it stood anno 1688," and as Chalmers's volume is not readily met with, we do not hesitate to make the following extract:—

(A.) 1688. ENGLAND AND WALES.—Gregory King.—General Estimate of Income and Expenses of Living.

The ANNUAL INCOME and EXPENSE of the NATION as it stood anno 1688.

	Million £
That the yearly <i>income</i> of the nation anno 1688 was	43,5†
That the yearly <i>expense</i> of the nation was	41,7
That then the yearly <i>increase</i> of wealth was	1,8
<hr/>	
That the yearly <i>rent</i> of the lands was about	10,0
Of the burghage or housing about	2,0
Of all other hereditaments about	1,0
<hr/>	
In all	13,0
That the yearly produce of trade, arts, and labours was about	30,5
<hr/>	
In all	43,5
<hr/>	
That the number of inhabited houses being about	1,30†
The number of families about	1,36
And the number of people about	5,60
<hr/>	
The people answer to 4½ per house and 4 per family.	
That the yearly estates or incomes of the several families answer:—	
In common to about	£32 0 0 per family
And about	7 18 0 „ head
That the yearly expense of the nation is about	7 11 4 „ head
And the yearly increase about	0 6 8 „ head
<hr/>	
That the whole value of the kingdom in general is about	650
<hr/>	
Viz.,—The 13 million £ of yearly rents, at about 18 years' purchase	234
The 30½ million £ per annum by trade, arts, labours, &c., at near 11 years' purchase (which being the value of the 5½ millions of people at £60 per head), comes to	330
The stock of the kingdom in money, plate, jewels, and household goods, about	28
The stock of the kingdom in shipping, forts, ammunition, stores, foreign or home goods, and provisions for trade abroad or consumption at home, and all instruments and materials relating thereto	33
The live-stock of the kingdom in cattle, beasts, fowl, &c.	25
<hr/>	
	650

The national income here given for England and Wales exactly one hundred and eighty years ago is forty-three and a half millions

* "Natural and Political Observations and Conclusions upon the State and Condition of England, 1696." By Gregory King, Esq., Lancaster Herald (App. to Chalmers's "Estimate," ed. 1802).

† 43,5 reads, of course, £43,500,000, and 1,30 reads £1,300,000.

sterling, and this sum covers all the descriptions of income included by Mr. Baxter.

But one of the most valuable and curious parts of King's book is the detailed table of Classes of income and expense which forms the latter portion of his sixth chapter, and is put forward as the verification of the larger results quoted above.

The table itself is too extensive to be inserted here without abridgment, but we have compiled from it the following abstract, carefully observing King's somewhat curious order of arranging the classes, but venturing so far to vary the text as to break the table into groups, I., II., &c.

1688. ENGLAND AND WALES.—Gregory King.—Estimate of Class Incomes.

No. of Families.	Rank, &c.	Yearly Income.	Persons per Family.
	(I.)	£	
160	Temporal lords	2,800	40
26	Spiritual lords	1,300	20
800	Baronets	880	16
600	Knights	650	13
3,000	Esquires	450	10
12,000	Gentlemen	280	8
	(II.)		
5,000	Persons in offices	240	8
5,000	Do.	120	6
2,000	Merchants and traders by sea	400	8
8,000	Do. land	200	6
	(III.)		
10,000	Persons in the law	140	7
2,000	Clergymen	60	6
8,000	Do.	45	5
	(IV.)		
40,000	Freeholders	84	7
140,000	Do.	50	5
150,000	Farmers	44	5
	(V.)		
16,000	Persons in science and the liberal arts	60	5
	(VI.)		
40,000	Shopkeepers and tradesmen	45	4½
60,000	Artisans and handicrafts	40	4
	(VII.)		
5,000	Naval officers	80	4
4,000	Military officers	60	4
511,586			
	(VIII.)		
50,000	Common seamen	20	3
364,000	Labouring people and out-servants	15	3½
400,000	Cottagers and paupers	6½	3½
35,000	Common soldiers	14	2
849,000			

IX.
Vagrants, 30,000.

Some of the figures in this table are very curious. The average income of a peer at the Revolution is put at £2,800; of a baronet, at £800; of an esquire—that is, of the mass of the county families—at £450; merchants and traders by sea—that is, of the most considerable merchants in London, Bristol, and elsewhere—at £400; the freeholders stand at an average of say £60; the wages of artisans and handicraftsmen at 16s. per week, or £40 a year; and common labourers and out-servants at 6s. a week, or £15 a year.

The general summary deducible from King's figures of income seems to be this,—the population being estimated at five and a half millions, a result near the truth:—

	Million £	
1688. Real personal estate, lands, houses, &c.	13	Ann. Income.
„ Trades, professions, and offices	10	„
	23	„
„ Wages of manual labour	20	„
	43	„

We shall by-and-by find that these proportions agree with the facts of the present time.

The computations of King, especially as regards the wages of labour, are confirmed by Petty in a most remarkable passage in the chapter in which he undertakes to show “that a small country and few people may, by their situation, trade, and policy, be equivalent in wealth and strength to a far greater people and territory, and particularly how conveniences for shipping and water carriage do most eminently and fundamentally conduce thereunto.” He says:—

“Having intimated the way by which the Hollanders do increase their people, I shall here digress to set down the way of computing the value of every head with another, and that by the instance of the people in England, viz.:—

“Suppose the people of England to be six millions in number, and their expense at £7 per head to be forty-two millions; suppose also that the rent of the lands be eight millions, and the yearly profit of the personal estate be eight millions more; it must needs follow that the labour of the people must have supplied the remaining twenty-six millions; the which multiplied by twenty (the mass of mankind being worth twenty years' purchase as well as land), make five hundred and twenty millions as the value of the whole people; which number, divided by six millions, makes above £80 sterling to be the value of each head of man, woman, and child, and of adult persons twice as much; from whence we may learn to compute the loss we have sustained by the plague, by the slaughter of men in war, and by the sending them abroad into the service of foreign princes.

“The other trade of which the Hollanders have rid their hands is the old patriarchal trade of being cowkeepers, and in a great measure of that which concerns the ploughing and sowing corn, having put that employment upon the Danes and Polanders, from whom they have their young cattle and their corn. Now here we may take notice that as trades and curious arts

increase, so the trade of husbandry will decrease; or else the wages of husbandmen must rise, and consequently the rents of lands must fall.

"In proof whereof I dare affirm that if all the husbandmen of England who now earn but 8*d.* a day* on those estates could become tradesmen and earn 16*d.* a day (which is no great wage, 2*s.* and 2*s.* 6*d.* being usually given), that then it would be the advantage of England to throw up their husbandry, and to make no use of their lands but for grass horses, milch cows, gardens, and orchards, &c.; which, if it be so, and if trade and manufacture have increased in England—that is to say, if a greater part of the people apply themselves to those faculties than they did heretofore, and if the price of corn be no greater now than when husbandmen were more numerous and tradesmen fewer—it follows from that single reason (though others may be added) that the rents of land must fall. As, for example, suppose the price of wheat to be 5*s.* or 60*d.* per bushel; now, if the rent of the land whereon it grows be the third thereof, then of the 60*d.*, 20*d.* is paid for the land and 40*d.* for the husbandman; but if the husbandman's wages should rise one-eighth part, or from 8*d.* to 9*d.* per diem, then the husbandman's share of the bushel of wheat rises from 40*d.* to 45*d.*, and consequently the rent of the land must fall from 20*d.* to 15*d.*, for we suppose the price of the wheat still remains the same—*especially since we cannot raise it*; for if we attempt it, corn would be brought to us (as into Holland) from foreign parts, where the state of husbandry was not changed."—(Petty, "Political Arithmetic.")

We have in this passage the essence of the Free-Trade doctrine of our own times. Petty praises the Hollanders because they have had the wit to put "the patriarchal trade of cowkeeping," and a good deal of the "ploughing and sowing," upon Danes and Polanders, and for the sufficient reason that navigation and handicrafts were better suited to the Dutch people, and more profitable than agriculture; and he does not hesitate to advise his own countrymen to follow a similar course. We are making some approaches to a time when the best and most profitable use to which we can apply by far the larger part of the surface of these islands will be, as Petty suggested, "for grass horses, milch cows, gardens, orchards," &c.

The agricultural wages of 5*s.* or 6*s.* per week prevailing in 1688 had slowly risen, according to Arthur Young, to about 7*s.* 6*d.* in 1770, and to about 8*s.* 6*d.* in 1790. Mr. Levi gives 12*s.* to 13*s.* as the present average agricultural wages throughout England and Wales.

The mention of this progressive rise in agricultural wages is a fitting occasion for pointing out, as emphatically as we can, that the most powerful cause of all which renders any such increase—or, indeed, any increase—at all possible is the growth of science, and the establishment of more economical and productive methods of cultivation. An agriculture as rude and ignorant as that of the fourteenth century could not have afforded even the small wages of 1688, any more than the skill and methods of 1688 could have afforded the wages

* These figures of Petty's would give, say, 4*s.* per week, or say, £12 a year, for the labourers; and say, 15*s.* per week, or say, £40 for the artisans or tradesmen.

of the present time. The present average yield of wheat in England per acre is in ordinary years probably 32 bushels or 4 quarters on good and well-managed land, and probably 25 or 26 bushels on inferior farms. But five hundred years ago the return was not more than 8 or 10 bushels on the average, and only in very rare cases and very productive years as much as 12 or 16 bushels.

In illustration of this statement we give the following extract from the masterly and exhaustive work by Professor Rogers, published in 1866 by the University of Oxford:—

"The proportion between the seed sown and the crop gathered, to be discovered by studying the results of consecutive years, supplies most valuable information as to the effectiveness of mediæval agriculture. The rate of seed to the acre was about the same as at present where broadcast is adopted, that is to say, about *two bushels* of wheat, rye, beans, peas, and vetches, and about *four bushels* of barley, bere, and oats. The tables given herein supply the evidence of the exact produce obtained from certain estates belonging to Merton College, for the four years 1333, 4, 5, 6, and consequently for the return of seed sown in 1333, 4, 5. The return in these years must be considered favourable, or above the average. The average price of wheat in the four years was 4s. 2d., 4s., 5s. 3d., and 4s. 11d. In all these years the average price of corn was low, never reaching the general average, of 5s. 11d. per quarter of wheat, 4s. 3d. of barley, 3s. 5d. of dredge, 2s. 6d. of oats, 4s. 5d. of rye, 4s. 3d. of beans, 3s. 9d. of peas, 3s. 9d. of vetches The rate (of crop), however, for such productive years is, as will be seen, exceedingly low. *Wheat* at Maldon, taking the seed of 1333 and the produce of 1334, returns about *four times*; at Leatherhead, less than three; at Farley, less than four; at Cambridge, about four; at Gamlingay, little more than twice; at Cheddington, rather more than four; at Wolford, more than eight times; at Cuxham, about six and a half times; at Holywell, nearly eight times; at Basingstoke, about three times the quantity sown. That is to say, it is only at Wolford and Holywell that the farmer reaps *two quarters to the acre*. He generally gets *no more than one, and sometimes less than this*."—(Rogers's "Agriculture and Prices in England," i. 51.)

We may now resume the consideration of the researches of Mr. Baxter and Mr. Levi.

Mr. Baxter's estimate of the total income of all kinds, in 1867, of the population of the United Kingdom, is the astonishing sum of eight hundred and fourteen millions sterling. He arrives at this result by careful analysis of the classifications of the Census, aided largely by the facts of the income-tax and revenue collections. In 1688 Gregory King's estimate was a total income of forty-three and a half millions sterling in England and Wales for a population of five and a half millions. Mr. Baxter's estimate at the present time—that is, one hundred and eighty years later—is six hundred and sixty-two millions of income for England and Wales, with a population of, say, twenty and a half millions—that is to say, that while the population has increased less than *four times*, the income has increased more than *fifteen times*.

The following table (C.) gives the general result of Mr. Baxter's inquiries for the whole of the United Kingdom :—

(C). UNITED KINGDOM, 1867.—Mr. Dudley Baxter's Estimate of Total Income

(A.)—UPPER AND MIDDLE CLASSES.

Description.	Assessments and Persons.		Total Income.	
	No.	No.	Million £	Million £
I. <i>Large Incomes</i> :—				
£5,000 and above	8,500		126	
£1,000 to £5,000	48,800		83	
		57,300		209
II. <i>Middle Incomes</i> :—				
£300 to £1,000	178,300		88	
		178,300		88
III. <i>Small Incomes</i> :—				
£100 to £300	1,026,000		111	
Under £100	1,497,000		81	
		2,523,000		192
Totals (A)		2,759,000		489

(B.)—MANUAL-LABOUR CLASS.

Men's Average Wage.	Assessments and Persons.	Total Income.
IV. <i>Higher Skilled Labour and Manufactures</i> :—	No.	Million £
£50 to £73	1,345,000	66
V. <i>Lower Skilled Labour and Manufactures</i> :—		
£35 to £52	5,087,000	161
VI. <i>Agricultural and Unskilled Labour</i> :—		
£10 10s. to £36	4,529,000	98
Totals (B)	10,961,000	325
Grand Totals	13,720,000	£814,000,000

The details upon which these totals are founded are given very explicitly, and we are not disposed to raise serious objections to them. Professor Levi estimates the wages of the manual-labour class at four hundred and eighteen millions, or ninety-three millions higher than Mr. Baxter's estimate of three hundred and twenty-five millions. We decidedly prefer the smaller result as resting on the best evidence, and we shall not be surprised to find that more exact information will reduce even the three hundred and twenty-five millions to less than three hundred.

Availing ourselves of calculations given at p. 98 of Mr. Baxter's book, the following table (D.) brings into compendious comparison the results of 1688 as already stated, and the results of 1868 as now presented :—

(D.) General Distribution of Income, 1688, England and Wales ; and 1868, United Kingdom.

Description.	Annual Income.		Proportions.	
	1688.	1868.	1688.	1868.
	Million £	Million £	Per cent.	Per cent.
Real and personal estates . . .	13	280	30	34
Trades, professions, and offices .	10	210	23	26
	23	490	53	60
Manual labour	20	324	47	40
	43	814	100	100

The lapse of one hundred and eighty years has produced a wonderful expansion in the column of income, but has not greatly affected the proportions of its distribution. We doubt whether the same can be said of any other country. In these islands the effect of personal freedom and security under the law has for centuries left the community, as a whole, to adjust its own enjoyments and burdens, and it is the wholly natural and unstrained results of this freedom of choice and action which constitute the real solidity of our social framework.

Mr. Baxter's apportionment of the eight hundred and fourteen millions of income to the three divisions of the United Kingdom is given in the following table (E.), compiled from the materials in his book :—

(E.) UNITED KINGDOM, 1867.—Mr. D. Baxter.—Summary Estimate of the two Divisions of Annual Income.

Divisions.	Upper and Middle Classes.		Manual-Labour Class.		TOTAL.	
	Persons with Independent Incomes.	Total Income.	Persons with Independent Incomes.	Total Income.	Persons with Independent Incomes.	Total Income.
	Thousands.	Million £	Thousands.	Million £	Thousands.	Million £
England and Wales	2,053	407	7,785	255	9,838	662
Scotland	272	42	1,122	32	1,394	74
	2,325	449	8,907	287	11,232	736
Ireland	434	40	2,054	38	2,488	78
	2,759	489	10,961	325	13,720	814

NOTE.—The 2,053 means, of course, 2,053,000; and so of the rest of the abbreviated figures in the corresponding columns. The 407 reads, £407,000,000.

Taking the last Census of 1861, Mr. Baxter gives the following estimate as for that year of the number of persons receiving or earning incomes in their own right, and, as he calls them, "persons with independent incomes;" and of the number of persons *dependent* on such incomes—that is, wives, children, sisters, &c., with no separate means of their own :—

(F.) UNITED KINGDOM.—Independent and Dependent Incomes, 1861.—Persons.

Class.	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	TOTAL.
	Millions.	Millions.	Millions.	Millions.
With independent incomes or wages . .	9,3	1,3	2,6	13,2
Without incomes or wages	10,6	1,7	3,2	15,5
Persons	19,9	3,0	5,8	28,7

We have here fifteen and a half millions of *dependent persons* relying for their subsistence on the exertions of the remaining thirteen millions of persons situated or employed in such a way as to command income, fees, or wages on their own proper account.

Mr. Baxter's statement of the net average annual wages of men in the three divisions of the United Kingdom is as follows :—

(G.) Mr. Baxter.—Estimate (1867) of Net average Annual (Men's) Wages, as below.

Men employed in	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.
	Net per annum. £	Net per annum. £	Net per annum. £
I. Higher skilled labour and manufactures	60 to 73	56 to 68½	50 to 62½
II. Lower skilled labour and manufactures	46 „ 52	41½ „ 48	35 „ 41½
III. Agriculture and unskilled labour . .	20 „ 41	16½ „ 32	10½ „ 26

To these compilations from the volume of Mr. Baxter we conclude by adding the three following tables constructed from the ample materials presented by Mr. Levi.

The first (H.) exhibits the distribution of earnings among the leading classes of the working population, and it is necessary to say that, as far as we can judge, Mr. Levi adopts a somewhat wide definition of the term working classes—a term, as every one knows, exceedingly difficult to define precisely for statistical purposes :—

(H.) UNITED KINGDOM, 1866.—Professor Levi.—Estimate of Earnings of Working Classes.

Occupations.	Men.		Women and Children.		TOTAL.	
	Workers.	Earnings.	Workers.	Earnings.	Workers.	Earnings.
	In thousands.	Million £	In thousands.	Million £	In thousands.	Million £
Professional . . .	No. 292	9,9	No. 8	0,1	No. 300	10,0
Domestic	100	5,0	1,600	54,0	1,700	59,0
Commercial . . .	588	36,5	112	2,5	700	39,0
Agricultural . . .	1,970	74,2	730	9,8	2,700	84,0
Industrial	2,950	125,6	2,450	66,4	5,400	192,0
	2,950	167,2	2,650	58,8	5,600	226,0
	5,900	292,8	5,100	125,2	11,000	418,0

NOTE.—The reading of the table is as follows :—In the professional class there are 292,000 *males* earning £9,900,000 per annum ; and 8,000 *females* earning £100,000 per annum,—making a total of 300,000 *persons* earning £10,000,000 per annum.

Professor Levi apportions the number of workers and the sexes according to *age* as follows :—

Ages.	Males.		Females.	
	Workers.	Income.	Workers.	Income.
Under 20	No. 1,200,000	£ 23,000,000	No. 1,300,000	£ 27,000,000
20 to 60	5,900,000	293,000,000	2,600,000	75,000,000
	7,100,000	316,000,000	3,900,000	102,000,000

His estimate of weekly wages is as follows :—

(I.) Professor Levi.—Estimated average Weekly Wages, 1866.—England, Scotland, Ireland.

Ages.	England.		Scotland.		Ireland.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Under 20	s. d. 6 6	s. d. 8 6	s. d. 7 8	s. d. 8 2	s. d. 6 3	s. d. 7 4
20 to 60	22 6	12 6	20 6	10 6	14 4	9 9
Average weekly wages of a family of five persons, supposing two workers in it . . .	31s.		28s. 2d.		23s. 6d.	

We have no space left to consider even a few of the many general topics raised by the valuable and praiseworthy researches of these two authors. Substantially they confirm each other. The one elaborates with greater zeal and care departments of the subject comparatively neglected by the other. But in the main result and conclusion they agree. This is not the place to debate questions of productive and unproductive labour ; of independent, auxiliary, and dependent incomes ; of agriculture and manufactures and the like.

Surveyed from any point we please, the results are gigantic, and if they had not been arrived at by perfectly natural methods, we might well tremble for their reality and continuance. But we have not become possessed of this fabulous revenue of eight hundred and fourteen millions sterling per annum by the forced labour or contribution of any servile class, as recently in America, and as in France and Germany before the Revolution ; nor by the exacted tribute of distant colonies and plantations held in bondage, as was the case with Spain till the end of last century ; nor by the enforcement of any great monopoly or exclusive right of trading, as was the case with Holland in the days of the Java and Borneo Companies. Whatever may be our riches, they have been won in fair competition with all the world. Natives and foreigners have been free to come and go, and there has been liberty, even license of speech, writing, and worship.

It is the exceeding solidity of the national fortune arising from the absence of factitious support which renders it possible for this country to sustain calamities of a magnitude hardly to be exaggerated. We passed, for example, through the two years of Cotton famine with no great damage. We have just lost at least sixty millions sterling by the two bad harvests of 1866 and 1867, and the loss of this sixty millions came upon us simultaneously with the most severe commercial panic on record.

The scale of wages and incomes throughout the world is as nicely and accurately adjusted by natural causes as any other part of the mechanism of daily life. Gold and silver are universal commodities, and they flow in the broadest streams to those countries where labour, and skill, and capital are so combined as to produce the best sorts of commodities in the shortest time and at the cheapest rate. And nothing but such a combination of labour, skill, and capital as surpasses the similar combinations to be found anywhere else will enable this country to maintain its present supremacy.

N.



THE EDUCATION QUESTION IN HOLLAND.

BY A DUTCH CLERGYMAN.

II.

THE tendency, on which we dwelt in our former paper, towards keeping the schools under the influence of a living Christianity was not acceptable to the ruling party in Holland. Mr. Van den Ende, it is true, likewise wished the teaching to be Christian, but it seems that in his opinion "Christian" was not necessarily connected with Christ. This was clear from a remarkable expression of which he made use in speaking to M. Cousin, in 1836, on the occasion of that famous French philosopher visiting Holland as a delegate of his Government. "The instruction," he said, "must be Christian, but such as not to give any offence to the Jews." Upon which M. Cousin, in his Report, makes the following comments:—

"This saying of Mr. Van den Ende reveals the most prominent feature of the education in Holland—a want of any decidedly religious and even moral instruction in the schools of one of the most religious and moral nations in the world. The German custom is quite different. . . . In Germany there is not one primary school in which the Christian truth, which is suitable for the poor in spirit as well as for the learned, is not taught in its most universal doctrinal principles, together with the moral sequels which flow from them, and which are inculcated on the children as the foundations of all private and national virtues."

The man who in those days shone foremost, and is still shining foremost, among the champions for the emancipation of the schools from the yoke of the law of 1806 is the Hon. G. Groen van Prinsterer, M.P. and K.C.—one of the most eminent disciples of Bilderdijk, a friend of Da Costa, and a zealous defender of the principles

of the Reformation as expressed in the Creed of the Reformed Church, of which he is a member. Combining an extraordinary amount of classical learning with great eloquence, the acuteness of a dialectician with the talents of a skilful statesman, he made the House of Parliament resound with his powerful and masterly speeches in defence of the Protestant religion as the national religion of the people, and the only true and just basis of national education. Standing out for the liberty of conscience as the right of every citizen, whether Protestant, Romanist, or Jew, he desired that the Government should remove the check which, under the cry of "liberty, tolerance, and equality," was put upon the consciences of all. In those days the Separatists, who had left the Reformed Church on account of its heterodoxy, desired schools in which they should be permitted to train their children in the doctrines for which they were suffering persecution on the part of the king's Government. Of course nothing of the kind was granted to them. Dr. Groen van Prinsterer, though disapproving of the schism, yet wrote a pamphlet entitled, "The Measures taken by the Government against the Separatists tested by Political Right," in which he clearly showed the great injustice which the Government did to those members of society who had a right, as parents and citizens, to train up their children according to their conscience. Of course this subject could not but bring the question as to the right of *every* denomination under discussion, and Dr. Groen showed that not only the Separatists, but also the Reformed Church itself, were, by the injustice of the law, compelled to sacrifice their rights for the benefit of the Roman Catholics. He urgently pressed a revision of the charter, and especially of the article on public instruction. He did not desire such liberty as would lead to license. He desired a reasonable governmental supervision. But what he desired above all was the liberty of private-school instruction—the permission to all of founding schools at their own cost, which, while open to the inspection of the Government, would satisfy the consciences of parents; and, where it was feasible, division of the public schools into Protestant and Roman Catholic.

"The union of these (two) denominations in our schools," said Dr. Groen, "is fatal Why is it that the system of the mixed schools is kept up? Among other reasons, for the sake of the influence which thus indirectly may be exercised upon the Catholic children. But the first condition of gaining that influence being the putting aside the Bible, the true interest of the Protestant children is sacrificed to the supposed interest of the Catholic. Even a superstitious instruction, in a school where Christ is worshipped, is preferable to another which denies Him in his divine nature and majesty; and I may add that the cause of the Gospel is sure to be impaired and dishonoured by half and insincere measures, and that no blessing can be expected upon underhand dealings, of whatever nature they may be."

Dr. Groen's writings evoked many publications on the part of the opposition. In some he was accused of having the intention of bringing the State back to its former condition as it was before 1795, when the old Church of Dordt ruled everything. In some the orthodox schools, such as he was supposed to desire, were caricatured and held up to ridicule. But there were also voices heard which did justice to Dr. Groen's irresistible logic and the rights which he defended. The contest began more and more to assume a serious aspect. The Roman Catholics raised loud complaints. In 1840 their churchwardens tendered a petition to the king, and another to the Prince of Orange, urgently claiming the right of founding private schools. This was followed a few months later by an address in the same spirit from the Deputed States of the Catholic province of North Brabant. It became more and more clear that something must be done. But the Government was at a loss to perceive what this was, and how to do it. The required revision of the charter was effected, but the article on public instruction was left untouched. It was the *crux politicorum*—the forbidden tree—a Pandora's box. The memorialists were sent about their business, with the poor consolation that *home* education was left free to every family, no parent being compelled to send his children to the public school. The Conservatives were in a rage. In some of their educational journals they branded the orthodox party as "Jesuits," as "candle-holders to Satan," as "sowers of discontent and sedition." In the Lower House, one of the members, replying to a speech of Dr. Groen van Prinsterer, accused him of "having tried to influence the parents to make them throw their children into the arms of the Prince of Darkness." Yet Dr. Groen's only crime was that he emphatically declared the existing public-school education to be "un-Christian, even anti-Christian," and claimed liberty for Christians to train their children according to their conscience.

Meanwhile, King William I. had made himself so unpopular that he was compelled to abdicate on behalf of his son, William II., who accepted the Constitution which his autocratic father had refused to sanction. Being less of a politician, but more honest and straightforward than his father, and being what his father had not been,—thoroughly averse to anything like oppression and persecution,—he earnestly took up the school question. One of the first deeds of his Government was to appoint a commission to inquire into the causes of complaint, and to propose measures of redress. "A cold shudder," says an impartial author, "passed through the frames of the Conservatives. The friends of liberty, on the contrary, indulged sanguine expectations."

The commission was composed of the representatives of the principal parties which had recently made themselves conspicuous. It

could not be denied, however, that the Conservative or Ministerial party were more strongly represented than the others. Anything like a compromise or an amicable settlement it was feared was altogether out of the question. There was division on every point, and agreement on only one. The Conservatives stubbornly refused to allow any more liberty to the private schools. They said there was liberty enough, "since everybody was free to found a private school by permission of the Government." Upon this Dr. Groen, who was one of the members of the commission, remarked, that "liberty with permission" was the privilege even of the slave. The Roman Catholic members also desired liberty to found private schools without the permission of the Government. And this they claimed as a *right*, not as a *favour*. They, however, claimed it for Churches, not for individuals. Dr. Groen, on the contrary, claimed that right for every person:

"He could not see any necessity for restricting it as a privilege to some, nor was it clear to him that such a treaty between the State and the Church as was proposed by the Roman Catholic members was at all desirable, least of all in the present condition of both Church and State. He desired liberty in this matter as the right of every citizen, and the Church might avail itself of that right also. He was convinced that unless ample liberty were given for the founding of private schools, not one of the complaining parties would be satisfied."

The only point on which all the members of the commission agreed was, that an appeal to the king should be allowed. This proposal, however, met with the strongest possible opposition on the part of the ministers. To them the king's mind was well known. His Majesty was not pleased with the mixed schools. In his opinion there was too much science taught, and too little of the one thing needful. There could be no doubt that if the right to appeal to the king were granted, private schools would spring up like mushrooms all over the country. It took the Government twelve months to arrive at something definite. In January, 1841, the commission tendered its report. It was January, 1842, before the Royal Resolution was published which was to cure the prevailing confusion.

But this resolution proved only a temporary palliative, at last making the disease worse than it had been before. It left the law of 1806 as it was. It confirmed the authority of the local magistrates to refuse permission to found private schools, but it allowed an appeal to the Deputed States, which was in almost every case tantamount to an appeal to the local magistrates themselves. It also enjoined that, in the appointment of school inspectors and school-masters, regard should be had to the creed of the population. The most important article of the resolution, however, was that which gave to the clergymen of all denominations the right of censoring the school-books, while at the king's express desire the school-

rooms were put at their disposal for religious instruction during the hours not appointed for regular teaching. The resolution was accompanied by a circular from the Minister for Home Affairs, in which it was stated "that the popular instruction should remain a merely civil, social concern, and was not to be influenced by the doctrinal opinions of any denomination, but kept strictly aloof from every exclusive or one-sided tendency, so that offices connected with instruction might be occupied by any Dutchman, whatever his religious opinions might be." The teachers at the same time were most decidedly prohibited from giving any explanations, or using any expressions, which might give offence to any denomination.

The royal resolution caused general disappointment among the friends of liberty. Even the Conservatives had expected more energetic measures. Some doubted whether the matter could be settled by a royal resolution at all. A new law, in their opinion, was absolutely required. Those who were most satisfied, or I should rather say least dissatisfied, were the Romanists. Their pastors now had the power of eliminating from the school-test every book which excited their suspicion. Even abroad the resolution became the subject of much discussion and criticism. Thus wrote Count de Gasparin :—

"The King of the Netherlands has tried in vain by his resolution of January 2, 1842, to improve the system which was established by the law of April 2, 1806. His improvements are only guarantees against the proselytism of the majority. The 'perfection' of the Dutch school system shows, more clearly than can be expressed in words, how deplorably false that system is."

Nothing can give more striking testimony to the correctness of this judgment than a glance at the endless troubles, vexations, and disappointments to which the petitioners for private schools had often to submit before they obtained a definite answer, which, in most cases, was a refusal, owing to the local and provincial governments being almost everywhere in the hands of sceptic Conservatives. Still, ever and anon religious-minded parents united in trying to obtain a license, and in some places the local, and in some others the provincial, magistrates showed too much moral sense to refuse the claims of the petitioners. Those parents found an able guide and powerful supporter in the late Dr. J. J. L. van der Brugghen, President of the Court of Justice at Nymegen. He was, till 1857, when he became Premier of Holland, the soul of the orthodox Protestant educational movement in that country. It was by his zeal and influence that a normal school was founded at Nymegen for training young men as Protestant Christian schoolmasters. He also conducted a monthly journal called the *Nymegen Schoolblad*, in which his opinions, and those of other pedagogues, on the most important questions concerning popular school education, found expression.

Meanwhile, Professor Hofstede de Groot's system more and more gained ground among the Conservative party. Allowing separate schools for the Jews—who indeed, ever since their settlement in Holland, had trained their children in their own denominational schools—he desired a decidedly Christian teaching, of which, however, only such a Christ as was pictured by the Groningen school was to be the centre. Under that system the Bible might be read to the children with such judicious culling and selecting as to offend no Christian denomination. “For,” said the professor in one of his books, “a denomination which forbids Bible-reading is not Christian. Even the Roman Catholic Church does not forbid it.”

This was written in 1845. Dr. van der Brugghen, in his *Schoolblad*, had not much difficulty in exposing the absurdity of such reasoning. But its best refutation was undoubtedly an address tendered in the same year to the Provincial States by the Roman Catholic arch-priests of the various districts. They complained of “the doctrinal teaching which still continued to be given in the schools,” as was evident from “the books which were being used, especially such as treated of Christian ethics and the so-called Bible stories;” and they gave the following significant reason why religious teaching of this kind must be offensive to Romanists:—

“It is a fundamental principle,” they say, “of the Catholic Church that all religious teaching, whether dogmatic or moral, must proceed from and be superintended by the authority of the Church. Consequently, that authority has forbidden all Catholics, without special permission, to read books of a religious character which are written by non-Catholics. Pleading our rights which through the charter we possess, we may expect that the only public popular instruction which exists in this country, and is placed under the exclusive control of the civil authority, will not encroach upon this fundamental principle of our Church, nor offend the consciences of its members by impeding them in the discharge of their duty.”

On this ground they asked the removal of all such instruction from the mixed schools. Strange that they did not go one step further, and ask what they should have asked—separate public schools for their own denomination. Was it, then, compatible with their fundamental principles to send their children to schools where they were to be trained without any religious instruction at all?

The official reply to this petition in some provinces was, under various pretexts, evaded; in others, after much delay, it was given in the negative. Only the province of South Holland made an exception. Its governor at once addressed a circular to the various local magistrates in his province, requesting them “to prohibit the reading of the Bible and the singing of psalms or evangelical hymns, even in such public schools as were frequented only by Protestant children.” The circular met with general disapprobation. Nevertheless, its contents were carried into practice, and not only in this province,

but in all. Not many years elapsed before all religious teaching whatever disappeared from the public schools in Holland.

Still the contest of the various parties, chiefly through means of the press, did not abate. About the year 1848, when the present King William III. ascended the throne, there were five of them, which still exist, though, of course, their proportions have changed in some respects. They were:—

1st. The *No-religionists*, who classed religious teaching with instruction in fencing, drawing, and dancing; and held that, like these branches of education, it ought to be excluded from the public schools. They had no organ of their own, but the prominent daily papers, when touching upon the school question—which, however, they did but seldom—usually spoke in their spirit.

2nd. The *Natural Religionists*, who, though professing to be Christians, yet desired Christian teaching to be limited to church and home, and that only the rudiments of natural religion should be taught in schools. This party exercised considerable influence. Its organ was an ably written monthly journal, called *The Contemporary*.

3rd. The *Roman Catholic* party. Their organs were three monthly papers—*The Catholic Netherland Voices*, *The Times*, and *The Catholic*.

4th. The *Great Protestant* party, by far the largest and most influential. It was the ruling party in the various departments of the State. It was the party which was determined to know nothing save the law of 1806, and the mixed school. It had many organs, such as *The Awakener*, *The Evangelical Church Messenger*, *The Torch*, &c. The powerful "Society for the Use of the Public" was its staunch friend. It was also strongly supported by the "Netherland Teachers' Society," a body recognised in 1844 by the Government, which had its central board in the Hague, and spread its branches all through the country. Its president was Professor Hofstede de Groot, who succeeded in raising it to a position of popularity and influence.

5th. The *Orthodox Protestant* party, of which Dr. Groen van Prinsterer and Dr. van der Brugghen were the acknowledged leaders. It asserted that an honest and faithful application of the law of 1806 did not exclude religious teaching for Protestant children according to the fundamental principles of the Reformation. It claimed such an honest and faithful application by the removal of mixed schools where feasible, and the establishment of separate schools for Protestants and Roman Catholics.

The contest which was being more and more keenly fought promised to be satisfactorily solved by a revision of the Charter. On the 17th of March, 1848, the king nominated a Royal Commission to draw up a bill. This document was composed in a liberal spirit, and contained the following (183rd) article on national education:—

"The organization of public instruction shall be regulated by the law, so far as that is consistent with the respect due to every one's religious opinions."

"The giving of instruction shall be free to all, save the examination of teachers as to their ability and the superintendence of the Government, both of which shall be regulated by law."

"The King requires that every year a copiously elaborate account of the condition of the higher, middle, and lower schools be given to Parliament."

The publication of this article spread both hope and fear through the country. The second clause cheered the minds of the friends of liberty; but the Conservatives raised a cry of alarm. "Only madmen, agitators, and Jesuits," they said, "could desire the carrying out of such an article." Professor Hofstede de Groot even uttered a cry of despair. "Full scope," he wrote, "is now given for founding schools for the public by private funds, in which all sorts of maxims, subversive of society, may be inculcated on the minds of the young—rebellion, regicide, civil hatred, deception, robbery, communism, religious war, atheism, and such like—without the law being able to reach the teachers of such principles." These and similar objections, which were more likely to alarm the fearful than to convince men of intellect, were ably replied to by Dr. Groen van Prinsterer in his "Letters to Count Schimmelpenninck," in which he gave a powerful broadside to the fallacy that formed the centre of the Dutch educational system. That fallacy was, in his opinion, expressed in the following propositions:—"That it is the right and the duty of the State, separately from the Church—*i.e.*, from denominational influence—to control the national education according to its own pleasure; that, to secure unity in the State, unity in the system of national education was indispensable; and that, to secure unity in education, the children of *all* denominations ought to be united in one and the same popular school." To require such a unity, or rather uniformity, Dr. Groen held was tantamount to requiring that the parents should give up their rights as the trainers of their own children. And in this he was undoubtedly right. The system of Van den Ende was completely destructive of

* The Commission, it appears, was not aware that by inserting this clause it simply transplanted the root of the old evil into the new soil. Respect for every one's religious opinions cannot but cause every one's discontent. The Commission committed the mistake—which, however, is very common among men—of not distinguishing between respect for *persons* and respect for *opinions*. It is our duty to respect every honest man, no matter what his religious opinions may be; but it is not our duty to respect his opinions if we hold them to be erroneous. A government may exclude all religious instruction from its schools without at all impairing its moral character, because it may do so under the conviction that schools ought to be places for secular instruction alone. But if once it admits the principle of moral and religious instruction into the schools, and at the same time promises respect for all religions, it incontrovertibly steps upon immoral ground, inasmuch as it promises a moral impossibility. A school founded on that principle professes respect for every one's religious opinions, but in reality shows true respect for nobody's, unless perhaps the religious opinions of those who find in the religious teaching there the expression of their own religion.

individual free action. It only acknowledged *one* individual, viz., the State. All other individuals were reduced to puppets, to be set in motion by that one gigantic individual. The freedom to give instruction, as granted in the second clause of the Bill, was therefore looked upon by the friends of liberty as an open door of escape from that. Dr. Groen fought incessantly in the Lower House to keep that door open. But it was shut again by the overwhelming Conservative majority, or, if not exactly *shut*, the entrance was made so very narrow that scarcely any one could pass through. The Bill being brought forward for discussion, two clauses were added to the 183rd article, the one (which became the first clause of the article) stating "that public instruction shall be under the perpetual care of the Government," and the other (which became the third clause), "*that everywhere throughout the kingdom satisfactory public instruction shall be given by the Government.*" The parents were thus assured that, wherever they might try to found a free school, the Government was under the obligation of maintaining an opposition school, with which it would be hard for them to compete, as they would have to pay everything out of their own pockets. And this obligation was imposed upon the Government not by a simple Act of Parliament, but by an article of the charter!

The words, "save as regards the respect due to every one's religious opinions," also came under discussion. Even the non-religionists felt that these words placed the schools in a most awkward position. Professor Hofstede de Groot, Professor Van Swinderen, and other leaders of the Groningen party, had also some years before opposed such an unqualified deference alike for truth and for error. In their writings they had often eloquently shown that such a latitudinarianism must end in altogether demoralizing the people. It was perceived, however, that the practice which the Government had followed in the schools during so many years did not admit of these words being debated. To appease the opposition, the ministry tried to give an explanation of their meaning that would satisfy the majority. After much stumbling and blundering, the cabinet was so fortunate as to hit upon an explanation with which the Groningen party thought it could put up. The annoying words were to be rendered harmless by attributing an altogether negative meaning to them. They were to mean, "that the instruction should contain *nothing* positive (*i.e.*, doctrinal); that it should *not* enter into the sphere of religious ideas," &c. Professor Hofstede de Groot and his friends trusted that with such a broad margin they would not meet with much difficulty in preserving the Christian element in the schools.

The new charter having been thus carried (1848), the reading of the new School Bill was appointed to take place in the session of Parliament after the adoption of the charter. The Bill was to be

drawn up in the spirit of the above-mentioned article. The Society for the Use of the Public now deemed it its duty to offer its guidance to the Government. It drew up a scheme or plan of a school law, which in 1849 was sent to the king, to the members of the Privy Council, and to the members of Parliament. It recommended the insertion of such expressions as "Christian virtues," "religion," &c., in the law, because it feared the *absence* of such expressions would render the law unpopular. But in its explanatory address, which the Society sent along with the scheme, it hinted that these expressions were so elastic in their nature that even Jews might easily find accommodation within the area they circumscribed. In other words, though the *expressions* were found in the law, that was no reason why the *things* they denoted should also be found in the schools. It is only just to mention that the Government spurned this hint. When the minister, Mr. de Kempenaer, in August, 1849, introduced the new School Bill into the Lower House, he plainly told the people how matters stood. The twenty-fourth article of that Bill imposed "suspension, and even dismissal," upon the schoolmaster who should offend the religious opinions of others. "The public school," thus it was read in the minister's preamble, "must take its stand on a perfectly neutral ground, and one altogether foreign to all religious notions."

This was plain language. It produced an uneasy feeling in the nation. People had not yet "advanced" so far as to regard religious teaching as a crime, and a religious-minded schoolmaster as a vagabond. The discontent grew so general that the De Kempenaer cabinet was compelled to resign. It was succeeded by that of Dr. Thorbecke, who, not caring to take up such a hot iron as the School Bill, allowed the subject to lie in abeyance. Meanwhile, he enjoined the Deputed States to be as mild as possible in granting permission for the foundation of private schools. Several local societies were now formed, which founded what henceforth were called "Christian schools." By giving that name to their schools these societies raised a permanent protest against the unchristian character of the Government schools.

Nor was that protest without ground. The effect of the education given at the public schools upon the morality of the population was not very satisfactory. This was proved in many things, especially by what was observed in the province of Groningen. In this province the mixed-school system was most strongly advocated, and most vigorously carried out. Professor Hofstede de Groot was loud and eloquent in its praise. Yet in the Report of the Groningen Union of Clergymen, of the year 1851, it was stated "that the number of communicants at the Lord's Supper was very small throughout the province; that but few marriages were contracted at church; that the religious life in families was insignificant; that drunkenness and

immorality had horribly increased among the labourers and servants ; and that, on the whole, little reverence was shown for the Church and its ministers."

It was also observed with much uneasiness that the influence of the Roman Catholic party was visibly increasing. And no wonder. In a Protestant country religious indifference opens many doors to the Romish Propaganda. The "Great Protestant Party," which by its principle of unlimited tolerance in the schools had furthered Rome's interests, took alarm, and now preached war against Rome *outside* the schools. Various societies were founded to enable Protestant shopkeepers to compete with their Romanist rivals, and to prevent Roman Catholics from buying landed property, &c. Thus it was tried to cure by the power of money the evil, which had been caused by weakness of principle. It was clear, however, that the forced union at the schools contributed to promote a feeling of bitterness between the two denominations. The Roman Catholics even made so bold as to demand the establishment of the Papal hierarchy in Holland. Dr. Thorbecke, who wished to gain their good-will, was just about to enter into a concordat with the Pope, when, at the united protest of the Protestant population, the king interfered, and dismissed the cabinet (April, 1854).

Dr. Thorbecke's successor was Dr. Van Hall. He belonged to the "Great Protestant Party;" but, considering the peculiar circumstances which had called him to the head of the Government, people expected him to make a School Bill which, by its thoroughly Protestant character, would preserve and perpetuate Protestant principles in the heart of the nation. But in this expectation people were disappointed. The "Great Protestant Party" had not learnt, from its peep into the Popish abyss into which the spirit of Deism, under the cry of "tolerance," had all but precipitated the nation, what it ought to demand. The Van Hall ministry stubbornly stuck to the charter, according to which Holland, viewed by the light of the political law, was *not* a Christian State, and introduced a School Bill from which the Christian element was altogether eliminated, and according to which the teaching was to be based upon a purely rationalistic Deism. This, however, was anything but what the nation desired. Petitions against the Bill poured in in a continuous flood, and the king found himself again under the necessity of dismissing his ministers (June, 1857).

His Majesty now found himself in much perplexity. It seemed that a man able to frame a School Bill for Holland could not be found. Some of the leading men had tried it in vain. Dr. Thorbecke, the most eminent of them, had prudently abstained; while Dr. Groen, at least his equal as a politician, was never asked, because he was the leader of a minority whose orthodoxy was dreaded.

As the great Protestant majority was at its wits' end, however, the thought occurred that perhaps the man who could perform this political miracle might be found among Dr. Groen's party. It is not known what induced the king to fix his eyes upon Dr. Van der Brugghen, the President of the Court of Justice at Nymegen, and editor of the *Nymegen Schoolblad*. He was known all through the country as only second to his friend Dr. Groen among the leaders of the orthodox party. It is true he maintained perfect independence concerning the competency of the Government and the rights of the denominations, and in these matters he often differed greatly from Dr. Groen. But he was also known as the decided champion of sound Gospel teaching, and as a strong adversary of mixed schools. Nay, the assertion that a general education, suitable alike for Protestants and Romanists, was an absurdity, had for years formed one of the main topics in his monthly paper. It would seem that a man who held such opinions would least of all be deemed a fit person to serve the king's purpose. Yet, much to the surprise of many, he was called to take his place at the head of the cabinet. And what surprised people still more, he accepted the call, knowing that he was expected to leave the mixed school untouched. Everybody was kept in suspense, wondering how the new premier would accomplish his difficult task—a task which very much resembled that of the giant's prisoner in the fairy tale, who had to fit a round cover to a square vessel.

Now it should be mentioned that in the course of the last three years a movement against the mixed-school system had become less likely to succeed than ever. The Roman Catholics, who, as we have seen, had always sided with Dr. Groen and his party in asking separate schools for the two main divisions of the Christian Church, had all at once changed colours and joined the "Great Protestant Party" in demanding, or at least in no longer opposing, the preservation of the mixed school. They had thoroughly learnt the lesson which the failure of the intended introduction of the Papal hierarchy had taught them. They looked forward with fright to the revenge which they expected the new ministry would take. They had expected that a strong Protestant propaganda, the fruit of the awakened national feeling of the Protestant population, and backed by a powerful majority in Parliament, would be carried on all through the country. Nothing of the kind. The Roman Catholics found that if the ruling Protestant party resisted the introduction of the Popish hierarchy into the State, neither did it allow the introduction of Protestant principles into the school. And what more could they desire? They found they could put up with such schools, seeing that they were as yet the minority in a Protestant country. They perceived that they could not do better than simply allow the anti-

Protestant schools to do their work. It was about this time that the French Ultramontane organ, *L'Univers*, wrote:—"Scepticism in Holland, modified by the national character, has much 'sweetness' indeed, because it may be made subservient to the destruction of Protestant institutions."

In this state of things it was clear that Dr. Van der Brugghen could not introduce a bill in the spirit of his *Nymegen Schoolblad*. It was clear that his Bill could not turn out different from the law of 1806, except as regarded the technical and administrative department. It would take too long to give even a brief summary of the long and animated debates which this bill called forth in Parliament, in which Dr. Groen found himself under the sad necessity of standing out as the fiercest opponent of the man who had hitherto always fought by his side. The Bill was in its leading features exactly the same as that the Van Hall cabinet produced, against which a flood of petitions had poured in. Only the word "Christian" was reintroduced. On the 13th of August, 1857, the new law was promulgated. Its enactment dates from the 1st of January, 1858. Up to the present time it is the school law of Holland.

One of the main points in which this law differs from that of 1806 refers to the definition of *private* schools. In its third article the law applies the term *public* schools to such as are "founded and supported by the communes, the provinces, and the kingdom, whether separately or conjointly." All other schools it defines as *private* schools. The old distinction of private schools of the first and second class is cancelled. "To the private schools," the article continues, "subsidy may be given by the commune or the province." But it adds, "These subsidized schools must be open to children of all denominations," and the teacher must abstain from saying or doing anything that may give offence to persons of other religious opinions.

The law contains no article by which the founding of private schools is placed under restrictions. This is left quite free. And so far this law seems to be set high above its predecessors. But we shall see immediately how far this apparent excellency goes.

In its twenty-third article, the old bone of contention, that absurd formula, "training to all Christian and social virtues," is once more taken up, together with the prohibition of teachers "from teaching or doing anything at variance with the reverence due to the religious ideas of other people."

The third or last clause of the twenty-third article is as follows:—

"The giving of religious instruction is left to the Churches. To this end the schools in the free hours may be used on behalf of the pupils who frequent those schools."

This clause, as might be expected, has proved a dead letter. The Churches do not want the schools at all, since they have their own

accommodations. As far as my knowledge goes, there are not ten schools in the whole kingdom which, during the ten years the law has existed, have been used for that purpose.

That little word "Christian," in the twenty-third article, which Dr. Van der Brugghen had succeeded in reintroducing, was evidently meant to give the good folks of Holland a guarantee that the Government would not train up their children like heathens. But had the good folks taken strict cognizance of the discussions to which this little word gave rise in the Lower House, it is doubtful whether they would have seen in it any guarantee at all. The Honourable Mr. Elout, for instance, a nobleman and one of Dr. Groen's party, on seeing that the sixteenth article enacted "that in each commune instruction shall be given in schools open to children of all denominations," and on learning from the twenty-third article that that instruction was to be given with a *Christian* object, found that by this stipulation great injustice was being done to the Jews. He consequently proposed an amendment to the sixteenth article, by which the Government would be bound to found separate schools for them. But the amendment was opposed with great bitterness, and rejected by fifty-one votes to six. And who was its keenest opponent? Dr. Godefroi, an Israelite, who in a passionate speech indignantly rejected the supposition that a Jew could find anything offensive in Christian virtues. The honourable gentleman was quite right, looking from *his* stand-point; for of course he classed love to Jesus not among the Christian *virtues*, but among the Christian *vices*, which he expected would not be taught in the public schools.

Nor was his expectation unfounded. It is true that during the first two years biblical history was taught in most schools. It was not made imperative by the law, but neither was it forbidden. But it could only be done so long as the Jews would allow it. In 1861 the Jews at the Hague demanded the elimination of biblical history from the list of subjects taught. Their desire was complied with. Henceforth many schoolmasters taught Bible history only on Saturdays. It was with intense grief that Professor Hofstede de Groot, who for twenty-eight years had been one of the most active school inspectors, witnessed this offensive provision. To stop it, he enjoined the schoolmasters in his district to teach biblical history, and to make the children sing hymns on festival occasions, &c. But the Upper Rabbi of Drenthe sent in his protest to the Government, and Professor de Groot was compelled to resign. The Roman Catholics were highly pleased. To them the Jews were a most welcome bulwark against the introduction of Protestant principles into the schools.

In this state of things it may be imagined what of the Christian element and character was left in the schools. Last year (1867) Dr. Godefroi gladdened the Lower House by the delightful intelligence

that the Upper Rabbi of Leeuwarden, "an orthodox Israelite," and the leader of his party, had declared the present school instruction to be "as desirable as it was rich in blessings."

"But," perhaps the reader puts in, "the law gives full liberty to any one to found private schools; so full scope is given to the Protestants to preserve Christian teaching in the country, if they desire to do so." True; but experience shows that that liberty, based upon injustice, and only to be enjoyed at considerable cost, is rendered all but illusory by the competition of the Government schools. The law making the existence of one or more public schools in each community obligatory, and the costs having to be met by local rates, the orthodox pater-familias must, like everybody else, pay his share in the taxes for support of schools which he abhors, and to which he will never send his children. These he is permitted to send to a school which he has to build and to support entirely at his own cost. This, however, is possible only to the well-to-do class. But such a school proves a heavy burden. Of course they take equitable fees from the parents. But here is the corner where the public school attacks them. The law leaves it optional to the municipal board either to take fees from the parents or not. Now, in most communes these fees are put so low as to be only nominal, and in some they are cancelled altogether, the taxes being raised in proportion. It may be imagined that this supplies the magistrate with a powerful weapon against the orthodox party. Thus, a few weeks since, two communes resolved to do away with taking fees, because it had become known that the orthodox party contemplated the founding of private schools. It needs no argument to prove that in communes where the orthodox party is small or poor the founding of a private school is impossible, unless wealthy friends in other communes assist.

Dr. Groen and his friends, on observing the very unfair and dishonest way in which the law was being carried into practice, founded in 1861 a Society for Christian National School Instruction. Its purpose was to encourage and assist the people in founding private Christian schools. This society has been very successful when we take into account the obstacles which it has had to overcome. To give an idea of the heavy costs which, under the present circumstances, the private-school system requires, I may mention that in 1865 nearly £4,700 were spent on one year's support of forty-one schools. This does not include sums paid for the rent of the schools and the teachers' dwelling-houses, since in most cases these buildings are the presents of friends. Estimating the average amount of these rents at £17 for each school and master's house, the annual expenditure of these forty-one schools has come to £5,400—*i.e.*, nearly £132 for each school. This money was obtained from fees to the amount of about

£2,100; from the society's subsidies at £750; and the deficit, at £2,550, was covered by the liberal help of wealthy friends.

The spirit of dishonesty, falsehood, and tyranny with which the ruling party avails itself of the law to force the popular schools into their unchristian system under the motto of "Education in Christian Virtues," and to render the competition of private voluntary exertion impossible under the cry of "Liberty for All," has at length become so glaring that even notorious but honest antagonists of the orthodox party have acknowledged the difficulty of finding another instance in political history of a law having been so shamefully used for carrying into practice exactly the opposite of what the legislature had in view. Indeed, the whole country is at present again in a state of ferment on account of this subject. The new Chambers have begun their session very recently, and though by the late election the Liberals have undoubtedly carried the victory, yet it is expected that a fearful debate will be opened on the school question, in which it is most likely that the sense of justice and honesty will come to the assistance of the unjustly-oppressed party.

Statistics.—In 1865 there were 3,623 public schools, and 1,058 private. Of the latter, about 300 were known as conducted in a positively Christian spirit. Number of pupils in all the schools 382,690, which shows an increase of 8,920 compared with the preceding year. Children who never attend schools: 24 per cent. of the boys and 29 per cent. of the girls of from six to eight; 18 per cent. and 26 per cent. from nine to eleven. In round numbers, there were in January, 1865, about 100,000 children who did not go to school. In 1863, out of 1,000 soldiers, 796 could not read. Still it is held that 96 per cent. of the whole population are able to read. In 1865, 9·04 per cent. of the population frequented the public, and 2·05 per cent. the private schools. The public schools in 1865 cost the State £374,208. In 263 communes no fees were taken.

"A Brief Outline of the System of Public Instruction in the Kingdom of the Netherlands," by Dr. Yates, appeared in the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, February 28, 1868, which gives the reader a correct account of the Dutch school law, and of the organization of public instruction.



MEMOIRS OF BARON BUNSEN.

A Memoir of Baron Bunsen, drawn chiefly from Family Papers. By his Widow, FRANCES BARONESS BUNSEN. Two vols. London: Longmans. 1868.

IT is very long since any memoir of interest to be compared with this has been brought before English readers. It was given to Baron Bunsen to unite many characters, each of which might furnish materials for a biography of no ordinary attractions. To be an active, vigorous diplomatist, originating schemes of policy as well as executing orders at two courts like those of Rome and St. James's; to have enjoyed the personal friendship of two sovereigns of his own country, and of our Queen and her illustrious Consort; to have lived through the most exciting periods of history still fresh in the memories even of the young; to have known the great statesmen of our time, and shared their counsels—this, if we had nothing more to look for, would have been a rich feast enough. To this we have to add all the charm that belongs to the unfolding of the mind and heart of one who took his place (to borrow Bishop Kaye's expression) "as one of the most eminent theologians of our time;" free in criticism and interpretation with a freedom which to many must seem rash, yet seeking to counteract the simply destructive scepticism of the school of Tubingen, and to bring back the meagre worship of Protestant churches to something of the richness and fulness of the ancient liturgies, making it, as it were, the great effort of his life

"To bridge the yawning chasms of the time,
Now failing, now succeeding."

If, again, a simply devotional biography has power to win the sympathies of all whose minds are not altogether out of tune with the higher life—if any glimpse into the daily communings of the soul with its Lord and Father, into the solemn vows and purposes of life, submission, thankfulness, self-consecration, keep us, even in the absence of any intellectual power, in rapt attention—then, most assuredly, no reader will find that spell wanting here. And lastly (if indeed we can be said to have come to a “lastly”), there is the interest which attaches to watching the growth of thoughts and progress in new studies, and the execution of long-cherished plans, in a man of the most widely diversified culture and omnivorous appetite for knowledge. Memoirs like those of Arnold, or Niebuhr, or Perthes, or Peel, or Chalmers, or Newman, or Blanco White, may present severally some of its phases. It was no easy task to represent in clear portraiture a mind so conspicuously many-sided, to bring the *μεγέθους ἀνὴρ*—broad of brow and large of heart—whom so many had known, and admired, and loved, before the gaze of a yet wider public.

And the task, let us say at once, has been accomplished in a manner worthy of the subject. Within a month after she had lost him who was her “life of life,” his widow gathered her strength to fulfil the solemn charge which he had laid upon her a few weeks before his death. “Write yourself the history of our common life. You can do it; you have it in your power;—only be not mistrustful of yourself.” As the key-note of her work, she quotes from the introduction to the “Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson” the touching words of one whose labours came before her as the closest parallel with her own:—

“I hope I shall be pardoned for drawing an imperfect image of him, especially whenever the rudest draft that endeavours to counterfeit him will have much delightful loveliness in it.”

And we venture to predict that no one will read through these volumes without recognising both in the editorial work of arranging, selecting, pruning (for pruning there must have been in spite of the 1,300 pages which meet us), and in the numerous “contemporary letters” which are manifestly hers, an intellect at once masculine in its vigour and feminine in the delicacy and purity of its perceptions.

Of the various modes of treatment which offer themselves in dealing with such a work as this—copious extracts more or less connected, a *catalogue raisonné* of contents, an analysis of character or estimate of results, and the like—it seems best to adopt that which will at least give an outline-portrait of a great man, and tell the story of a noble life. Glimpses into the rich store of vivid reminiscences

and deep thoughts will open on us as we travel onward. Those who wish to fill up the picture must make those stores their own.

Christian Carl Josias Bunsen was born on the 25th of August, 1791, at Corbach, in the principality of Waldeck. His father, who had served in the Dutch army, retired to his native village on a small pension, eked out as a means of support by copying law documents; and seems to have possessed himself a high sense of rectitude, founded on deep-seated Christian faith and indifference to outward show, and to have stamped that character upon his only son's education. His mother, his father's second wife (married when he was forty-seven and she forty-one), does not appear to have exercised any marked influence upon him. So far he presents an exception to the law that great men are what their mothers make them. It was in his half-sister, Christiana, eighteen years older than himself, with a life of strange and touching suffering nobly borne, that he found the sustaining and purifying influence which guided his youth, and was the groundwork of deep and true affection.

The reminiscences of this sister and of old playmates bring before us the picture, which those who knew him in the prime of his life can well paint to their mind's eye, of "a beautiful child, fair complexioned and curly-haired, with bright eye and fine chiselling of features," "delighting with an intense delight in air and sunshine and the sight of God's creation," learning with a rapidity which astonished all his schoolmates, gaining school honours in quick succession, genial and warm in his affections, loving books with a passionate eagerness, and rising at four or five in the morning to read them. In 1809 he went to the University of Marburg, and thence to that of Göttingen, and then the thoughts of opening manhood took a wider range. The memoir brings him before us as the centre of a circle of friends, some of them little known to the English reader, but some also who have gained a wider fame. Lachmann, "fine-grained, satirical, and witty," of "irritable fibre and almost feverish temperament," afterwards (mainly, perhaps, through Bunsen's influence with English scholars) known among us as a bold reforming critic of the *textus receptus* of the Greek Testament; Brandis, Bunsen's predecessor as Secretary of Legation at Rome, and afterwards professor at Bonn, the writer of some elaborate papers in Dr. Smith's "Dictionary of Classical Biography;" Lücke, the commentator on St. John; Disson, the editor of Pindar; Ernest Schulze, the dreaming, morbid genius, who died after a wretched and wasted life, "the poet thwarting hopelessly the man," at the age of twenty-nine—are the names most prominent in that circle. We see these and other like-minded men keeping Plato's and Luther's birthdays, joining in midnight studies and vacation rambles, meeting one evening (so the last-named tells

us, he whose life was most a failure) and making a vow, each to the others, that "they would do something great in their lives." Heyne was the great Göttingen professor of the time, and by his width of culture stimulated Bunsen's activity. The student's success was as marked as that of the boy had been. An essay on the "Athenian Law of Inheritance" gained the prize in 1812, and won for him at that early age the unsolicited honour of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Jena. Here, too, we get glimpses of the aim with which he started in life, and to which, in the midst of a career altogether different in its outward circumstances from what he had marked out for himself, he continued faithful to the end:—

"In cheerful moments, on the contrary" (he had been speaking before of times of depression and self-dissatisfaction), "I resolve manfully to fight my way through, looking forwards and keeping the aim in view, which is to understand myself and the age, and to apprehend what may be the prime need of each; to minister according to my ability to that need; to separate what ought to be passed over or annihilated; to begin *ab Jove*; to climb in the blossoming time of life the heights of human intelligence and search out the landmarks of its first achievements: then to start into active life." (p. 31).

And the special form which this purpose took made it the nucleus under which all the knowledge of his life, however varied it might be, crystallized—to which all his labours were directed. The two volumes of "God in History," to which his last years were devoted, were but the fulfilment of the earliest project of his youth, "to bring over, into my own knowledge and my own fatherland, the language and the spirit of the solemn and distant East."

"My aim is, *first*, so to draw the East into the study of the entire course of Humanity (particularly of European, and more especially of Teutonic humanity), that no power on earth shall disunite them; and, *secondly*, to make Germany the central point of this study, as far as my strength shall permit" (p. 51).

With this view we find him eager in Oriental studies, appointed teacher of Hebrew at Göttingen in 1812, studying Persian in 1813 at Munich, purchasing Oriental MSS. at Leyden, and plunging into the study of Ferdusi in 1814, putting himself under De Sacy at Paris in 1816 to perfect himself in Persian, and led on to read the fables of Pilpai and the Koran in the original Arabic. For some years it entered into his scheme of life to go out to India and reside there for three years or more, so as to master the *origines* of European culture in Sanskrit and Zend. But his philological studies were not confined to either the Semitic or the Aryan languages of the East. He visited Copenhagen in 1815, and learnt to read the Edda and Snorro Sturleson in Danish. He went to see his sister at Amsterdam,

and began to make himself acquainted with Dutch literature. His wish is to "create intellectual communication between Holland and Germany, and bring the two nations to better acquaintance with each other" (p. 67). One cannot wonder that he should give utterance to the frank, half naïve confession—

"This carrying on of pursuits so different as enquiries historical, philosophical, and linguistic—Plato, Ferdusi, the Koran, Dante, Isaiah, the Edda, &c.—calls for tranquillity and order, such as cannot subsist externally without being founded within."

Of the ethical and spiritual phase of his life at this period the memoir gives us some fine glimpses. He writes to Brandis, the friend most like-minded with himself, with him too at this time a devout reader of the "*Theologia Germanica*"—

"Consider your calling by means of hard-earned power and virtue to further the work of God in suffering humanity; consider our divine Fore-runner and Example" (p. 92).

To Schulze he has a word of warning as to the perils of a poet's life, which might almost serve as a key to Mr. Browning's "*Sordello*."

"The very creative power which God has given the poet . . . seduces him to handle such a world of supposed existences, as though it were properly his own. . . . Thus does it seem to me that in the days that are past your poetical soul has seen and represented much, without its being *lived through*, as it were, *in yourself*; this, therefore, you could not inwardly feel and believe to be near and real. Now this is exactly what no man can do with impunity. Thus did you gradually lose the power of believing in what is true in itself. . . . You supposed the facts of many a poet before you—viz., to be incapable of believing in that by which you were bringing to consciousness the unspoken sensations of many a reader's soul. . . . Your first step must be to throw off everything which threatens to separate in you the *poet* from the *man*" (p. 161).

But the fullest utterance of his plan of life was drawn forth by his contact with Niebuhr at Berlin in 1815-1816, during a visit which also brought him under the influence of Schleiermacher. To him he submitted a *Plan of Intellectual Labour* (i., pp. 85-90), which contains the expansion of his first idea. Language in all its aspects, and its history in the great divisions of the human race, art and science, religious and civil institutions, the philosophy of Universal History based upon accurate knowledge of its details, the preparation for Christianity to be traced throughout—this was to be his life-work. And of this, as his later works show, he never lost sight. Where the occupations of his life compelled him to abandon vast regions which he at one time hoped to make his own by the right of thorough exploration, he yet kept his plan before him, and sent men like Max Müller and Lepsius to labour in his stead. Sooner or later to him as to others there came the conviction that life is short, and that man

must be content to know but a fragment of that which he sees stretched before him in its boundlessness.

The friendship of an American gentleman, of the well-known New York firm of Astor, who studied at Göttingen, led to an engagement to travel together in France and Italy, and in this way Bunsen passed some months of 1816 at Paris, and went on to Florence. On his southward journey his likeness to the first Napoleon (a likeness which we can trace, in spite of the greater fulness and brightness of his face, in the lines of Richmond's portrait) nearly led to his being arrested. He arrived at Florence, and, on his friend's sudden departure for America, settled down to work. Soon Niebuhr joined him, and a striking passage shows the feeling with which Bunsen regarded him.

"You must imagine what I feel in wandering with Niebuhr over the ruins of the ancient pre-Roman, Etruscan magnificence, and then again among the splendid monuments of the destroyed liberty of the modern Athens, the city of Dante and Machiavelli. What can be more venerable and affecting than the melancholy, the mourning of a great man over the human race? It is like the Divine Spirit in human form beholding in human sadness the vain rushing of the generations of men towards an abyss, or like Prometheus witnessing and deploring from his rock the gradual extinction of the sparks which he has kindled. And with all this wide grasp of contemplation, what a clear and single eye has Niebuhr for everything individual, what a certainty in his knowledge of fact—in a word, what inward completeness!" (i. p. 101).

In the November of the same year he passed from Florence to Rome, and before long the course of his life was determined for him by events of which he had not the remotest anticipation. Acquaintance with the eldest daughter of Mr. Waddington, then staying with his family at Rome, gave opportunities (as the survivor writes after "the blessed experience of forty-three years") to ascertain "the existence of that degree of sympathy and fulness of satisfaction in each other which is known by instinct, rather than reflection, to be no transitory feeling, but a life-condition," and this was followed by their marriage on the 1st of July, 1817. A few months later, after a happy retirement at Frascati, he settled in the Palazzo Caffarelli, which was to be his home for twenty years. The retirement of his friend Brandis from his position as Secretary of Legation led to his accepting that post under Niebuhr, and finally, though at the time he "detested that course of life, and only took to it as a means of independence," to his succeeding him at Rome, and ultimately to his diplomatic career in Switzerland and England.

Letters and extracts from his journals at this time show how steadily he still kept before himself the task of setting forth "the consciousness of God in the mind of man, and that which in and through that consciousness he has accomplished, especially in language and

religion." Few nobler communings of the soul with its Lord have ever been put on record than the following:—

"Eternal, omnipresent God! enlighten me with thy Holy Spirit, and fill me with thy heavenly light. What in childhood I felt and yearned after, what throughout the years of youth grew clearer and clearer before my soul, I will now venture to hold fast, to examine, to represent.

"The revelation of thee in man's energies and efforts, thy firm path through the stream of ages, I long to trace and recognise, as far as may be permitted to me, even in this body of earth. The song of praise to thee from the whole of humanity, in times far and near, the pains and lamentations of earth and their consolation in thee, I wish to take in clear and unhindered. Do thou send me thy Spirit of Truth, that I may behold things earthly as they are, without veil and without mask, without human trappings and empty adornment; and that in the silent peace of truth I may feel and recognise thee" (i. p. 120).

§ The attempt of Frederick William III., on occasion of the Tercenary Festival of the Reformation (Oct. 31st, 1817), to unite the two confessions by which the Protestantism of Germany was divided, led Bunsen's thoughts to the work of meeting what he looked on as the liturgical poverty of most Protestant Churches. He himself had celebrated that festival at Rome by a special service based upon the model of the English Prayer-Book, and that book both in its daily order and its special offices (particularly those for Marriage and Burial) drew his warm admiration.

"Now I maintain that the English Liturgy was constructed from a grand point of view, and adapted with much wisdom to the wants and to the people of that time, and that it represents Christian worship far more thoroughly than anything that I have seen in Germany, Holland, or Denmark" (i. p. 145).

The character of his mind was indeed, as Nitzsch described it, "essentially liturgical," delighting in the utterance of devout feeling, especially in all forms of hymnody, not averse to symbolism, with no Puritan dread of ecclesiastical antiquity. The line of study and activity thus entered on was pursued for many years, and bore fruit in the *Gesang- und Gebet-Buch*, and in the liturgical dissertations which are so prominent in both editions of his "Hippolytus." As early as 1824, the desire to develope historically the relation of the Lord's Supper to the life and worship of the Church took its place in his mind side by side with the wider aim of tracing God in History rather perhaps presented itself as that to which all other inquiries ultimately converged. His first personal contact with the King of Prussia, who visited Rome in 1822, led him to criticise what seemed to him the imperfections of the first draft of a Liturgy which had been drawn up under that monarch's directions for the Evangelic Churches, and which was to unite the Lutheran and Reformed communities, and to suggest improvements. It is honourable to both

parties to the discussion that, freely as Bunsen spoke, it gained for him the King's favour, and that it was in part due to the impression thus made that he was appointed to succeed Niebuhr as the permanent representative of Prussia at the Papal Court.

At a later period, when Bunsen visited Berlin in 1828, an elaborate memoir on the subject was submitted to the King, and, backed as it was by Bunsen's own personal persuasiveness, led him to see in what had been drawn up as a rival Liturgy the real fulfilment of his own intentions. It was characteristic of the steadfastness with which Bunsen adhered to his convictions, that he never for a moment altered the services in the Chapel of the Prussian Embassy at Rome, except on the solitary occasion of the monarch's visit. Then for one Sunday the royal *Agende* was elaborately gone through with the best singers that could be obtained for the purpose. When he had departed, the Liturgy of the Ambassador resumed its accustomed sway.

The Roman reminiscences of this period are, as might be expected, full of interest. There, as afterwards at Carlton Terrace, Bunsen's house became a common ground for men of varied temperaments, creeds, nationalities, united by the bond of high culture and the absence of what we have lately learnt to call "Philistinism." We read of Thorwaldsen and the conception which he embodied in his "Mercury;" of perfect rest prepared for immediate and energetic action; of Cornelius and Overbeck and their schools of devout art, led by their reverence for that art to forsake the religion of their fatherland for an ascetic type of Romanism; of the arrivals of English travellers who were drawn to Bunsen by tastes more or less congenial—Julius Hare, and Connop Thirlwall, and Philip Pusey, and Thomas Arnold, and the Aclands. Sir Walter Scott passes for a few moments on the scene, broken in health and fortune, playing with his troubles as one who, like Dogberry, "has had losses," but "has still two gowns and everything handsome about him." Chateaubriand is seen there, as ever, vain, sentimental, artificial. The genius of Leopardi, fiery, lonely, and unhappy, attracted Bunsen's sympathy, and found a momentary comfort in his kindness. We find him exercising his diplomatic influence to obtain for the first time a recognised Protestant cemetery, and a hospital in which Protestants might find medical care and nursing without being exposed to the proselytism of the Romish priesthood, and founding an Archæological Institute for the more thorough investigation of the *origines* of Roman history. A somewhat rash promise to help Niebuhr to make a work on Roman topography, of which Platner was the nominal editor, worthy of its subject involved him in labours which spread over many years of his life, and helped to establish his reputation among

scholars. The excitement caused by Champollion's early discoveries in applying the key which the Rosetta stone had placed in his hands to the interpretation of the hieroglyphics of Egypt stimulated Bunsen to throw himself with all his characteristic ardour into the same line of investigation. The zeal with which he proclaimed to the throng of English listeners his discovery that "Abraham was to Cheops as Victoria to William the Conqueror" helped to draw attention to what was afterwards known as Egyptology, and to give the first shock to the traditional belief of Englishmen in the chronology which Usher had deduced from the Book of Genesis. For Bunsen we must remember the study had more than the charm of novelty. It fell into the vast scheme with which his youth had started, and formed a link hitherto missing in the great chain which bound together the hoary and mysterious East with the culture of Greece and Rome and Christendom. The twenty-two years thus spent at Rome seem to have been, if not the most conspicuous, yet in many ways the happiest and sunniest portion of Bunsen's life. A large family of sons and daughters grew up round him, intelligent, united, loving. The casual intimacies which originated in his own large-hearted hospitality in the Palazzo Caffarelli were constantly ripening into friendships. Every summer brought its retirement for four or five months to the wooded heights of the Villa Piccolomini, at Frascati. He had the satisfaction for a long period of knowing that he gained the approval of his own Government. The king treated him, both at Rome and on his occasional visits to Berlin, with marked personal kindness. In the then Crown-Prince, afterwards Frederick William IV., he found one whose tastes in art, philosophy, religion, were congenial with his own, who had something of the same devout mysticism, something of the same antipathy to a vulgar utilitarian Liberalism. A cloud came over this friendship in later years, but, so long as it lasted, it was distinguished, in a degree rarely equalled, by frankness, sympathy, independence.

The natural unwillingness of the biographer to fill her pages with diplomatic documents (perhaps, also, the impossibility of obtaining those documents, or leave to publish them from the Prussian Government) has left the circumstances which led to Bunsen's recall from Rome in some degree of obscurity. He shared, it would seem, the common fate of those who set themselves against the falsehoods of extremes. Suspected at one time of "crypto-Catholicism" and reactionary tendencies towards the system of mediæval Christendom, after having incurred the risk of the king's displeasure by protesting against the system which made Sunday attendance at a Protestant service part of the military duty of Roman Catholic soldiers in the Prussian army, it was his destiny to be at last the victim of the per-

sistent and intriguing hostility of the Ultramontane party. In the long series of negotiations between Prussia and the Papal Court, on the question of mixed marriages in the "affair" of the Archbishop of Cologne, he had upheld what he looked on as the rights of national independence, against the hierarchical claims of the Papacy. He drew up elaborate State papers, and pressed his views upon his own Government. He went on a special mission to Berlin, and succeeded in winning over the king to his convictions. As he did so, the Crown-Prince, who brought the intelligence that a Commission had been appointed for settling the Roman question on the basis of his proposals, gave him a warning whisper. "Now you are lost: the adoption of this measure will never be forgiven you. Think of what I say." As he journeyed Romeward, fresh omens met him. Metternich (he travelled by way of Vienna) received him with all kindness, but urged him not to return to his post at Rome. A courier had just come, reporting that the Pope had said that he would never again receive Bunsen into his presence. The veteran diplomatist promised to take upon himself the responsibility of the delay, and pressed on the more impulsive nature of his guest the motto of his own life, *In dubiis abstinere*. To Bunsen's companion and to the Prussian Envoy at Vienna, however, this seemed to be somewhat too Ulysses-like. They saw in it a clever move in the political game of chess, were convinced that Metternich had an *arrière-pensée*, and urged departure without a day's delay. Bunsen acted on their advice, learnt that Metternich's information had been correct, found himself thrown overboard by his own Government. A few kind words from the Crown-Prince broke the fall. He was not absolutely dismissed, but allowed a year's leave of absence, to be spent in England, his subsequent work in the diplomatic service to be at the discretion of the Government, but certainly not at Rome. At the suggestion of the Crown-Prince, he turned his course, after some delays, towards Berlin, in the hope of setting himself right in the king's eyes by a personal representation, and possibly obtaining some political position in that city. He was met by a courier, bringing word that the king had no wish to see him, and bidding him to go at once to England. So it was that the twenty-two years of his Roman life came to an end. "He left his beloved home in the Capitol with a firm step and an unbroken spirit, saying to his wife, 'Come, and let us seek another Capitol elsewhere.'"

The visit to England, which followed on this temporary retirement from diplomatic life, brought him at once into the highest regions of social culture, and he reaped the harvest of which the seed had been sown with no prospective glance at the future, during the long years of hospitality and kindness at the Palazzo Caffarelli. The comments on men and things at this period are perhaps among the most interesting

portions of the whole memoir. Lord John Russell reminds him strongly in manner and personal appearance of Niebuhr. In Mr. Gladstone, whose work on Church and State had just appeared, he sees one "far above his party and his time." The book is "a great event." He "is the first man in England as to intellectual power, and has heard higher tones than any one else in the island." He is sure "one day to govern England." He "has left his schoolmasters far behind him, but we must not wonder if he still walks in their trammels,—his genius will soon free itself entirely, and fly towards Heaven with its own wings." "His Church is my Church, that is, the Divine consciousness of the State—a Church not profaned and defiled either by Popery or the unholy police regulations of the secular power." He mourns over his continued adhesion to the dogma of the Apostolical succession and the indispensable necessity of Episcopal government, and wonders, in words that some will look upon as prophetic, that "Gladstone should not have the feeling of *moving on an inclined plane*, or that of sitting among ruins, as if he were settled in a well-stored house." With Mr. Philip Pusey he reads Sophocles and the *De Coronâ*, and finds that he takes in Schelling as easily as Plato. He has a two hours' breakfast with Newman. "Oh! it is sad: he and his friends are truly intellectual people, but they have lost their grounds—going exactly *my way*, but stopping short in the middle. It is too late;" but he finds comfort in the "amicable interchange of ideas and a Christian sympathy." Lord Melbourne, *à propos* apparently of Gladstone's book and the interest felt in the Prusso-Roman question, declares that "all the young people are going mad about religion." The great Duke rubs up his French to express his sympathy with German nationality. "Vous avez eu de grandes affaires." "Elles ne sont pas encore finies." "Nous n'en voyons que le commencement." "Heureusement les Rhenans ne sont pas les Belges." He goes to Guy's Hospital, and finds the preaching of Gospel truth "by one of the finest and deepest minds in England (its then chaplain, F. D. Maurice) to *Christ's own congregation*, cripples, blind, lame, even insane, aged men and women, invalids, convalescent, half-dying." To Arnold he propounds at length his theory of the interpretation of Prophecy, and his scheme for the application of Cathedral endowments to the foundation of Divinity and other Professorships at Oxford and Cambridge; makes his maiden speech in English at a dinner of the Agricultural Society in the quadrangle of Worcester College, Oxford; is drawn, by a meeting of the Cymreigiddion, during his stay at his mother-in-law's residence at Llanover, to the study of Welsh literature, and accepts the office of adjudicating a prize for an Essay on its influence upon that of Germany, France, and Scandinavia, having finally to decide between two able monographs, by Albert Schulz and the Count de Villemarquè. Everywhere we find

the same indomitable energy, the same hearty geniality, the same variety of interests and seemingly inexhaustible fertility. For one neither noble nor a millionaire nor high in official rank, coming to England after something like a dismissal, however softened or disguised, without as yet the prestige of any single book that takes the world by storm, he had met with an almost unexampled heartiness of reception, honourable at once to himself and to his many hosts.

It was perhaps well that a time of such rushing, feverish excitement should be followed by a period of retirement. The aristocracy and bureaucracy of Berlin opposed his admission to official life there. He himself craved then, as he had done even from the first at Rome, as he did on the very eve of his appointment to the Court of St. James's, for peace and retirement, a professorship where he could inform and mould the minds of rising thinkers, a country home where he could work out his long-cherished, long-delayed plans for a philosophical history of Christianity and mankind. With the position of Prussian envoy in Switzerland, and a residence on the Hubel, one of the most charming of the environs of Berne, with more freshness than at Rome, and more tranquillity than was possible at London, with no diplomatic task but that of "doing nothing" and keeping things quiet, the time thus spent seems to have been a period of singular happiness. His sons and daughters were round him, and father and mother could "luxuriate in the contemplation of *Die goldene Zeit des Werdens*." His widow looks back "upon this year in Bunsen's life, a time of vigorous purpose, of energetic occupation, of activity not debased by struggle, of action unhindered by the necessity of resistance," as brighter than either the before or the after, and pauses with the sigh, "Quel fiore di salute, O come appassi!" In the closing period of her husband's career her heart leapt up at the thought of returning to it. Something of the influence of this calmer and serener life is traceable, short as the time was, in Bunsen's correspondence, and the channels to which his activity then turned. The great schemes of his life were still kept in view. The work on the Basilicas was finished; that on Egyptian chronology was systematically begun. "God in History," though postponed, was still the goal of all his labours. But with this there was also a fuller, more unchecked development of the devotional and benevolent side of his character. He throws himself into the life of the Pietists at Basle, with their orphanages, and missions, and revivals, and efforts for the conversion of the Jews; looks with a glance of pity on De Wette, present at the Pietistic meeting, "avoided by the religious party, and abused by his former rationalist associates, his life ebbing out, his soul full of doubts, and his heart full of grief, without friends, and without a community to belong to;" defends the genuineness of our Lord's discourses in St. John's Gospel against his old

friend Lücke. His correspondence with his friends and his family is more the free utterance of the deep thoughts of his heart, and less the reflection of the passing incidents of the moment. Berne was, as he himself called it, the Patmos of his life.

The death of Frederick William III. and the accession of the Crown-Prince to be the fourth bearer of that name, brought with it what seemed at the time a great mission, and eventually led to his being the representative of the Prussian Government in England. A few months before he succeeded to the throne, the new king had sent him "a letter of twenty-eight closely written quarto pages, containing his whole creed and system of government as to the Church." It agreed entirely with Bunsen's views. It was clear that his hand would be wanted to carry it into execution. Letters long and frequent passed between them, awaiting in the archives of Berlin the disclosures of some future day. The king "hungered and thirsted" for his presence. Before long he was summoned to a personal interview to undertake a secret mission of the highest possible importance. Germany, and perhaps Europe also, were looking to the new king as master of the situation, one who might build up the edifice of German unity, rescue Protestantism from its discords and divisions, defend Christianity from the aggressive despotism of Rome and the growing abyss of unbelief. Partly, perhaps, from the wish being father to the thought, partly as guessing that the king was calling him to reap what he had sown, he started with a joyous foreboding of the nature of the task to be assigned him.

"Early in the morning the thought was clear and living before my soul that the king had called me with a view to do something in the Holy Land, and that it might be the will of the Lord, and probably would be that of the king, that in Jerusalem the two principal Protestant Churches of Europe should, across the grave of the Redeemer, reach to each other the right hand of fellowship."

It is difficult at this distance of time to understand the enthusiasm which attended the conception and parturition of a scheme of which the only fruit has been the appointment of Dr. Alexander and Dr. Gobat as successively Bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem, with a long series of disunions, dissensions, and personalities in its train. It was on this, however, that the king's heart was set. With a strange anticipation of the Eastern question, which assumed such unexpected magnitude in the Crimean war of 1854, the King of Prussia's first state paper of importance was an address to European Christendom on the subject of the so-called sacred places, suggesting a plan, the nature of which may be inferred from the epigram which blew it to the winds, "*Ce serait établir une Cracovie religieuse.*" Failing this, he fell back on the idea sketched in Bunsen's words, and on the arrival of the latter at Berlin (where, by the way, he found outside the royal circle "much of hatred and

mistrust, and yet more of fear"), entrusted him with the delicate and confidential mission which was to include archbishops and bishops and religious societies, and the leaders of religious parties, as well as secretaries of state and the *corps diplomatique*. He arrives, and as soon as the negotiations were opened, the ecclesiastical mind of England was thrown into one of its feverish states of agitation. The Jerusalem bishopric seemed for a time to act as a bond of union between men who had little else in common but their interest in its establishment. It drew together temperate and scholarly representatives of old-fashioned churchmanship, like Archbishop Howley, Bishop Blomfield, and Bishop Kaye; leaders of the Evangelical school, like Lord Ashley and Dr. M'Caul; representatives of new lines of thought, like Archdeacon Hare and Mr. Maurice. Mr. Gladstone, not without hesitation and scruples, embodied in a letter of twenty-eight pages, but already shaking himself free from the restraints of his earlier teachers, finally took up the cause with all his earnestness, and became trustee of the Endowment Fund for the successor of St. James. There seemed hardly any limit to the hopes of what might spring from the seed thus sown. The conversion of the Jews, the evangelization of the Churches of the East, the fraternal union of the two great representatives of Teutonic Christianity,—this was the golden vision of those who welcomed the consecration of Bishop Alexander as the dawning of a better time. On the other hand, there were those to whom it came as the solvent of the last ties that bound them to the Church of their fathers. "May that accursed scheme perish and come to nought!" was the only benediction they bestowed on it. The Archbishop of Canterbury was pelted with letters threatening secession if this evil union with heresy and schism should be consummated. John Henry Newman, in his "History of My Religious Opinions," names the Jerusalem bishopric as being the last (perhaps the penultimate) drop which made the waters of bitterness overflow.* When Dr. Pusey penned the attack

* One of Bunsen's letters of this period gives a curious illustration of the state of mind among Newman's friends at the time. An Antwerp "pastor," of the name of Spörlein, had become dissatisfied with the congregational independence of the Dutch Church, and yearned for episcopal ordination and fellowship with the Anglican communion. He came to seek counsel from English divines, and went to Newman with an introduction from Bunsen. He was invited to breakfast, and found fifteen of Newman's younger friends assembled to hear his tale. He unburdened his heart to them, and they gave their decision—the verdict of a Newmanic jury on a case of conscience—viz., that "Pastor Spörlein, as a continental Christian, was subject to the authority of the Bishop of Antwerp." He objected that by that bishop he would be excommunicated as a heretic. "Of course; but you will conform to his decision." "How can I do that," exclaimed Spörlein, "without abjuring my faith?" "But your faith is heresy." "How? Do you mean that I am to embrace the errors of Rome and abjure the faith of the Gospel?" "There is no faith but that of the Church." "But my faith is in Christ crucified." "You are mistaken; you are not saved by Christ, but by the Church."—(i. p. 614)

on Bunsen which called forth Julius Hare's chivalrous vindication, it was clear enough that, though his encomium on Ewald's "*History of Israel*" furnished the occasion, the unforgiven offence was the part which he had taken in this attempt to bring the English Church into contact with German Protestantism.

Newman's secession was, perhaps, little as it has entered into the thoughts of the promoters, the most important result of the King of Prussia's scheme. But it also led to Bunsen's filling the office of Prussian ambassador at London for fourteen years (1840—1854). The success with which he had accomplished his special mission, the unequalled warmth of his reception everywhere among men of all parties and all characters, overcame for a time the prepossessions of Prussian officialism. Even the king shrank from directly appointing one who was neither count nor baron as his representative in so aristocratic a country as England; but on taking the unusual course of submitting three names to the queen's choice, she, with the full concurrence of her Cabinet, selected Bunsen's. Before long he was lodged in his new character in a house taken for the purpose in Carlton House Terrace,* and the embassy assumed under his management a brilliancy which it had never attained before. The King of Prussia's arrival to be present as sponsor at the baptism of the Prince of Wales, a few months after he entered on his post, gave an additional *prestige* to the position which his own high character and vast abilities had gained for him. A visit to Drayton Manor brought him into the highest region of English statesmanship, and seems to have drawn Peel and Bunsen together with a warmth of sympathy hardly to be expected in characters in many points so dissimilar. They did not meet often afterwards; but when the former was on his death-bed, in 1851, he thrice expressed a strong desire that Bunsen should be sent for. Unhappily, when he arrived in answer to the summons, he was too late, and no one knows whether the wish sprang from some anxiety of the statesman or some craving for devotional sympathy in the man.

The temporary occupation of Herstmonceux Place gave to Bunsen and his family for two years the satisfaction of being in close neighbourhood with his dear-loved friend, Julius Hare; but the distance from town (railways not then helping him) was found too great, and it was exchanged for country residences nearer London, at Oak Hill and Totteridge Park successively. Meantime the course of things in Prussia did not run smoothly. Bunsen was misunderstood, suspected, thwarted. A project for altering the law of divorce so as to set limits to the almost boundless licence of German practice in that respect, and proclaiming that marriage was indissoluble except on the grounds of adultery and malicious desertion (it is curious to see

* No. 4. The embassy was afterwards removed to No. 9.

Bunsen's schemes, in this as in other things, anticipating English legislation), brought him into collision with legists, with the generally lax feeling of society, even with many of the clergy. The state of public feeling was eminently unsatisfactory. The king, with his heart set upon a Christian paternal government for the people, could not bring himself to accept the risks of a representative government by them, and so lost his hold on their affections. Even Bunsen, with all his personal regard for him, mourned over the failure of lofty schemes which this and other mistakes brought upon him. Even Peel, speaking of the king, uttered the warning words, "I hope he will be ready to concede to the wishes of his subjects. It is well to make concessions while they can yet be made. Many sovereigns have had cause to lament having let the hour of concession go by, which returns not." Personally, however, Bunsen's reception, on a visit to Berlin in 1844, was as kind as he could have desired. The king received him with open arms and noble gifts, and listened to his counsels. The Prince of Prussia (the present king), who had been alienated from him, yielded to the charms of his bright open nature, and held long conferences with him. Bunsen's æsthetic culture found a common ground on which king and prince and statesman could meet. An abridged translation of the *Oresteia* of Æschylus was, at his suggestion, executed by Professor Franz to order ("only to Germany is it possible to accomplish such a work in a fortnight"), and Mendelssohn composed the music in time for its performance on the Emperor Nicholas's arrival. A regal *bon-mot* on this occasion is worth extracting. The Emperor, who was not acquainted with the *Oresteian* trilogy, asked for information as to the plot. The king told the tale, and finally summed up the *dénouement* of the *Eumenides* as follows:—"The thing ends thus: the Furies receive the title of *Excellency*, and a house rent free outside the gates, and withdraw on these conditions well pleased." This epigram had, of course, a special reference to certain court-murmurers that had thus been pacified. A new "Chorale-book" was arranged in conjunction with the great musical composer just named. A "Conservatorio" for sacred music was established under the king's patronage.

The next four years passed happily and brightly. Sons and daughters married into English families. Bunsen himself rejoiced in an ever-widening circle of friends, and rose to a yet higher place in the favour of the Queen and Prince Consort. In their confidential friend and adviser, Baron Stockmar (the confidential friend also of Melbourne and Peel), he found one on whose sympathy and support he could always count. Mr. Cureton's discovery of the shorter text of the Epistles of Ignatius opened a new region for inquiry, and

gave an opportunity, such as he delighted in, for contending that the hierarchical theory of the Church was an aftergrowth, and not part of its original constitution. He had the satisfaction of seeing tasks that he had suggested well performed by those whom he had urged to work on them, and helping to bring them into an honourable publicity. Through him it was that Mr. Max Müller set himself to the life-task of editing the Vedas, and yet did not forget to gather up the Chips of his German Workshop. Through him Dr. Meyer was led to devote himself to the study of Keltic dialects, and Lepsius helped in carrying on the Egyptian labours which he had begun at Rome, and Miss Winkworth led to translate the "*Theologia Germanica*," which had contributed so largely to the formation of his own religious character, and to give the hymns of his fatherland a place in the private, and even in the public, devotions of English Christianity. Miss Swanwick tells us in the preface to her translation of *Æschylus* that she too was led to her work by a hint from Bunsen, and this is probably but one of many instances, in addition to those which this Memoir has recorded, of hints of his which fell at the right moment, and on the right soil, and have since fructified. The glimpses of his diplomatic activity which we get during this period brings before us difficulties and schemes which seem now to lie almost in the remote past of European history. When the Oregon question threatened the relations between England and the United States even more than the Alabama claims do now, Bunsen (whose sympathies seem to have been altogether with England) urged that it should be referred to the arbitration of his friend, the Syndic Sieveking, of Hamburg. In his desire for the expansion of Prussian influence, he laid before the king a plan for the purchase of California, which, opposed as it was by the advice of Alexander von Humboldt, failed to win approval. One pictures to oneself the opening which such a scheme would have given for the assertion of the Monroe doctrine. In London, however, as at Rome, schemes of active benevolence blended with the action of the diplomatist and the man of letters, and the German Hospital at Dalston, founded mainly by his personal labours, and his influence over others, remains as a lasting monument of Bunsen's ambassadorship. Old scenes and friends were not forgotten in the midst of all this whirl. When one of his sons went to Germany he was specially directed to go to Corbach with messages and gifts for the companions of his youth. When Bunsen himself attended his royal master on the reception of the Queen of England at Schloss Stolzenfels, he diverged from his route to re-visit the home of his boyhood and to seek out the school-fellows whom he had not seen since he had left them forty years before.

The year 1848, a year, as Bunsen calls it, in dating his letters, of

"the second deluge," brings before us, as might be expected, many stirring reminiscences. For a time, in spite of its horrors and confusions, Bunsen was sanguinely hopeful as to the prospects which it opened for Prussia and for Germany. The king would be roused from his dreams, his procrastinations, his halting between two opinions. The minor princes would willingly consent to be mediatised in order that Germanic unity might be established under Prussian hegemony. Stockmar, who was to represent the interests of the house of Saxe-Coburg at the Frankfort Congress, would help to guide things rightly. He was not discouraged by the prevailing distrust and foreboding fears of English society and English statesmen. Peel's warning, "Let not Germany attempt to speak a word in European politics for six weeks—not till you are constituted. You speak in the feeling of a future in which we do not believe," fell as on deaf ears. Bunsen's hopes rose in proportion as the Frankfort Congress advanced in its career. He accepted the responsibility of acting, at first *officieusement*, afterwards formally, as plenipotentiary of Germany as well as Prussia. When the king was persuaded, in December, 1848, to *octroyer* a constitution involving some adoption of Liberal ideas, it seemed as if the path was clear. A summons to Berlin, in January, 1849, dashed all these expectations to the ground. He came prepared to urge the king to accept the Imperial title and position which the Frankfort representatives of the Germanic body were about to offer him, and found (mingled, it is true, with strong expressions of personal affection) an entire political estrangement.* The influences of Austria and Bavaria were dominant in the king's court, and the king had been led to regard the Imperial crown as "a crown of shame," which it was impossible for him, with any regard to his own honour or conscience, to accept, and to shrink more and more from any real transfer of power from his own will, oscillating and uncertain as it was, to a popular assembly. Bunsen's heart fell within him. "Moral indignation, dejection, and grief were fixed permanently in his heart." He "found himself a foreigner in the chief city of his fatherland, repelled even in the very chambers of the king." The faces that met him in the antechamber showed jealousy and hate, "choking from suppressed rage." "A real statesman was nowhere to be seen." The king himself had lost the "royal consciousness of right that existed formerly." To avoid a more serious breach, Bunsen had to resign his post as plenipotentiary of the Germanic body. He was even led to tender his own resignation

* Peel's comment on the king's conduct was characteristic. He was "fully aware that great objections lay against acceptance; but that refusal might bring yet greater dangers, by the delay to be apprehended in accomplishing a final arrangement. The king, however, had given a strong proof of an unambitious disposition."

if the Prussian Government persisted in the Danish policy against which he had protested.

The shadow which these events cast over Bunsen's political relations was never quite removed. His conviction that the king would not break the letter of his oath of fidelity to the constitution which he had granted, was counterbalanced by the sense that the influences dominant at the Prussian Court were antagonistic to all Liberal progress, that in matters of religious thought the king had moved to the right while he himself was diverging to the left. The policy which he urged in the tangled maze of Schleswig-Holstein negotiations was systematically thwarted, and the alternative of resigning rather than attach his name to the Protocol of 1852 (a document afterwards destined, under Bismarck's guidance, to bear the unexpected harvest of the Danish war, and Sadowa, and Prussian hegemony over a united Germany), again presented itself to his mind. At the time he satisfied himself with the thought that he had "delivered his soul" by his protests, and that his functions in such a case were purely ministerial, and the ties which bound him to England and English life were too many and too strong to be lightly rent asunder; but the sense of being cramped and overruled made his official work more and more distasteful to him, and led him to long for peace. One consequence of this was that he threw himself more and more into his unofficial tasks in philosophy and theology. Schemes became vaster in their proportions, labours more incessant. To be at his desk and surrounded by his books became more and more the indispensable refreshment or stimulant of his life. In spite of some warning symptoms, he still adhered to his life-long practice of rising at five and beginning work immediately, and so was able to accomplish results which might have seemed, measured by the ordinary standard of life in London, a work almost physically impossible. Four volumes on Egypt followed each other in rapid succession. The discovery of the *Philosophumena*, or Refutation of all Heresies, attributed by the editor, Dr. Miller, to Origen, but claimed by Bunsen for Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus, became, as that of the "Ignatian Epistles" had been, a peg on which to hang manifold dissertations on the Archaeology of Christian liturgies, and the relation of Christian theology to philosophy and life. In the short interval between the first and second editions, the four moderate-sized volumes had expanded into seven large octavos, and the new title, "Christianity and Mankind," showed sufficiently how wide a range the subject matter had taken. In addition to these works *ad Clerum*, addressed to students of history and philosophy, there was the "Bibelwerk" *ad populum*, intended to bring before the great mass of German readers the results of criticism such as Ewald and himself had applied

to the books of the Old Testament, and to teach them how to read and understand the New. The publication of these works brought him, of course, into collision with many of the dominant religious convictions of English minds, and exposed him to attacks from many different quarters. In the minds of not a few he was the counsellor whose influence in the highest regions of English life was most to be dreaded. It was he who had led the Queen to appoint Dr. Hampden to the bishopric of Hereford. When the Exhibition of 1851 had to pass, before its birth in the Crystal Palace, through the ordeal of the derision, insinuation, prejudice, which the Conservative press showered on it, it was urged, as the crowning objection, that it "was all Bunsen's doing."

The commencement of the diplomatic transactions which issued in the Russian war of 1854, filled Bunsen with forebodings which were too soon to be realised. He had known as far back as 1844, when the Emperor Nicholas had visited England, then ready to welcome him with open arms, something of the thoughts and plans which were afterwards laid open in the memorable conversation with Sir Hamilton Seymour, "*Il y a dans mon Cabinet deux opinions sur la Turquie: l'une, qu'elle est mourante; l'autre, qu'elle est morte—la dernière est la miennne. Il serait ainsi bien que nous nous entendions sur la manière de ses funérailles.*" And when the rupture came, and war was actually declared, the final catastrophe could no longer be averted. The line of policy which the Prussian Government took, the position of unfriendly neutrality which it maintained towards the Western powers, was so entirely at variance with his own convictions, the king so entirely in the hands of a reactionary Camarilla, that all hesitation was removed. He tendered his resignation in April, 1854, and it was at once accepted. The home round which had spread so bright and wide a series of concentric circles had to be rapidly dismantled. The pain of parting was in part softened, in part intensified, by the kindness which poured in from a thousand friends. To the Queen and the Prince Consort his last official visit before his departure gave an opportunity for once again testifying their strong personal regards for him. Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, and Lord Aberdeen, all wrote to express their sympathy and approval of the part that he had taken in recent political transactions. Houses were offered to him and his in all parts of England. It was felt, however, that an ex-ambassador who had been in such close confidential intercourse with all the chief English statesmen, could not continue to reside in this country without finding himself in a false position, entangled in incompatible obligations. Those who knew and loved him best had learnt that he could no longer be happy but in a home of his own, with books, and rooms, and hours entirely at his disposal; and accordingly, after the attractions of Nice, and Basle,

and Bonn, had been duly weighed, a house near Heidelberg was taken. The final words were said to the best and dearest of many friends, to one of them, Julius Hare, with a too true foreboding that they would be indeed parting words. In July, 1854, he arrived at Charlottenberg on the banks of the Neckar, with the sense that the wished-for time had come. The snare was broken and he was delivered. He could now flee away and be at rest.

With him, of course, rest meant incessant labour. The earliest schemes of his opening manhood, enlarged as they had since been by his philosophical, and linguistic, and theological studies, could now at last be realised. The labours bore their fruit in the completion of his "Egypt," in the review of the religious and political states of Germany, published under the title of "Signs of the Times," in a Life of Luther, and a Life of Jesus, in the revision and enlargement of his "Bibel-werk," in the *magnum opus* of "God in History," Miss Winkworth's translation of which awaits a notice in these pages, delayed only through the higher interest which gives the life of the man a claim to priority over any of his works. To those who, like the writer of this notice, had the happiness of seeing him once and again in this retirement, few memories will be more vivid or more bright than that of the kind welcome which greeted all English friends, the unabated activity of intellect, the genial smile which illuminated the whole face, the stately breadth of forehead, which rose above the brows like a temple. To walk up and down the terrace looking across the Neckar to the castle of Heidelberg in all its stately proportions and warmth of colouring,* to listen to the unceasing flow of his conversation, to his reminiscences of his last interviews with Frederick William IV. before the cloud had fallen on the king's intellect, or his indignant protest against the rigid orthodoxy of Hengstenberg, or the last thought that had flashed upon his mind with irresistible conviction (such, to give one instance, as the discovery that Baruch the son of Neriah, Jeremiah's scribe, was identical with the deutero-Isaiah, and was also the author of the Book of Job), to hear and answer the questions asked with an unforgetting minuteness about friends living or gone before, whom he had loved in past years,—these take their place among the recollections which the perusal of this book has quickened into fresh distinctness, and which are not likely soon to be effaced.

The years that followed brought with them, on the one hand, ever-widening schemes of work, on the other, warnings that the shadows were falling, and the night approaching. Heart and intellect were

* Tinted lithographs of all Bunsen's residences, or of the views from them, are given, it should be mentioned, in these volumes, as well as two admirable portraits. Of these, that prefixed to the second volume, by Rossmann, of Bonn, seems to us to give the character of the man far the most faithfully.

full of life. He rejoiced in the pledge given to peace by Mr. Cobden's negociation of the French treaty. He welcomed (standing almost alone among his countrymen) the emancipation of Italy in 1859, and the part taken by the Emperor Napoleon in it. It is pleasant to note, as the last conspicuous public event in his life, the entire restoration of the old friendship between him and the Prussian King. When he visited Berlin in 1857 to attend a meeting of the Evangelical Alliance, he was received with every mark of honour and affection. Though he had been unable to accept the articles of faith ultimately adopted by the Alliance (a simpler and wider confession sent forth by Sir Culling Eardley he had welcomed heartily, and it may serve to the English reader as the best expression of his religious convictions), he was yet in sympathy with the majority of those who were present. His translation of Dr. Caird's memorable sermon had done much to draw men's hearts to him and to mitigate their distrust. His departure from Berlin was followed immediately by the king's illness, but the intentions which Frederick William had expressed before the stroke came were carried into effect by the Prince of Prussia as Regent, and Bunsen was called to the Chamber of Peers in 1858. Increasing infirmities made him seek the more genial climate of Cannes in two successive winters. In 1860 he removed from Heidelberg to Bonn.

The end was now drawing near, and the illness before which he finally succumbed was a trying and painful one. The last scenes, the last words are brought before us with a fulness which the biographer would willingly have veiled as ground too holy for the tread of common feet, but which she rightly thinks it "due to the memory of him whose reality of opinion and inmost conviction has been much misunderstood and misconstrued" to place on record. Into that innermost sanctuary of his life we can but cast a glance, but that glance brings before us a picture not to be forgotten. From lips panting for breath there come nothing but words of thankfulness and trust and joy. "God be praised *for all!* in eternity, Amen." "His love is endless, spread over all creatures, nearest to his own in Christ." "To the eternal God, the Almighty, the All-merciful, I commend my immortal soul. May He bless you all, as all friends! Blessings on the Fatherland, our dear Fatherland." "It is sweet to die. With all feebleness and imperfection I have ever lived, striven after, and willed the best and noblest only. But the best and highest is to have known Jesus Christ." "It is a wonderful retrospect upon this world and this life *from above*. Now first one begins to perceive what a dark existence it is that we have here passed through. Upwards! upwards! heavenwards! Not darkness, no, it is becoming more and more light around me." "How lovely are thy dwellings, O Lord!"

"Watch well to keep up activity of life. Let life be evermore living." "I see Christ, and I see through Christ, God." "Christ is seeing us, is creating us, Christ must become all in all." Even in death the old familiarity with the many languages of men did not forsake him, and German, French, English, Latin, mingled spontaneously (as he thought now in this, now in that) in his last utterances. "Dieu, c'est l'Eternel, Dieu est la vie et l'amour; la vie est l'amour. Nuit et jour, c'est tout un. Dieu est tout." "Die erkenntniss offenbart uns die Unsterblichkeit." Again, after a pause, "Christus recognoscitur Victor. Christus *est*, *est* Victor." "Ja! gewiss, das glaube ich! dass Christus Sieger wird, dass Christus ist; Ja, beide (Gott und Christus) sind eins."

We cannot turn without some reluctance from such utterances to controversial and critical discussions, and our limits forbid any survey here of Bunsen's theological labours, and the system which they were intended to build up. And yet this sketch of what he was would be more imperfect than it is, grave questions would appear to be evaded, if it were to close without a word expressing the convictions of the writer as to Bunsen's position in relation to the great religious questions of our time. It can hardly be doubted that among us in England, much more, it may be, than in his own fatherland, his influence helped to direct the current of many men's thoughts into the channels in which they have since flowed. Herbert Marsh, and Coleridge, and Bishop Thirlwall, and Julius Hare, it is true, had, before Bunsen was known here, taught English readers that there was something to be learnt from that German theology which an Oxford divine of old days would piously have consigned to "the bottom of the German Ocean;" but the suggestions which Bunsen threw out, from his wide and varied reading, to Arnold and younger thinkers, on the Inspiration of the Bible, the Antiquity of Man, the "free handling of sacred subjects," bore fruit abundantly. If he had never been among us as Prussian Minister, the references to Ewald in Dr. Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible" would have been few and far between, and Dr. Rowland Williams's contribution to "Essays and Reviews" would have been far other than it is. Any future historian of the religious struggles of the nineteenth century in this country will have to take account of his personal influence as one of its representative men. It would not be difficult (religious reviews and journals will give proof enough of that) to bring together, especially from his later public and private writings, passages that would startle many English minds, and grieve many devout hearts. In his views as to the date and authorship of books of the Old and New Testament, in his admissions of a "mythical deposit in the Gospel history," in his exclusion, at first partial, and afterwards complete, of any historical predictions from the work of the prophets of the Old or New Testament, in his criticism on

the growth of the creeds and organization of the Church,—in these, and in many other points, there is much against which, at the right time and place, the writer of these pages would feel bound, in spite of all personal veneration, to bear his protest. Even the phrases which seem to carry with them the old familiar watchwords of Protestantism, appear at times

"To keep the word of promise to the ear,
And break it to the hope."

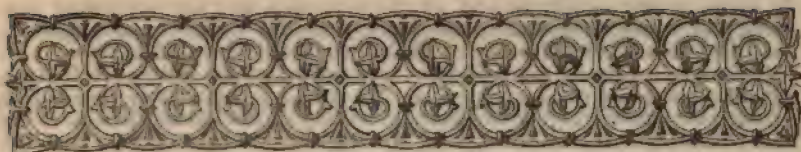
The task to which he gave himself in his later years, in some respects inverting the project of his youth, of bringing the spirit of the East into the thoughts and language of the West, was that of "*Hellenising Christianity*," translating "Semitic" phrases into their "Japhetic" equivalents; and so it came to pass that orthodox formulæ were used by him with a connotation which few could recognise as identical with that which had previously been attached to them. Justification by faith becomes but "another form of expression" for the "morally-artistic use of time."* The Incarnation becomes the "eternal, ever-renewed birth of Christ in the soul and in humanity." Even the sixth and seventeenth chapters of St. John's Gospel are translated in the same way, and find their Japhetic equivalents in the terminology of Schelling and of Hegel. We seem at times to hear the accents of the school of Tübingen from the man who looked on it as one of his life's duties to war against it.

What was it, we ask, which divided such a man from the schools of negative criticism with which he had so many points of contact? In what relation did he stand to Strauss and Baur, to Comte and Renan? And the answer is to be found, if we mistake not, in the influence which for some fifty years the "*Theologia Germanica*" exercised upon his life and thoughts, in the self-negation which throws itself out of the finite and the earthly upon the Infinite and the Heavenly. Through the devout mysticism of that book he had learnt to live in communion with the unseen God and Father, and fell back upon that resting-place, however wide and far he might have been led by the wanderings of the intellect, by the endeavour to "understand all mysteries and all knowledge." He clung to the belief in God as One who was ever present, ordering his life and the lives of all men, to belief in Christ as One in whose humanity the Eternal had revealed His divinity, and by whom men were atoned with God,—in the Spirit, as quickening and illumining, purifying and comforting. He had not learnt with Strauss to think of the belief

* It is right to add the context, which explains and justifies a phraseology that seems so startling:—"The amount of what is done, formed, accomplished, matters little so long as it is done in faith in that which is Unseen and only True. In this way sanctification is the highest expression for the creative completeness of the Spirit's impress."—(ii. p. 41.)

in immortality as the last enemy to be destroyed, nor with the school of Comte to dismiss all theological speculations as a thing belonging to the past. And so, as his letters show, at every stage of his life worship was to him the reality of all realities, and prayer the sustenance of his soul. In these moments the old words came back to the worshipper with their old power as better and truer than all that the philosopher had substituted for them. The liturgical element of his nature seemed to balance the critical, and the German hymns, which he had loved to collect and arrange, never ceased to come with refreshment to his spirit. In all the troubles of his life he finds peace in the thought of God's fatherly guidance and protection, and believes that all things work together for good to those that love Him. He is sure that the human affection through which he has learnt to know the Eternal will not end with death, that he and those whom he has loved shall meet again in the fulness of life. For him (with whatever latitude of interpretation) the Bible was still the book of books, the centre of all his studies, that on which he rested his hopes for the education of mankind. And with this union at once of entire freedom of thought and of entire dependence upon God, there was also in no common measure, the activity of loving service. Love flowed out upon all who came within the circle of his home, upon friends far and near, upon the suffering and needy everywhere.

The friends with whom his mind and heart were most in sympathy were those whose faith and life were truly and deeply Christian. Where, as in the later years of his life, with Renan, he fraternized with those who were not Christians, it was because, in spite of misgivings, he sought to recognise a latent faith below their unbelief, and read his own thoughts *into* what they had uttered. Few souls have lived so brightly and serenely, so far above the meanness of selfish aims and petty jealousies, breathing the atmosphere of wide and loving sympathy. When we are startled with conclusions on special questions, with criticism which in its very effort to build up a new edifice seems to us destructive of much that we revere, and then turn to the higher regions of the life, and the transfiguring glory of the death, no words seem so fit to sum up the many thoughts that crowd upon the mind as those which tell us that "prophecies shall fail, and knowledge shall vanish away," that all that we see now is seen as in a dim mirror, and a dark enigma, that the results of criticism and exegesis may or may not be among the "things that are shaken," but that Faith, Hope, Love take their place among the things that "cannot be shaken," and remain eternally.



NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—THEOLOGICAL.

Present Danger and Present Duty. The Papers read at the Meeting of Clergymen at Islington in January, 1868. Revised, and adapted for general circulation by their authors. With Introduction by the Rev. EDWARD AURIOL, M.A. London: William Hunt & Co. 1868.

A MANIFESTO from the great Evangelical party in the Church of England must always command respect. And if so, then certainly at the present time, when we may safely say that the co-operation of that party is absolutely necessary for the defence of the Church of England as a reformed body. "Except these abide in the ship, ye cannot be saved." We say, the *co-operation* of that party; we could wish to have been able to say, the leadership. But, unfortunately, leadership has never been its attribute. Whether it is too simple-minded and unsuspecting to lend itself to successful tactics, or too uncompromising to tolerate others who would fain work with it, or too alarmist to be endured by men who look beyond the foreground of life's picture, certain it is that it ever has been next to impossible to find an Evangelical who is a man of business, in such a sense as that he can be relied upon for safe piloting of a movement. The command, to let our reasonableness (*tautoua*) be known to all, was never more signally left unfulfilled than by this great and valuable body of men. Fidgety and crotchety while reposing upon the most precisely formulated professions, ludicrously suspicious in the midst of hardly credible simplicity, unable to resist the temptation of "talking in line," and marring earnestness by rhetoric, they have seldom held a meeting which did not supply materials for defeating its purpose, and hardly ever published a book which cannot be undermined from its own pages. In all that they put forth we seem to "smell the mould above the rose;" the ointment is of the best, but we cannot persuade them to let us have it without the taint of the fly.

The little book before us is an example of both these assertions. As to its occasion, the man must be either very bold or very blind, who would deny the reality of an ecclesiastical crisis in our day. Whatever our friends have said in a tone of alarm within the last few months, may be amply justified with, "Is there not a cause?" And if it be held that our alarm is of late considerably modified by the mantle of Ritualism having now descended on men who by their utter recklessness have thoroughly unmasked their object of bringing us back

to Rome, it may equally be held, on the other side, that the very fact of their being able to assault us thus unblushingly, is itself a source of alarm, showing that the public mind will bear now what it would not bear a while since.

The work consists of four addresses, three of which we will notice in turn, premising that the introductory one by Mr. Auriol is little more than a short preface, explanatory of the occasion, and leading on to what was to follow. The first address, properly so called, is by Mr. Garbett, of Christ Church, Surbiton, the late Bampton Lecturer. Its thesis was, "*There is a departure from the spirit of the Gospel, and the teaching of the Reformers and Evangelical Fathers of the Church, and a growing tendency to assimilate our worship to that of Rome.*" As may well be imagined, this proposition required but little proof. Yet it was necessary on the occasion, in order to put matters of fact formally before the meeting, for after-speakers to deal with. Mr. Garbett easily finds the materials by which to justify his thesis. The Bishop of Salisbury's charge,—the so-called Denison declaration,—Mr. Bennett's "*Plea for Toleration*,"—the amazing treatises and tracts, the latest "*outcome*" of the less scrupulous portion of the party, bearing the name of the Rev. Orby Shipley,—these alone are rich in facts abundantly proving what is asserted; and as far as the treatment of these extends, the address, with occasional blemishes, is satisfactory. But when this is done, Mr. Garbett takes most questionable, and, we think, dangerous ground. It is this: the exalting into a judge, in matters of theology, what he calls "*a soul taught of God.*"

"As we steep ourselves with the Word, so it produces in us a reflection of itself: that is, a reflection of our Master. The tone of the mind becomes Scriptural; a kind of intellectual conscience is called into being, which, without the slow process of argument, at once recognises what is harmonious with its own nature, and rejects what is contrary to it. I know there are men who treat this with great contempt, and regard it as no more than a subjective, personal opinion, the offspring of ignorance and fanaticism. I believe it to be to the mind what the conscience is to the morals—a divinely given protection against error, the shield of faith that turns aside the fiery darts of the Evil One. Believe it or not, the existence of such a result is strictly philosophical. It is the same with the intellect. There are certain instinctive principles of reasoning implanted in the human mind, by which, when not confused and bewildered, we detect truth from falsehood. Is it not a familiar thing to feel that such and such an argument is not true, even before we have been able to detect the fallacy on which it rests? So it is with the senses. Can we not detect the difference between the pure air of the open morning and the air of some close room laden with miasma and fever? Suppose that some one should say that you should not judge; you are not competent in your ignorance; wait till you can submit a portion of the air to chemical analysis, and then you will be able to speak. Would you not laugh at him? And just as ridiculous it is to say that no one is competent to judge of a doctrine but a trained divine, learned in versions and readings, great in Greek or Hebrew, and mighty in his array of scholiasts and critics. I do not despise these things; but a touch of the Spirit of God will oftentimes give more wisdom than the whole of them. What we need is a soul taught of God; that alone is in health and will act healthily. Just as a sound intellect rejects what contradicts the instinctive principles of all reasoning,—just as healthy senses discern between fresh air and foul, the savour of sweet roses and the putrescence of a corpse,—so a healthy soul has its own doctrinal apparatus. It is the repellent power of a soul in health, imbibing the pure oxygen and assimilating it with itself, while it rejects the noxious atmosphere heavy with superstition, and pregnant with death."—(Pp. 39, 40.)

It is strange that it never struck Mr. Garbett that all this is purely a *petitio principii*; for of course to him the test of "*a soul taught of God*" is, agreement with his peculiar views.

Far better is the next part of his address, where he shows that Mr. Bennett and the Orbicular essayists have departed not only from the teaching of those fathers and divines whom he terms evangelical, but also from that of those who have no title to that appellation—the old High Church divines of England. Mr. Garbett's great snare, both in his Bampton Lectures and here, has been "*tall talk*;" an unhappy interweaving of a bright gold thread of rhetoric among his thoughts, sometimes tangling, and even caricaturing them hopelessly. Take the following instances:—

"The Mediævalists torture the blessed Book as the priests of Baal of ancient times tortured themselves till the blood gushed out; but as it was then, so it is now; there is no voice nor any that answereth."

"Within what pastures modern Mediævalists have been brought up admits of no dispute. They have neither fed their minds on the green pastures of God's Word, nor on the plains of Sarum, or the high lands of Durham, or the stiff lawns of Winchester and Canterbury; but they have gone to the marshes of the Campagna, rank with the malaria of superstition, and watered by the muddy pools of Romish tradition."—(Pp. 38, 46, 47.)

The second essay bears the name of Mr. Birks, the present incumbent of Trinity Church, Cambridge. He states his intention of confining himself to two propositions:—"First, that the Evangelical Body are faithful representatives, and the only faithful representatives, of the Reformed Church of England and Ireland; and secondly, that that body are bound by a special duty, at this crisis, to maintain earnestly and zealously the Church's testimony against four main forms of error and false doctrine by which it is now assailed." These he afterwards explains to be, "Broad-Church Humanism," "Ecclesiastical Formalism," "High Anglican Mediævalism," and "Secularism." We have no hesitation in saying that, while this address enounces much in which we heartily agree, its whole tone and style are most offensive and unbecoming. The self-satisfaction displayed in it is beyond all bounds, and, one would willingly think, beyond previous example; shewing all the more obtrusively for the disclaimer of flattering words with which it is introduced. At the same time the want of fairness and charity are such as might have been borrowed direct from the armoury of Jesuitism. The culminating examples of these qualities are found in the treatment, respectively, of the Dean of Ely's remarkable sermon at the Bristol Congress, and of the so-called Pan-Anglican Pastoral. Of the former of these we will let our readers judge for themselves; first premising, that we think the Dean's selection of a text on this occasion anything but happy, and that we have a strong objection to taking any Scripture words out of their context for any purpose whatever:—

"This Humanistic creed infects and pervades many who would shrink from any formal denial of the Christian faith. We owe to it the coarse and vulgar receipt for curing our educational perplexities, to 'hang the theological question.' It finds its most fitting symbol in the mutilated text, chosen by a high dignitary in preaching before one of the Church Congresses,—'Go and do.' The false Humanism of these days could scarcely have found a more pithy condensation of the secret principles on which it rests. If the Word of God must still be retained, choose for your motto one of its shortest portions. Separate the text from its context. Leave out the 'thou,' the personal element, by which the truth appeals to the individual conscience. Leave out the 'likewise,' the standard of God's holy and perfect law, with the answering standard, also implied, of Gospel motives and promises. Cut in twain the Divine command, like the living child in the judgment of Solomon. And when you have resigned the upper half, the head and the heart, to Divines and experimental Christians, then 'construct a practical creed for your earnest workers, out of the legs and feet alone. Go and do something, and leave the motives within, and the standard given from on high, to take care of themselves.'"—(Pp. 86, 87.)

The other example we can only present in a brief specimen; here again premising that we are no admirers of the so-styled Pan-Anglican Synod, nor of its pastoral. But however this may be, one revolts at such gross unfairness as the following:—

"The Pastoral which has appeared is a public document. It is our right and duty, without respect of persons, to deal with it openly, on public grounds. In one diocese, at least, its publication by the clergy has been enforced by a stretch of authority, which might, so far as I see, with the same legal warrant, have enjoined the publication of the last allocution of the Bishop of Rome. For myself, I believe it is like the Trojan horse, *facta armis*; that it is stored with latent seeds of Formalism, which need only to be fully developed, to destroy the life of our Church, and to degrade it, from the foremost witness for Christ, into an accursed limb of the Papal Antichrist.

"The Pastoral Letter begins—"To the faithful in Christ Jesus, the Priests and Deacons, and the Lay members, in communion with the Anglican Branch of the Church Catholic."

"This opening phraseology is original and peculiar. We must assume that every word and phrase, with such signatures, is deliberately chosen, and has a definite meaning. This Pastoral, unless it were a mockery, is meant to have a world-wide influence from the Orkneys to New Zealand, from Indiana and Iowa in the West, to China in the furthest East. What, then, is the mould of doctrine into which all these Christians are henceforth to be cast?

"First, what is meant here by 'the Church Catholic'? It is a tree of several branches, the Anglican being one. Its Anglican branch includes those English-speaking Christians who submit to Episcopal rule, and those only. The seventy bishops address them with authority on this ground alone. The other branches, we must infer, are homogeneous. Thus the Church Catholic of the Pastoral includes those Christians, and those only, who are under Episcopal rule. A secret, silent sentence of excommunication from being any part of the Catholic Church is passed on all Non-Episcopal Churches;—the Kirk and the Free Church of Scotland, the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of the Continent, the Presbyterians, Wesleyans, Congregationalists, and Baptists, both of America and England. Such is the first principle and theological starting-point of this Episcopal exhortation to 'the faithful in Christ Jesus' in the four corners of the world."—(Pp. 92—94.)

This is but a sample. With reference to it, just let us suppose that the bishops had addressed all these bodies whom they are here blamed for omitting. Who would have been so ready as Mr. Birks, to charge them with a gross assumption of universal power over the Church of Christ? How could the bishops, as such, possibly address any other, than Christians acknowledging their mission and authority?

We have spoken plainly of Mr. Birks's address, because we do feel that it is but a sample of the way in which modern evangelicalism in the Church of England is destroying its own work. Until it purges out this intolerable self-conceit,—until it learns something like fair and truthful behaviour towards its opponents,—it will simply continue doing what it has, alas! long been doing,—playing into the hands of the enemy. Of a very large proportion of its journal, and platform, and press work, of late years, it may too truly be said—

"Hoc Ithacus velit, et magno mercantur Atrida."

It is a pleasure, after such an example of "defend us from our friends," to pass on to the sensible, and practical, and for the most part fairly written, address of Mr. Ryle. The questions which he examines are these:—I. *Is there a want of organized union among Evangelical Churchmen?* II. *Is such an organized union a necessary thing?* III. *Is such an organized union a practical and possible thing?* His answer to the first question is worth quoting,—for its own sake, and as a specimen of its incisive and telling style:—

"I answer that question, without hesitation, in the affirmative. There is a conspicuous absence of organized union among us. The old saying is true, whether we like it or not, we are 'a rope of sand.' Each individual particle of the rope may be sound and good. But there is a curious absence of cement and glue. The huge rope will neither lift, nor pull, nor draw as it ought, in proportion to its size. Try to do anything out of the beaten path of custom, and it falls to pieces.

"I grant freely that we have many things in common. You may see clearly that the atoms are all chips and fragments out of the same quarry. In the main we preach the same doctrines, and hold the same opinions. In the main we support the same societies, go to the same meetings, subscribe to the same charities, work our parishes in the same way, go to the same booksellers' shops, read the same books, papers, and magazines, and groan and sigh over the same evils in the world. But here our union stops. Hitherto I can go, but I can go no further. Now begins the rope of sand.

"For defending common principles,—for resisting common enemies,—for facing common dangers,—for attaining common great objects,—for harmonious conduct in circumstances of common perplexity,—for decided, prompt, energetic action in great emergencies,—for all this I say decidedly that we have no organized union at all. Every man does what is right in his own eyes, and every district goes to work in its own way, and only too many for want of suggestions and directions do nothing at all. In short, for want of organization, we often find ourselves as helpless as a mob. We have numbers, strength, good will, and desires to do what is right, but from lack of organization and generalship, we are weak as water."—(Pp. 127, 128.)

He proceeds to shew this with reference to the line of action to be taken as to the Established Church of Ireland,—to Convocation,—to Church congresses,—to opposing Ritualism,—to Synodical action,—to concessions for peace's sake (where we rather curiously learn that "administering to the whole rail at once" is one of the matters in question whether to be conceded (!)),—to the increase of the Episcopate,—to National Education,—to the Colonial Church, &c. &c.

One more extract of an equally telling character with the last:—

"The position of the Evangelical body in the Church of England is in danger. Let no one mistake me when I say this. I have no fear that our antagonists will drive us out of the Establishment. It is not expulsion I fear, but a gradual voluntary secession, and a dribbling away of the life-blood of the Church. I fear that Popish doctrines and practices may gradually be tolerated in our Communion, under the specious plea of liberty, free thought, liberality, and letting all men do what they like. I fear that men of tender conscience will feel it a solemn duty to resign their position and retire, rather than be partakers of other men's sins. I am quite sure that there is far more risk of this than people suppose. A few more deaths on the Episcopal bench,—a few more successors of the type and stamp which many of us know so well—a few more Charges like that of the Bishop of Salisbury,—a few more Lambeth Pastorals pressed upon the unwilling consciences of incumbents,—a little more snubbing of recalcitrant and remonstrant Evangelical clergy,—a few more evasive and unsatisfactory replies to indignant laity,—a little more of all this, and the patience of many will be exhausted. It is the last straw that breaks the camel's back. The cup will at last run over. A few here and a few there will be tired out and begin to secede. Great will be the joy of the enemy. We are not popular. High Church and Broad Church always make common cause against the Evangelical body. Nothing will please them more than to see us dropping off. A fatal day it will be when this gradual process of secession begins. But if the present system of tolerating everything and everybody, goes on much longer, I am persuaded secessions will begin. Once let them begin, and our position is turned."—(Pp. 137, 138.)

We earnestly recommend our readers to procure and study this Evangelical manifesto for themselves. It is well to see that our excellent friends are up and stirring; that the enemy is not to be allowed, if they can help it, to climb "in at the window, or o'er the tiles." It is well also to read of such firm determination to stand by all that a Christian man loves and values. But at the same time it is somewhat sad to see such a regiment coming up, even on the right side; to feel, how much discipline the men want, before they can do real service; to have "borne in upon" us irresistibly the saying of a Scottish Evangelical divine and scholar respecting them: "Your Evangelicals in England will never do anything; their fight is all for words, and not for deeds."

II.—HISTORICAL.

Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey. By ARTHUR P. STANLEY, D.D., Dean of Westminster. London: John Murray. 1868.

THE announcement some two years ago that the Dean was engaged upon this work was good news to all who had been fascinated by his corresponding book on Canterbury Cathedral. The pen which had in the one case made the dumb stones to speak, would do yet better when its subject was that sanctuary which is no less than the "petrified history of England."

The volume has now been published long enough to enable us to judge of its reception by the public, and this reception, we think, has been, as it often is in corresponding cases, unfavourable. Passing by some conspicuous *critiques* which are evidently dictated by ill-nature and personal spite, the general idea seems to be that this book is not so interesting as its predecessor. We happen to have read the reviews first and the volume afterwards, immediately after reperusing the Memorials of Canterbury, and have come to the conclusion that the one is a worthy companion of the other.

Of course, the two books are very unlike. In the "Canterbury" Dr. Stanley had simply to bring his wide reading and picturesque style to bear upon four or five subjects, each of them complete in itself. But the Abbey cannot be so treated. Its historical associations are too continuous, its monuments succeed one another in a method which throws light on the history of the whole English people from generation to generation. The subject was too multiform to enable the Dean to follow his Canterbury plan of taking distinct persons as subjects of each chapter, and he has, therefore, rather taken the parts of the building as

his basis, and grouped his living history round each. And the result, in our judgment, is a work, not only of fascinating interest, but of permanent historical value. There are, of course, the wide and rich store of reading, the acute observation, the large-hearted charity which are sure to mark all that Dean Stanley writes. Let us note here, however, before passing on, that the charge which has been brought against the Dean of careless English requires attention from him, for there is too much truth in it. His earlier works, as far as we have observed, were free from the fault, but it has been growing upon him. For example, "Bradford was appointed to succeed Atterbury, whose conciliatory character recommended him," &c. The Dean means, of course, that it was Bradford, not Atterbury, who was conciliatory. Here again is a slipshod expression, "The close of Lord Palmerston's octogenarian career was laid amongst the memorials of the numerous statesmen," &c. We have marked many sentences, some of which show that the Dean writes too fast, others (may we hint it?) that he writes a very bad hand.

The first chapter, "The foundation of Westminster Abbey," is, if we mistake not, the substance of two previous works, (1) a lecture delivered by the author many years ago in Exeter Hall, "On the Study of History in London," (2) his sermon in the Abbey on Christmas Day, 1866. It relates the early history of Thorney, weighs the various legends of Saxon times, and lands on the firm ground of Edward the Confessor's Abbey. That remarkable king, of whom an animated description is given, just lived to complete his abbey, and was buried before the high altar within a week of its consecration. It was a gloomy time, and the dangers which threatened were so urgent, that his successor, Harold, was crowned on the day of the funeral, whether at St. Paul's or Westminster is uncertain, but probably in the former. But it was the burial of the Confessor in the abbey which ensured its subsequent greatness. William the Conqueror, with the view of impressing upon the nation that he was the legitimate successor of Edward, not by victory, but by right, was crowned on Christmas Day, 1066, beside the Confessor's grave.

Accordingly the Dean devotes the next chapter to the English Coronations, all of which have been celebrated within the abbey. We have heard it said that this chapter is a collection of anecdotes of coronations. It seems to us something far higher. The Dean has, with the instinct of a true historian, seized upon those facts which indicate real and abiding truths. Every anecdote illustrates the time to which it belongs, and we know no chapter in literature which, read to any one fairly acquainted with English history, would be likely to prove more interesting. It teems with new thoughts.

The third chapter is on the *Royal Tombs*. For a long time no monarch was laid beside the Confessor. At length came Maud, wife of Henry I., she who had kindled in her husband's breast a love for the English race to which his Norman father and brother had been strangers. She loved the abbey for her kinsman Edward's sake, and often came barefooted to pray by his grave. Her son Henry II. procured the canonization of Edward. But it was Henry III. who resolved to make the Confessor's church the burial-place of his race. "He was the first English king—that is to say (like George III.), the first of his family born in England." He called his two sons by English names, Edward and Edmund. And now he almost rebuilt the Abbey, somewhat recklessly destroying the Confessor's Norman work. From that time all the English kings were buried here until George II., with the following exceptions: Henry IV., whose ecclesiastical zeal, the offspring of mingled craft and superstition, led him to choose Canterbury; the Yorkist kings; Henry VIII., who desired to lie beside his best-loved wife, Jane Seymour; Charles I., James II., and George I. The last royal monument is that of Queen Elizabeth. The only monument destroyed by the Puritans was that over the first Puritan king, Edward VI. Until the last two years nothing whatever marked the resting-place of the later kings, but the Dean has had each grave traced out, and the names cut on the lozenge stones of the pavement.

The Dean's fourth chapter is on the *Monuments* in general, and we may observe, in passing, that he is entirely opposed to the proposal to remove them. The burial of famous persons in the Abbey began in the reign of Richard II., and is owing to the unworthiness of his character. His unbounded favouritism led him to bury two of his courtiers, not merely within the walls, but beside

the Confessor, in the very chapel of the kings. The fashion thus begun grew slowly at first; the reign of Queen Elizabeth saw it at its height. From her time the Abbey became the English Temple of Fame, and the desire to be buried in Westminster Abbey is still as strong as ever. And thus it has come to pass that neither in life nor in death have the English kings been separate from their people. "Had the Abbey of St. Denys admitted within its walls the poets and warriors and statesmen of France, the kings might yet have remained inviolate in their graves. Had the monarchy of France connected itself with the great institutions of Church and State, assuredly it would not have fallen as it did in its imperial isolation. Let us accept the omen for the Abbey of Westminster: let us accept it also for the Throne and State of England." At first burials in the Abbey took place in chapel, aisle, and nave, without any distinction of class or order. But after a while a system became discernible. Up to the middle of the eighteenth century the north transept, like the north side of a churchyard, had remained almost a solitude. The burial of the elder Pitt, in 1778, fixed this as the *Statesmen's Corner*. Palmerston, the latest buried here, lies by his side. The south transept, the most popular part, is known to all visitors as *Poets' Corner*. Chaucer was the first poet buried in it, not, however, as a poet, but as a courtier of King Richard II. On the west side of this transept also are gathered the monuments of the *men of letters*, down to Macaulay and Thackeray. The monuments of Wordsworth and Keble under the western tower may perhaps form the nucleus of a *New Poets' Corner*. But time would fail us to go through the muster-roll of the English worthies—warriors, men of science, actors, musicians (pugilists are not unrepresented)—whose tombs meet our sight as we go, under the Dean's loving guidance, through Westminster Abbey.

The chapter on "The Abbey before the Reformation" has disappointed us. There is a good deal, of course, that is interesting, but we fail to get much idea of monastic life. The Dean gives us a list of abbots, but they are names, and nought else, and it is small compensation to be told minutely where each is buried. By the way, we wish the Dean, as he speaks so much of the environs of the Abbey, had told us something about the traditions, connected with the Abbey, of the old Cock in Tothill Street. It was one of the queerest old public-houses we ever saw, and filled with old carvings, some, we believe, of great antiquity. It has been removed to make room for St. Margaret's National Schools; and what has become of the carvings we know not. This chapter ends, with felicitous appropriateness, with the setting up of Caxton's printing-press in the almonry,—a fitting precursor of the Reformation.

The chapter on "The Abbey since the Reformation" contains sketches of the Westminster Assembly, the Commonwealth, the rise and progress of Westminster School, and the Convocation of Canterbury, and ends with a magnificent summary, which we long in vain to quote. We cannot end without one word in acknowledgment of the generous spirit which all indeed would expect in Dean Stanley,—but it should be mentioned for the example of all authors,—which leads him most scrupulously to acknowledge any assistance which he has received from others. If he quotes at second hand he always says so. If "Mr. Poole, the master-mason of the Abbey," makes a good suggestion towards the solution of a difficulty, it is put down to him invariably.

The rest of the volume consists of appendices. The index might be more complete. We wanted, for instance, to find something about Old Parr, and had to read the volume straight through before we could find him. We beg leave to close with one suggestion. The history of the Plantagenet kings remains to be written. We know no one who could do it like Dean Stanley. Will he oblige us?

The Trinity of Italy: or the Pope, the Bourbon, and the Victor: being Historical Revelations of the Past, Present, and Future of Italy. By an English Civilian, for eight years in official connection with the Court of Naples. London: Moxon.

NEVER was book published with a more unfortunate title; repelling the reverent by its apparent profanity, and the sober by its sensational conceit. But never was book and title less connected. The work is a very interesting

and able account of the latter days of Bourbon rule in Naples, interspersed with many sketches of character, and anecdotes illustrative of them. The author had admirable opportunities of collecting information; and his book conveys to us certainly more than we before knew of "King Bomba" and his ministers. The following portion of the description of his character will give a sample of the author's powers and style:—

"In this constant affable reception of those who sought him lay the elements (?) of King Ferdinand's education. He had the gift to bid each man bring him of his best, and that best he took then and there. On all subjects of engineering, of architecture, of military history, of fortifications, of improvements in the manufacture of weapons, of foreign customs, of national or family history, of scientific inventions, he was ever a keen questioner and an attentive auditor, throwing in enough remarks of his own to assure his entertainer that he must be precise and accurate in his statements. Even in politics, though this was rare, the king would at times talk with much apparent candour with an Englishman. A close acquaintance with the sovereign led to the conviction that if he had been sent in his youth from the Circian atmosphere of Naples, if he had received anything of the stern and sound education which did so little for his maternal uncle of Orleans, he would have been one of the most popular and successful, as well as one of the ablest, of European sovereigns.

"That ability was exerted, however, in a fatally false direction. Knowing intimately his own people, and knowing none besides, King Ferdinand came to the unhappy practical conclusion that universal untruthfulness could only be dealt with by a yet more profound and subtle untruth. So far did he carry the maxim, 'Qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare,' that those who knew him most intimately never knew when and how far he deceived them, or when and how far he deceived himself. Keep beside him, and he was all that you could desire—lose sight of him for a moment, and you might find yourself in the next five minutes under arrest."—(P. 122.)

Our author's remarks on the present difficulties and discouragements of Italy are well worth reading. Though in substance such as occur to us all, they are here well put from a friendly, though not from a flattering point of view. The result of all is thus stated. At first,—

"The council of the King of Italy consisted of one man, and a few desks, stools, and pens, each occupied, for form's sake, by personages called ministers. When Cavour breathed his last, the desks and stools and pens were left to get on by themselves. They have made great advance in one direction, the accumulation of national debt. That appears to be the most tangible result of Parliamentary Government in Italy."—(P. 260.)

We have noted some blemishes. The following sentence passes our power to construe: "It had been known for some time that the Convention with the Swiss Cantons, by virtue of which the five Swiss regiments that formed the *Corps d'Elite* of the Neapolitan army, and the real guard of the King was about to terminate" (p. 209). Again we have, "ever has and ever will yield perfect obedience" (p. 292). On p. 257 we read, "Among the southern Italians the *Circences* (*sic*) supplied by their rulers are almost as much regarded as the *Pavem*." *Stinmachus* (p. 301) is mentioned as sixty-second Bishop of Rome. Nor is even the French faultless. On p. 319 we have "an *idée Napoléonique*." If we do not mistake, the Emperor's famous book was called "*Des idées Napoléoniennes*."

III.—PHILOSOPHICAL AND SCIENTIFIC.

The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication. By CHARLES DARWIN, M.A., F.R.S., &c. Two vols., 8vo. London: Murray. 1868.

WHEN Mr. Darwin startled the naturalist world eight years ago by the "Origin of Species," the book was at once accepted, both by those who received and those who rejected the Darwinian hypothesis, as marking an epoch in the history of scientific investigation. Speculations enough there had been before on the subject, but no attempt at calm philosophical induction. The Lamarckian hypothesis, and the speculations of "The Vestiges," had each in their day

evoked much criticism, had been eagerly embraced or ruthlessly ridiculed, but none of their supporters could feel that they proposed a philosophical explanation of the complex phenomena of organic life. They merely expressed the gasping after some such explanation which was felt by many minds—they were merely the spasmodic struggles of a convulsed arm, clutching at a solution, not the well-directed movements of the workman's hand.

But, whatever might be our opinion of Mr. Darwin's hypothesis, only the most ignorant and superficial could identify it with its predecessors; whether visionary or demonstrable, it must be admitted to be self-consistent, symmetrical, thorough, and complete. The theory was philosophical, and was carried remorselessly to its bitter end, even up to the "one primeval germ." There, however, it left, and still leaves, the problem of life, an unfathomable mystery. No doubt Lamarck and "The Vestiges," had paved the way for Darwinism, and had dimly foreshadowed it. Lamarck held that structures could be modified through modification of adaptation, but he never grasped any law of development. The author of "The Vestiges" assumed a pre-existent type, and applied time as his only factor. Both laid hold of *causes*, but neither of complete causes, nor of causes of universal applicability. But Mr. Darwin puts forth in his "Origin of Species," as the cause of *all* variation, a law which is demonstrably the cause of much variation, and in which law many other minor causes are embraced—the law of so-called "selection," "natural selection," "or" "the survival of the fittest," or "the struggle for existence."

In his first work, Mr. Darwin gave us in a condensed form the conclusions to which he had been led by years of study and investigation, and supplied us with but few of the facts on which his induction was based. The boldness and sweeping comprehensiveness of these conclusions almost took away the breath of most naturalists. But it was felt we must wait for the facts, which he promised, if life were spared him, to communicate at greater length to the world; and we were assured the induction would then be satisfactory. These facts were indeed necessary; for even the warmest advocates of the hypothesis had to admit that the hiatuses were wide and many, the induction often apparently incomplete, and the pyramid seemingly built on its apex. There was a reluctance felt by many, though expressed by few, to found such universal conclusions upon particular premises. But the confidence in Mr. Darwin's judgment, caution, and philosophic insight into nature, led most even of those who shrank from his conclusions to await with anxiety his promised justification. Many, too, who were ready to accept the Development Hypothesis, were uncertain how far Natural Selection was the true mode of development action. They held that while succession and modification must be the *verve cause* of existent species, yet that Natural Selection was not a complete explanation of the *modus operandi*, though far better than any of its predecessors, but destined like them in turn to fall into oblivion.

At length Mr. Darwin has redeemed his promise, so far as regards one portion of his subject. The two ponderous tomes before us, with their close-set type, and endless references, bespeak prodigious labour. We are amazed at the unremitting observation and the vast reading which has heaped these mountains of facts. The general line of argument may be briefly summarised thus: that what man has effected for his purposes in modifying the structures and habits of animals and plants by conscious selection, *that* nature has done unconsciously in her whole realm through a period of countless ages. The object of the first volume is not to describe all the many races of animals and plants which have been domesticated or cultivated by men, but merely under the head of each species to give those facts the author has been able to collect which bear on the general principle of variation. On fowls and rabbits, but above all on pigeons, Mr. Darwin dilates with more than his usual fulness, having the materials more ready to hand.

Thus, domestic dogs and cats, horses and asses, pigs, cattle, sheep and goats, domestic rabbits, pigeons, fowls, ducks, geese, turkeys, canary-birds, gold-fish, bees, cereals, culinary plants, fruit trees, ornamental trees, florists' flowers, leaf-variegated plants, are all successively brought under review. The amount and causes of selected varieties are traced with great fulness, and the correlation of variation is often shown in a manner which will be new to many naturalists, for upon this mysterious correlation of the different parts in their variability the

theory largely depends. In the case of the pigeon this is very clearly shown in the correlated diminution or increase in the length of the beak and claws, and in the fowls in the thickening of the skull in the Polish fowl, to enable it to sustain its acquired tuft of feathers on the great frontal protuberance.

As to the dog, Mr. Darwin is strongly of opinion that our many breeds have sprung in different countries from distinct wild originals, the dog having been among the first animals domesticated by man, and almost every region of the world possessing some feral canine species, and he points out that in various countries the domestic dogs resemble distinct wild species still existing there. Thus, the Indian dog is traced to the North American wolf, the Esquimaux dog to the grey wolf, the Hare-Indian dog to the prairie wolf, the dogs of South America to several indigenous species, the Pariah dog of India to the Indian wolf, the domestic dogs of Lower Egypt to the *Canis lupaster* of the country, the Boesjesman dog to the *Canis mesomelas* of South Africa. Horses, on the contrary, are traced to one lost original, as are asses, while all our breeds of pigs may be clearly traced to two groups, *Sus scrofa*, and the wild original, *Sus indica*, of Pallas, which, however, does not now inhabit India.

The most exhaustive chapters are those on the fowl and the pigeon. As to the origin of the various breeds of pigeons, Mr. Darwin observes:—

“In order to understand how the chief domestic races have become distinctly separated from each other, it is important to bear in mind that fanciers constantly try to breed from the best bird, and consequently that those which are inferior in the requisite qualities are in each generation neglected, so that after a time the less improved parent stocks, and many subsequently-formed intermediate grades, become extinct. This has occurred in the case of the pouter, turbit, and trumpeter, for these highly-improved breeds are now left without any links closely connecting them either with each other, or with the aboriginal rock-pigeon. In other countries, indeed, where the same care has not been applied, or where the same fashion has not prevailed, the earlier forms may long remain unaltered, or altered only in a slight degree, and we are thus sometimes enabled to recover the connecting links. This is the case in Persia and India with the tumbler and carrier, which there differ but slightly from the rock-pigeon in the perfection of their beaks. So, again, in Java, the fantail sometimes has only fourteen caudal feathers, and the tail is much less elevated and expanded than in our improved birds, so that the Java bird forms a link between a first-rate fantail and the rock-pigeon.”

All the domestic races, Mr. Darwin concludes with confidence, are descended from *Columba livia*, including under this name certain wild races. Their plasticity of organization apparently results from changed conditions of life. Disuse has reduced certain parts of the body. Correlation of growth so ties the organization together that when one part varies, other parts vary at the same time. Similarly all our breeds of fowls are traced to the jungle fowl, *Gallus bankiva*, of India. Many curious examples of correlation of growth are here shown, as in Cochins and game fowls, between the colour of the plumage and the darkness of the eggshell, and even of the yolk. (Though in this instance we should observe that the colour of the game fowl egg is that of the wild original, and the colourless shell a degeneracy under domestication.)

The chapters on cereals and other cultivated plants are full of suggestive matter, though the little, if any improvement in wheat, e.g., from the earliest period, in spite of the vast care which has always been bestowed on its selection, and the fact of the modification in the form of the plants being attributable only to climate and soil, seem not to show great plasticity of organization, but rather great adaptability in most of our cereals, while we cannot trace with any certainty a wild original for any one of those so all-important to man.

The second volume Mr. Darwin has devoted to the deductions from the accumulated facts of the first volume, treating first of inheritance, then of crossing, of selection, of the causes of variability, and laws of variation. Towards the end of the volume is a chapter setting forth a provisional hypothesis of pangenesis, which scarcely can be said to be directly connected with the previous portion of the work, except as offering a further expansion of the hypothesis of the “Origin of Species.”

On inheritance we see that, strong as is its force, it allows the incessant appearance of new characters. These, whether beneficial or injurious, trifling or important, are all liable to be inherited. The chances are obviously in favour of any character which has long been transmitted true or unaltered

being still transmitted true, so long as the conditions of life remain the same; when these are changed, the most (to all appearance) permanent characters are changed.

The importance of crossing and the evil results of close interbreeding in all living things are set forth in five exhaustive chapters. But is there not a covert *petitio principii* in the following remarks?—

"Before passing on to birds I ought to refer to man, though I am unwilling to enter on this subject, as it is surrounded by natural prejudices. It has, moreover, been discussed by various authors under many points of view. Mr. Tylor has shown that with widely different races, in the most different quarters of the world, marriages between relations—even between distant relations—have been strictly prohibited. . . . Mr. Tylor is inclined to believe that the almost universal prohibition of closely-related marriages has arisen from their evil effects having been observed, and he ingeniously explains some apparent anomalies in the prohibition not extending equally to the relations both on the male and female side. He admits, however, that other causes, such as the extension of friendly alliances, may have come into play. Mr. W. Adam, on the other hand, concludes that related marriages are prohibited and viewed with repugnance from the confusion which would thus arise in the descent of property, and from other still more recondite reasons; but I cannot accept this view, seeing that the savages of Australia and South America, who have no property to bequeath, or fine moral feeling to confuse, hold the crime of incest in abhorrence.

"It would be interesting to know, if it could be ascertained, as throwing light on this question with respect to man, what occurs with the higher anthropomorphous apes, whether the young males and females soon wander away from their parents, or whether the old males become jealous of their sons and expel them, or whether any instinctive feeling, from being beneficial, has been generated, leading the young males and females of the same family to prefer pairing with distinct families, and to dislike pairing with each other. . . . It seems more probable that degraded savages should thus unconsciously have acquired their dislike and even abhorrence of incestuous marriages, rather than that they should have discovered by reasoning and observation the evil results."—(Vol. ii., pp. 123, 124.)

We need scarcely remark on this, that the very epithet *degraded* suggests another and a far easier solution for the admitted fact than the gratuitous conjecture of the accumulated experience of anthropomorphous apes.

There are no chapters more instructive than those on the laws which govern variations, the author's conclusions from the vast induction he has accumulated. It is important to note that with domesticated animals the reduction of a part from disuse is never carried so far that a mere rudiment is left, though Mr. Darwin believes it has often occurred under nature. He explains this belief both from the limited time during which domestication has existed, and from the protection of these animals from the struggles for life, thus shutting out the action of economy of organization. On the contrary, structures rudimentary in the parent species become partially redeveloped in their domesticated progeny.

On a general survey of the work we are compelled to admit not only the vast changes which man has artificially induced, but the force of the argument that the like may have often occurred in nature. The fact that each very small district has had its own peculiar breeds of almost every domesticated animal and cultivated plant, that isolation kept these breeds apart for many ages, and yet that they must have sprung from the same wild originals, that commerce and increased intercourse have rapidly diminished the number of these local races, and in many cases have utterly extirpated them, are arguments of great weight. Again, the law of reversion in the case of domesticated animals reverting to the feral condition, which has often been used as an argument against the hypothesis, is shown to be actually in favour of the law of natural selection, because the animal, restored to its original condition, reverts to those characters which were best fitted to sustain the struggle for existence under those conditions.

That these variations are by law in the sense of preordination, the author cannot admit.

"If we assume that each particular variation was from the beginning of all time pre-ordained, the plasticity of organization which leads to many injurious deviations of structure, as well as that redundant power of reproduction which inevitably leads to a struggle for existence, and as a consequence to the natural selection or survival of the

fittest, must appear to us superfluous laws of nature. On the other hand, an Omnipotent and Omniscient Creator ordains everything and foresees everything. Thus we are brought face to face with a difficulty as insoluble as is that of free-will and predestination."—(Vol. ii., p. 432.)

Mr. Darwin thus well submits his claim to be heard:—

"In scientific investigation it is permitted to invent any hypothesis, and if it explains various large and independent classes of facts, it rises to the rank of a well-grounded theory. . . . Now this hypothesis may be tested by trying whether it explains several large and independent classes of facts, such as the geological succession of organic beings, their distribution in past and present times, and their mutual affinities and homologies."

In this work Mr. Darwin has clearly shown the plasticity of many organizations under changed conditions. But we are only at the threshold of the difficulties. We must wait for the explanation of the geological record, we must know more of the means of distribution, above all, we need some light on that which is the greatest difficulty of all; the possibility of transitions in organs.

We can only hope that life and health may be spared to Mr. Darwin to set before us as fully his investigations on these subjects, as he has here elaborated the methods of variation under domestication. We shall then be better able to test the provisional hypothesis of pangenesis.

On the Principles of Grammar. By the Rev. E. THRING, M.A., Head-Master of Uppingham School. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1868.

RECENT discussions on grammar and classical learning seem to point towards two conclusions.

On the one hand, the absurdity of teaching boys language as the chief staple of education without teaching grammar will probably become more evident, and be more generally recognised. If boys go to places of education which once received the name of Grammar Schools from the subject which was considered paramount in them, and come away without knowing anything worth notice about that which ought to be the chief foundation of their learning, no one can wonder if they have made slow progress, and have failed to acquire the power of seeing into questions of study or of practical life. For it is perhaps not too much to say that grammatical knowledge, as it should be taught in the earlier stages of education, ought to be in great measure the implied principle of their correctness of thought, and the instinctive guide in the expression of their ideas.

But if grammar is to be taught generally, its main principles must evidently be imparted when a sufficient array of facts is at hand to elucidate them fairly. General syntax—as far, that is, as concerns all languages—should be known before a new language is begun, not taught at equal rate with it, as it usually has been when Latin grammar has been made the first introduction to universal grammar. It is plain that the chief difficulties should be got over in English, where all the words and constructions are familiar, and where explanation of the principle is all that is wanted. Boys might learn the earlier parts of Latin in half the time, and might be sound little scholars into the bargain, besides having acquired a better knowledge of their native tongue, if their course were properly cleared before they entered upon it. Indeed, all this would have been seen and acted on long ago, if Englishmen had not been strangely slow in studying the grammar of their magnificent language. English grammar has been left mainly to those who, not speaking the language with native lips, have been forced to learn how to express themselves in it by exploring its principles, and thus coming to use it artificially. Few people, perhaps, know how much English grammar owes to the philosophic research of the North, and how little to genuine Englishmen. Mr. Thring's book is a symptom amongst others of the rise of an indigenous school of English grammarians, alive to the genius and idioms of the English language, and to the practical precision of educated English thought.

We are indebted for this nice little treatise to the Clarendon Press Series. But though it is intended, as well as the rest of the educational books in that series, chiefly for those who are looking to the Oxford middle-class examinations, it will be found very useful in the place we have indicated. It will prepare boys

excellently for classical learning, by teaching them the commoner principles of grammar as exemplified in English. To some extent, indeed, its title has been forgotten in its too exclusive attention to our own language. Perhaps that was unavoidable. The great *desideratum* in this department of learning, a universal grammar, has yet to come; and Mr. Thring, of course, does not attempt such a task as that in his present volume. His rule is to give ample explanations, which lead up to the enunciation of the several rules. Sometimes, perhaps, there is too much explanatory matter; but on the whole this part is excellently done, and is full of happy and vivid expression, which is likely to find its way to the understanding of boys. Of his general plan he speaks thus:—

"This Grammar aims at pointing out the main track to persons who already can speak and read the language. It intends to do away, if possible, with the idea of mystery, and of a mysterious power in words which makes them act on each other, instead of being thought-bricks fitted into their places at the pleasure of the builder. This is the main plan."—(Preface, p. vi.)

At the end, though indeed it occupies more than five-sevenths of the whole work, is a capital collection of passages illustrative of the earlier part, selected from Shakspeare, Wordsworth, and Tennyson. This is a most useful feature, and is entirely due to Mr. Thring's own diligence and skill, and will, we think, be highly valued. Altogether this little book, both in its matter and appearance, is highly creditable to its author, and to the managers of the Clarendon Press Series.

There are, however, a few defects, some of which we will now notice.

The "Sketch of Grammar," with which the treatise opens, contains several questionable statements. For instance, the theory that "mere animals are shut up in themselves, and remain unchanged;"—the last words, by the way, which are more than doubtful, seem to be added as mere ballast to the sentence;—that contrariwise "men constantly send out parts of their inner life;" and that language is one "shape in which men embody themselves," is needless, out of place, and indeed fanciful. Again, Mr. Thring is probably right in making the article a distinct part of speech, as it would indeed have been generally considered long ago, had not our notions of grammar been often limited by Latin and Greek, as well as properly founded upon them. But why reject interjections, unless indeed to keep up a mystic number of eight? Mr. Thring has entangled himself in his own net. "A preposition is a word placed before a noun to fasten it on, in sense, to a verb or adjective." "An interjection . . . if it takes a word after it, as *ah* me, is a preposition." We may ask, To what "verb or adjective" does "*ah*" fasten "*me*" on? Clearly, universal grammar would not reckon fewer than nine parts of speech, if the article is a separate one of itself. Why not then say so? These are not the only blemishes in this section.

Again,—

"The word 'governed' is not used in this work, as it gives a false idea of the connection between words. Words fit into each other; the shape of a drawer as much determines the shape of the place it fits, as the shape of the place determines the shape of the drawer."—(P. 32, note.)

Very true, and happily expressed. But "*taken by* the transitive verb," the phrase employed in the text, is open to a similar objection. It implies a false notion of personality or agency in words.

Lastly, compound sentences are dismissed with much less than their fair share of attention, and the treatise loses by the scant notice of them.

IV.—POETRY, FICTION, AND ESSAY.

Poems Written for a Child. By TWO FRIENDS. London: Strahan & Co. 1868.

"This child is very difficult to baptize," said the tipsy clergyman at the font, when he could not find the place in the Prayer-book. This child's book is very difficult to review, say we; some of its best things—long familiar to us—having got into our head. It is only lovers who are privileged to keep on

saying the same things over and over again without being found guilty of sameness; there is no phase of criticism that will pass muster a dozen times on a page. If we were a child—instead of being the next best thing, that is, the parent of children—we might take Rosalind's counsel, and, being "gravelled for lack of matter," kiss both "A" and "B" in a heart-full sentence, and so adieu. But as it is, we can simply say that if there is a sweeter child's book than this, we do not know it. Some of our contemporaries, in noticing it, have said that the metaphors and cadences of some of the poems reminded them of Wordsworth; and some such comparison is inevitable. But it is quite a mistake to criticise the series called "Fairy Facts" by the canons of the fairy tale proper—as one of our contemporaries, otherwise just to the book, has done. They are not intended for fairy tales, they are nursery extravagances, worked by machinery which, for convenience, is called by the name of "fairy."

"A" is, as far as we know, a new writer, but apparently with a fixed manner; at all events, the same peculiarities are obvious in all the poems bearing that signature. With the manner of "B" attentive readers of fugitive literature must have been for many years familiar; it has undergone no change within the memory of the present writer. Minute criticism, then, would be useless, addressed to the work either of "A" or "B." We simply add two remarks. First, no lover of poetry who buys this little book for his children will be content that it should be familiar only to nursery readers. Second, those who have no conception whatever of its contents will be assisted if we inform them that it contains, among other lovely little poems, one which they may remember having seen in *Aunt Judy*, entitled "A Child to a Rose," and one which they may remember having seen in *Good Words*, entitled "The Lady and the Rocks."

Alice Graeme. A Novel. In 2 vols. London: Chapman and Hall. 1868.

THIS is scarcely a novel; but it is a series of attractive pictures of Scottish life in a village or small town, with a thread of story running through them; the story being that of the fortunes of a Scottish schoolmaster's family. There is a little too much quasi-dramatic mishap and quasi-dramatic coincidence in the narrative, though it is well told, with touches of genuine pathos, genuine humour, and frequent picturesqueness. A drowning, a flight in disgrace, a love-story tragically broken off, a romantic death, and a romantic return, are a good deal of the sort for two volumes. But the naturalness of the author's vein, rippled by poetic feeling, and allowing, as it does, the clearest possible reflections of character to make their way to the mind, carries the reader on through the five hundred pages, and he shuts up "Alice Graeme" with a strong impression that the author will be heard of again, and warm acknowledgments of the purity, sincerity, and height of the moral tone of the book. One doubts, at first, whether the author is to be set down as a man or a woman; but the balance of indications is in favour of his being a man—intensely Scotch, and particularly "raw." The chief characters in the book, Mr. Graeme, Mr. Burns the minister, Mr. Laurie the false lover, and even Mr. Lockhart, are very felicitously presented; and the remorse and subsequent conduct of Laurie, after Alice, recovered from the illness caused by his misconduct, rejects him, are even powerfully told.

There is so much merit in this little story, and so much real promise, that it may seem almost unkind to notice small defects, and yet it may be due to the author to specify one or two which are not of the kind that growth and experience would necessarily tend to make impossible in subsequent writings. Some of the quotations and bits of the author's reading are introduced in such a way as to be conclusive as to his inexperience—and in matters of this kind practice in writing is the cure. But practice will not necessarily make an incorrect manner into a correct one. On page 87, vol. i., we have "whom" applied to cats. On page 104, vol. i., there is a remark about the phrase "legal profession" which is wholly unmeaning, unless it is founded on a misapprehension of the force of the word "legal." On page 105, vol. i., we have a sentence beginning thus:—"He had already gauged her character pretty well to be that of an inquisitive old maid"—which is intolerably awkward. And there are numerous left-handednesses of expression scattered over both volumes. More important

than this kind of *gaucherie* is a peculiarity, which turned the scale of our own doubts as to the sex of the writer, namely, an occasional coarseness of expression. "Haunches" is unobjectionable; but "posteriors" and "nether parts" are not elegant. The description of Mrs. Laurie's personal appearance on page 129 of volume ii. is downright vulgar. Mr. MacDonald, in one place, apologizes for using the word "skin" at all in speaking of a woman—an excess of refinement on Mr. MacDonald's part, but an excess in the right direction. All descriptions of people's personal appearance should be reticent; and, of course, the rule applies with double force to the personal appearance of women. On page 195, vol. ii., we have this:—

"The morning was warm, and the perspiration of mingled excitement and sun had bedewed his face—a peculiarity in which he was not single, however, for almost every worshipper . . . rubbed his hot face. . . . Here, a rough, red-nosed farmer, . . . behind him his heavy-footed wife, symmetrical as a beer-barrel; followed by her mincing daughter, chewing her parasol-point, and simpering as sweet as sugar. Next, a pale-faced, dyspeptic procurator" [why should we be informed of the condition of anybody's stomach?]; "and at his elbow the . . . Dean of Guild, a heavy fob-chain dangling at his crescent *paunch*."

Lastly, we have a lover coughing to arrest the attention of his mistress. But there is no poetry in coughing, and no lover would do anything of the kind, however hard pressed. There is a certain *hardness* of realism throughout; one example of which is the frequency with which the word "gas" is mentioned. It is enough, in serious writing, to say "the light," without distracting attention by telling us what the light is—and, perhaps, this one instance will do duty for a dozen. If—to recur to the question of coarseness—it is ever essential (apart from frank imitation, in which, of course, it always is essential) to refer openly to any of the enclosed facts of life, it may be done by a humorous periphrasis. An admirably typical example occurs in George Eliot, where the servant maid of the Tullivers is indignant (when the furniture is to be sold) that other people should have the use of polished tables and chairs, over which she had many a time had to—"suffer a waste of tissue by evaporation."

It must not be imagined, because we have given more space to these little matters than to the higher qualities of "*Alice Græme*," that we do not strongly feel the reality and promise of the work. On the contrary, we mention, frankly and at length, the way in which a certain pervading rawness affects us, because we think it desirable that a new writer, so capable of giving delight to a large class of readers, should be made aware exactly how trifles may interfere with his reception by certain people. We have no doubt of meeting him again in a better work than "*Alice Græme*"—though we have pleasure in repeating that that is a good and interesting story.

Wayside Thoughts: being a Series of Desultory Essays on Education. By D'ARCY W. THOMPSON, Author of "*Day-Dreams of a Schoolmaster*," "*Sales Attici*," &c. &c. Edinburgh: W. P. Nimmo.

WE always read Mr. D'Arcy Thompson with a kind of puzzled, doubtful admiration. In everything he writes there is much merit of a kind; fine points of thought glimmer keen through a dusty medium, confused of egotistic reminiscences and wayward conceits; but there is no balance or steadiness about any of his prose efforts we have yet had the good fortune to peruse. The vibratory self-conscious movement is constantly felt beneath the surface of his thought, breaking it up into discontinuous fragments in a manner which has repeatedly made us, perhaps somewhat inconsistently, revert to—

"The fair pearl necklace of the Queen,
That burst in dancing, and the pearls were split."

"*Day-Dreams of a Schoolmaster*" contained much that was fresh, quaint, pathetic, and practically valuable; but it would have required a deal of ingenuity to have so disengaged the useful from the superincumbent nebulous matter as to have given it its full effect and made it really available. His lecture on Story-Telling, delivered in Dublin last year, was simply spoiled by the same cause; and even the egotistic cement apparent in many of his renderings in "*Sales Attici*," lessened a little the worth of that otherwise able book—at least,

in the eyes of scholars. But in the "Wayside Thoughts" we find that Mr. Thompson has, as though on system, confirmed and concentrated the worst faults of his style both of thinking and writing. Setting up still more decidedly than in "Day-Dreams" as an educational reformer, he persists in trying to raise an ideal on the scanty pedestal of his own experience. Some excuse may, perhaps, fall to be made in consideration of the circumstances under which these "Wayside Thoughts" were delivered,—that is, as lectures to audiences in America; but little and exceptional details of personal experience form poor bases for scientific principles; and the temptation to elicit a laugh so grows with what it feeds on, that Mr. Thompson, in too eagerly pointing his arrow with unsmelted autobiographic metal, has sometimes become rather coarse in the effect he has produced. His arrows—to use his own words—are not "shot out into space blindly, and at nothing;" but many of them are "desultory arrows, shot from a large circumference" (p. 21).

Much tact is necessary, we know, to make a lecture on education interesting to a mixed audience; but that this can be done, and done effectively, without having recourse to such expedients, Mr. Farrar's and Professor Huxley's recent lectures may be cited as conclusive proofs. On the other hand, if further illustration were needed of the bad effect that accrues in directly interjecting *purely* autobiographic matter into scientific discussion, we have simply to refer to Mr. Johnson's able essay in the "Essays on a Liberal Education."

On essential matters we are not sure that we have much quarrel with Mr. Thompson. He perhaps gives himself up too much to a reactionary position with regard to classics, and is a little keen in his dislike of grammar; but he is not so extreme as either Mr. Lowe or Mr. Farrar, and is only offensive in forms of expression induced by continual references to his own doings, as at p. 248, where he gives his dictum on the futility of Latin verse-making. Now, making Latin verses may really be a means of education in one case and may not prove so in another; and here we have a concrete illustration of the main fault we have complained of in Mr. Thompson. His notion of using modern languages as pathways and helps in the attainment of classics is not without some basis; for genuine knowledge strangely helps the acquisition of all other knowledge; and there can be no doubt whatever that modern languages, as drawing blood from forms of life more kindred with our own, are more likely to prove attractive to boys who have seen Germans, and Frenchmen, and Italians, and spoken with them.

Mr. Thompson's dislike of corporal punishment does not harmonize very well with his unaccountable admiration of the Lacedæmonian system, more especially as regards women; and we confess that some remarks in the outset of this volume have somewhat confused the fine impression of the tender pathos of "Tint, Tint, Tint," which had remained with us. A hard physical discipline, which makes no account either of individual will or possibility, can, in innumerable cases, be nothing else than a worse kind of corporal punishment. The Spartan system made the State the parent—a parent without love—and under it human nature attained the highest point it could—military regularity and order; but certainly our modern life, in which individuality disappears to such an extent, needs to draw but little from such a system.

We are quite ready to acknowledge the necessity of more and more including physical science—especially natural history—in the course of school and university education; but we also see more and more the need of keeping clear of all exclusiveness—the only real safeguard. We have much of new to gain, but also much of old to treasure; and it is always the tendency of reformers to magnify the one at the expense of the other. Mr. Thompson might do service in this direction, if he would but clearly separate two different elements in his books. In his next effort we trust he will patiently develop a scientific ground on which to set forth, clearly and with full practical force, his thoughts on our educational system, which will then have an added value.

Country Towns, and the Place they fill in Modern Civilization. By the Author of "Three Months' Rest at Pau." London: Bell and Daldy.

THIS is a well-written and thoughtful little book. The author has concentrated in it the result of large reading and mature reflection; and in a modest volume we have something like an exhaustive treatise, with no pretension, but

simple and thorough from first to last. The matter has been very carefully and skilfully laid out, and there is, in fact, a complete philosophy of life and progress lying waiting for the careful reader under this very unpretending exterior. One or two of the chapters might be not unfitly recommended to the consideration of Mr. Mill and Mr. Ruskin; for the author, while doing justice to both, and accepting from them whatever is worthy of permanent value, cleverly applies to many of their statements and theories the trying logic of common sense. We wish we could go into some of the important questions here raised; but, differing a little, and agreeing much with the author, we can only afford to recommend the book to those of our readers who are interested in questions bearing intimately on sociology.

V.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Six Months in India. By MARY CARPENTER, Author of "Our Convicts," "Last Days of Rammohun Roy," &c. Two Volumes. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1868.

Children of the State: the Training of Juvenile Paupers. By FLORENCE HILL. London: Macmillan & Co. 1868.

We place these two works together, not only because of a certain kindredness of subject and of aim, but also, and more so, because both the offspring of a female pen, and witnessing to the growth of that large and intelligent participation of the women of our day in the solution of social problems which is one of the most cheering characteristics of the age.

Miss Carpenter's "Six Months in India," if its two volumes had been compressed into one by the omission of all but a very few of the addresses, letters, reports of meetings, &c., with which it is stuffed, would have been one of the most interesting works of the kind ever published. It exhibits to us literally the dawn of a new moral world in the far East. Although her journey to India had no more definite social object in view than the "gaining such information as might lead to future help in the matter of female education," yet, owing perhaps chiefly to the generous initiative taken by the Government of Bombay under Sir Bartle Frere, in anticipating her arrival by a circular notification to almost all departments of Government in anywise connected with the handling of social questions, requesting them to furnish her with all information, and afford her all facilities for inspection, her visit widened out into a general though necessarily brief survey of the condition of women, education, reformation, and penal discipline, on her line of route; whilst old family relations with the earliest of Hindoo religious reformers, the late Rammohun Roy, brought her meanwhile naturally into contact with two at least of the most remarkable religious movements of the day amongst the Hindoos. It is indeed to be regretted that her tour should have been so arranged as to have deprived her of the opportunity of visiting some of the most interesting and characteristic regions of India, such as Central India, the North-West, and the Punjab, or again the Neilgherries and Tinnevely, whilst carrying her twice through the greater part of her line of travel. Arriving at Bombay, her first journey took her to Surat and Ahmedabad and back, Poona being visited after her return. She then proceeded south by coast steamer to Calicut and Beypore, crossing over by rail to Madras; thence again northwards by steamer to Calcutta, from whence her visits only extended within a narrow range, as to Serampore, Bishnagur, &c.; and the return journey only followed the same line, including this time a stay at Calicut, which she had only passed through. Still, it is safe to say that the six months' visit, extending over three Residences, and accompanied with probably unexampled opportunities of intercourse with the most active-minded and intelligent portion of the native community, of one whose mind was ripened by a large experience of men and things, will have given such a person a truer general knowledge of the condition of India and its people than is possessed by

many an old Indian who has spent a lifetime in quarters, in a cutcherry, or in a merchant's office.

And the picture she draws, on the whole, is a most cheering one. It has its shadows, and dark ones too. The young gentleman who prepares himself for the exercise of office in India on the way out by inflicting "kicks and blows on any unfortunate coloured persons he might come across;" the employers of native labourers, who lay it down that the natives "cannot be improved;" the Anglo-Saxon snobs, who tell educated Hindoos that, as the "conquered race," they should "salaam every Englishman they meet;" the military men, with the word "niggers" always on their lips, the great gulf between the two races of which the intelligent natives of Madras lament the existence; the long course of contumely implied in their objection to the learning of English by their women, that they do not want them "to be made humble Christians;" the general neglect of prison discipline and instruction, carried to that shameful extent that female prisoners are generally trusted to male warders only; worst of all, perhaps, the gulf "apparently in some respects more impassable than between Europeans and educated Hindoos," which separates the educated natives from the ignorant masses, to say nothing of the everywhere palpable evils of false worship and idolatry in its grossest forms,—all these belong to the dark side of the picture. Yet the darkness is that not of falling, but of departing night. Everywhere on her path one seems to feel life striving, struggling to free itself from the grasp of age-long death. Five years' absence in England, where he had been called to the bar, were sufficient to make Miss Carpenter's Hindoo fellow-voyager feel, on his arrival at Bombay, "surprised at the friendly, courteous manner in which he was received by all the English gentlemen he met." The success of Miss Carpenter's own mission speaks volumes for the progress of India, both through the frankness of official courtesy which was displayed to her, and the warmth of native feeling with which she was everywhere greeted. In the "good old days" of the East India Company, the examples of Mr. Silk Buckingham or of Captain Peter Gordon are sufficient to show what would have been the fate of an interloper presuming to inquire, think, speak for himself or herself on such matters as she was encouraged to busy herself with. In the religious sphere, what can be more pregnant with interest than the two great movements of the Veda Sanaj (whose head-quarters are at Madras), aiming at pure Theism and moral reformation, but willing still to accept the mere forms and ceremonies of Brahminism, to be gone through "as mere matters of routine, destitute of all religious significance," but without any "endeavour to deceive," or stooping "to equivocation or hypocrisy in order to avoid unpopularity," and of the Brahmo-Sanaj of Calcutta, which already discards all idolatrous rites, of which the more advanced party, under the eloquent and fearless Baboo Keshub Chunder Sen, is at least "not far from the kingdom of God"? Yet even these remarkable movements are not so gratifying as Miss Carpenter's repeated testimony to the value of Christian missions—to the "cheerful contentment" of a "very poor" Christian village near Ahmedabad—to the "more open and happy expression of countenance" by which she "could generally detect" the "convert teachers at a school." Perhaps the most cheering among five conclusions which Miss Carpenter has come to after her six months of observation is the third, viz., "that the time is come when the Hindoos gladly welcome friendly intercourse with Europeans, provided this is conducted with the care which true courtesy suggests, not to wound the feelings of others, or to interfere with social customs." And perhaps the most striking instance she gives of the closeness to which such intercourse may already attain is that of her reception by the assistant-judge of Ahmedabad—a native gentleman who has broken into the charmed circle of the Civil Service—when at a dinner-table presided over by a native lady, the judge's wife, and whilst conversing with animation in English, it was difficult for her, she says, to realise the idea

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the great body of Dissenters apart from, and antagonistic to, the Church, are in reality very slight; is it not possible to reconcile them?" Or again: "If Gladstone, and Stanley, and Lowe, and Disraeli would only shake hands and work together for the honour, and security, and permanency of our country and institutions, the constitution would be safe, the Radicals would be defeated, and the knaves would starve."

Ay, and if the moon were only made of green cheese—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

SIR,

Cambridge, April 9th, 1868.

In the *Contemporary Review* of this month I read, at p. 575, "There is (i.e., in the Middle Schools Commission Report) a very interesting account of the Cambridge examination, in nearly all of which the girls were ahead of the boys."

The subjoined table shows approximately the state of the case in 1866, the year preceding the publication of the Report.

The decimals in all cases represent fractions of full marks.

It is true that there were certain points in which the girls papers struck the examiners as superior to those of the boys. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that the girls were, in most cases, picked out as likely to succeed, while many schoolmasters sent in their boys in whole classes.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

THOMAS MAREBY.

CAMBRIDGE LOCAL EXAMINATIONS, 1866.

HIGHEST MARKS OBTAINED IN EACH SECTION.

	JUNIOR.		SENIOR.	
	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.
Religious Knowledge	717	65	67	485
English	78	73	88	8
Latin	85	60	6	63
Greek	82	—	76	54
French	95	875	9025	9
German	95	9025	9025	95
Pure Mathematics	727	18	6	327
Mechanics	685	—	54	35
Chemistry	8	—	6	—
Zoology	85	65	56	56
Botany	875	775	56	56
Drawing	full	8	91	628
Music	9	full	72	72
			Geology .	675 56
		Attained the First Class.		Attained the First Class.
Per cent.	6.02	8.77	Per cent.	12.07 2.47

THOMAS MAREBY, A.M., General Secretary.

To the Editor of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

SIR,—As your correspondent has said that he did not intend to accuse Signor Mazzini of cowardice, and "does full justice to his honesty and sincerity," it might seem that there would be no further need for trespassing on your space. But the words which immediately follow the confession I have quoted, call for a word of remark. No sooner has your correspondent said that he "does full justice to" my illustrious friend's "honesty and sincerity," than he brings forward a string of charges quite irrelevant to the former question, too vague to be answered, but evidently too serious in intention to pass without remark. If, therefore, your correspondent will set forth those charges candidly and honestly—explaining exactly what he *does* mean—in any newspaper or magazine, I have no doubt that either I or some other friend of Signor Mazzini's will be able to meet them as they deserve.

Yours respectfully,

C. E. MAURICE.

18, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, April 22nd.

ERRATUM.—In the April Number, page 569 (twice), for "Mr. Woodham," read "Mr. Woodard."



AN OXFORD ART-SCHEME.

IT has given us much satisfaction to see such great and general interest taken in the National Portrait Exhibition. It appears to have appealed to a genuine feeling for both art and history in many minds; and this may give us a starting-point for an inquiry which will, we fear, be rambling in progress, and perhaps dubious in result, but which we are now fairly drawn into. It is that of the connection between Art and History. We have long been anxious that the University of Oxford, in particular, should at least recognise the profession of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, and encourage it, if possible, by affording means of special education, and, indeed, by instituting examinations and offering prizes. Our views some months ago took the form of the scheme included in this paper, which has received a certain measure of approval from competent authorities in the University, though it is quite uncertain when or in what form it may be publicly brought forward. Reminiscences of tuition in our own day, and remonstrances of tutors at present, have convinced us that it is almost essential to the success of the plan to connect the study of Art-History and practice with the school of Modern History. Now the historical value of portrait has been felt this year very thoroughly: it has been understood once more how great a light is thrown on history by biography, and how powerfully the record of a man's appearance in his habit as he lived bears on his

biography,—that is to say, on our interest in it, and, indeed, on our true understanding of it. Pictorial history in a written form has, it is true, been made a kind of byword. But whether indulgence in florid description has become too common among our historians or not, there can be no doubt, either that vivid word-pictures in moderation help one through a book in a delightful manner, or that knowledge obtained from them abides very long in most people's minds. It may easily be said that pictorial ideas conveyed by words or on canvas have more to do with teaching one-sided views of history than with investigation and evidence as to facts; and that a vividly wrong idea of an event or period is a good deal worse than a prosaically accurate one. But this is only arguing from the abuse of a good thing in favour of its total disuse, and may be dismissed to the limbo of well-meant fallacies, there to rest a while, yet reappear, *clamosum phasma*, like the arguments against logic and rhetoric, intoxicating liquors, athletic exercises, and the use of human reason.

To an honest student of history, a keen sense of the reality of historical events can do no harm: his idea of them may be coloured by the prejudices of his education, but the great point is that he should not be without any idea at all. We may always trust to time and contradiction, and especially to his own progress in understanding events and characters, to save him from the sharp indecent certainty of the doctrinaire, who sees all things through his own glasses, and cannot forgive his fathers for not having been perfectly well up in his views. The historical value of portrait illustrates the uses of the imagination of fact for teachers and learners of history. It may be misused or over-applied; it is possible for a powerful and brilliant writer, like Mr. Carlyle, for instance, almost to preoccupy the minds of his readers with his view of every character in history; so as unconsciously to beg all questions about the given man or woman, as he himself would rule them. And this is done in a pictorial way. The great wit and poet grasps the reader, as it were, by the back of the mental neck. He makes you face his portrait—say, of the sea-green Robespierre, or of Mirabeau in his splendid ugliness, “shaking the *hure*, or black boar's head,” which he took pride in resembling, like William de la Marek. Then Mr. Carlyle asks you all through the history, Could this sea-green individual do anything that was not mean or contemptible, and could my gigantic Mirabeau or my Titanic Danton really do wrong at all? One feels at last, as Mr. Stephen says, that if Robespierre had been sanguine and Danton bilious, there would have been no Reign of Terror. Now a set of authentic portraits, which would really enable the spectator to judge for himself whether Robespierre actually looked green at all, and what Mirabeau *was* like when he spoke; and how far Danton, chatting

with Camille Desmoulins, resembled Danton as Minister of Justice during the days of September, would probably add greatly to our confidence in Mr. Carlyle's descriptions. Their correctness seems, on the whole, to bear a fair proportion to their brilliancy; and duller sketches may be less true.

Now there is portraiture of places and events as well as of men; and it is from nature, which is the same in ceaseless change, as well as from documents and portraits of those who went before us, that true historical painting of a scene—that is to say, of men in action—may be done. And when such work is done in public fresco, then, and not till then, the masses of the people will learn that they too have a history, and that they themselves inherit the great deeds and sufferings of the past, and are expected also to do and endure, and that all the great majority of Christian men departed are not mere names in school-books or names unknown, and that the tremendous Past bears witness to the awful Future. Whether it be from ignorance or from prejudiced pursuit of learning, a total disbelief in all history has infected our generation. A man reads up a period for a purpose, to write its history, to express his political views—the past is fought over as if it were the present, and facts and characters are voted upon rather than examined. The consequence is, a scepticism about all historical truth whatever, and men despair of it, as Mr. Arnold seems to do, when he declines to consider whether there be any truth or not in Kinglake's "Crimean War;" because "one foam-bell more or less on the Mississippi of falsehood called history does not matter." Accomplished scholars find criticism enough to satisfy their minds, without attending to history. But it is not desirable that ordinary people in the lower, middle, and upper classes should go through life, in some way and sense doing the duties of citizens, soldiers, merchants, and workmen, yet never realizing the existence of their ancestors and their own connection with the dead, nor quite understanding that Englishmen lived their lives before the first Reform Bill. Now public frescoes would appeal, on the part of history, to large masses of men who certainly are the worse for not knowing about it. We all cry out for ideas, for culture, for knowledge of true and beautiful things, and it seems impossible to get a trial for this means of conveying knowledge. People have an idea that men might learn from records in painting and sculpture in the dark ages, but that they have now advanced beyond any means of instruction which are not dull and unmeaning. And at the very same time that books are illustrated in every possible way for those who can buy them, walls of churches and schools are left blank of instructive imagery.

This is the substance of the scheme proposed for Oxford:—

Précis of Oxford Art-Scheme.

It is considered—

1. That by recognising Art as an Oxford study, this University would materially raise the position of all artists.

2. That if highly educated young men could be led to apply themselves to Historical Art, a powerful school of decorative Fresco would be the almost certain result, and that such a school would have important influence on popular, or, indeed, on all other education.

3. That the connection between the history of Italian Painting and other Art, and the studies of the Schools of Law and Modern History, is obvious and important.

4. That an University Academy, or system of Art-instruction, might be begun at small expense as follows:—

There should be University prizes (as the Scholarships at the Taylor Institutions), with other rewards, smaller or larger according to funds.

a. A part of these should be open to all members of the University, Associates of Arts, Students of the Royal Academy, Prizeholders and Medallists of Art-Schools, and other fit persons.

b. A part should be reserved for Classmen (say 3rd and above) of the Modern History and Lit. Hum. Schools. It is obvious that Classmen engaged for the last two or three years in severe studies of other kinds would seldom be on equal terms in technical skill with Art-students not so occupied.

The *Examination* for these ought to be a kind of sequel to the Law and Modern History Schools; and consist of—

a. Papers in Art-History, Greek and Italian, and in Criticism; and

b. A drawing from the Antique, with some original work in water or oil-colour, to be produced on the spot in the University School in a stated time.

For *Instruction*, there should be a non-resident Professor, like the Professor of Poetry, and a resident Reader of Italian History, who might, if possible, instruct in some branch of Art also, or a Reader alone. There might be [honorary] Lecturers on special subjects, and the Master of the present Art-School (who is highly competent) might be encouraged to teach drawing from the Antique.

It should be remarked that the Rafael and Turner drawings in the University Collections have a special value as an Educational Collection for students, far beyond the attractions they possess for the general public. They and the building which contains them should be devoted to Art-instruction.

We do not know what this may be worth, but a tentative scheme at least was required as a foundation for others; and in these days of University extension the present one may perhaps take a practical shape. It seems to contain a convenient addition to present studies. The connection between Greek history and Greek art is like that between the story and the beauty of Italy, since Italy has been to the Gothic world what Greece was to the Roman, and has "charmed her grim conquerors" with her fatal gift of loveliness. It has often been said, and the statement may be made again with due limitation, that the arts of Greece and Italy *are* their history, as far as we are concerned.

We cannot help judging of the importance of events as they bear upon us, and there can be no doubt that while the records and documents of ancient and mediæval art have strongly affected our mental history and progress, many actual events of history cannot be shown to have affected us at all. There is no doubt about the beauty or grandeur of a statue, or that it was done by this or that generation of this or that race of men; it cannot be criticized or philologized into nothingness, like written record. In Egypt and Assyria the original documents of history and art are identical; but the pictorial language is of more importance to us than the facts it conveys. From Beyrout to Kossayr we have the same tablets—Sosis or Rameses shooting his arrows or swinging his cleaver over heaps of nameless victims. In the Asian meadows, in Armenia, in the wilderness of Arabia Petraea, we see barbaric conquest and massacre obliged, as usual, to appeal to art for a chance of remembrance among men; and as usual, the conqueror goes without his fame, and we observe mainly that the workman drew his hawks and asps like a true Egyptian. Even the science of the marvellous builders is gone, and the arcana of priestly knowledge; the secrets of On and Memphis are secrets indeed; all that power is vanished as utterly as the might of Rameses; but Rameses is there casting his long shadow across the plain of Thebes, and pleading for his fame in the pensive mind of such tourists as happen to possess any mind. In him and in his granite brethren, and their pyramids and temples, the thought and power of Egypt will live for ever: there is its only expression. After all, in a tropical climate at least, the painter and carver is the true *vates sacer*.

What is history? Is it the record of what man has done, which he had better not have done, or of the deeds which survive for good? for knowledge, for awe and wonder, which are good? Which is of most consequence, the rule of Rameses or the statue of Rameses? Which is really best worth knowing about, the rule of the Medici, or the white and awful form which sits like a ghost on

its own sepulchre in San Lorenzo,* with everlasting shadow on its face? Has the history of the League of Cambray anything particularly elevating for us, compared with the Paradise of Tintoret, and has not the thought and the greatness of all the Venice of his day somehow preserved itself for us on that wide canvas? Painters are a silent generation, and poets and philosophers vote themselves carvers of the only monuments which can be warranted durable. Still, as thinkers wielding spiritual influence, all these may be taken together. From the doubt of Thucydides about Athens and Sparta to Lord Macaulay's speculation as to the battle of Delium and the comedy of the Knights, the balance of power between the ruler and the singer, between the giver of bread,† and the giver of fame, has never been quite settled. Our own question, be it observed, is only a practical one. We are not speculating on the comparative greatness of the conqueror or statesman who makes the history of the time and fills the mind of the artist with his glory, and provides him with wealth and patronage, marble, ivory and gold, praise, and even kindness and friendship, and all accessories; and that of the artist who does gloriously for his patron. That depends on the men: it is very hard to hold a balance between Pericles and Phidias, and rather easy to do so between Lorenzo and Buonarrotti. Our real question is simply practical, whether, having access to the thought of Phidias in marble, those who are educated by means of studying the history of his time had not better learn to appreciate his thought, and form from it an idea of the cunning of his Greek hands and eyes, and of the far-reaching perceptions and tastes—in fact, of the highest inner life and thoughts—of the best men of his Athens. It is true that some of our brilliant imitators of Greek poetry seem to pursue it mainly for its heathenry. Yet we should not think the author of "Empedocles on Etna," means to put Empedocles forward as the exponent of his own views, as is assumed by Mr. Swinburne; or that Mr. Browning advised the republication of the poem because he thought it contained specially sound doctrine. If a man is engaged in a determined and arduous search after freshness of blasphemy, he will interpret Mr. Arnold's poem his own way. No doubt Empedocles is a better picture of denial and desperation than Phidias carving the temples of his father's gods. But even polemical

* Rogers' "Italy." We omit the inverted commas, as they spoil the *look* of our sentence. A very carefully-made cast or drawing is the only possible approach to a record of this tremendous statue—to our minds the centre of all sculpture. The determination of Michael Angelo that no light should ever fall on the face is obvious, he having planned the architecture of the chapel as well as its decorative tomb. Photography is impossible unless the face alone be taken, as under the "helmet-like bonnet" the features print quite black and indistinguishable.

† Lord: Norse, "hlaforð," "giver of bread."

Paganism will not deny that it is worth time and labour in drawing, to acquire a critic's knowledge, or even an artist's, of Greek statuary; and many men, we think, will accept the assurance of all painters, that to understand these works you must draw them, and to be able to draw them you must have drawn other things for some time and with some care.

"If Sparta were destroyed," says Thucydides, anticipating Lord Macaulay's New Zealander, "and only her temples and foundations left, I think that in long course of time the men of after-days would come to be very incredulous about her glory but if the same were to happen to the Athenians, men would estimate their power at twice what it is, from the appearance of their city." The historian of the Peloponnesian war was only thinking of one kind of power, and underrated the influence of which Athens had already possessed herself. It will endure perhaps to the distant date when our rebarbarized descendants shall welcome their tattooed philosopher—no doubt with cries of *Ave Maori*. But though we give Athens her proper place in history, our artists have scarcely attempted to recreate for us the sights and sounds of Athenian life. We read Sophocles, and no painter attempts the landscape of Colonus (we wish Mr. Leighton would take it up); and we read Aristophanes in Oxford (at least we used to do so, but have let him drop between two schools), and no one has tried to reproduce on canvas the sweet town and country life he loved with all his heart, like every true son of Athens. Mr. Swinburne's poetry must inspire some of his painter-friends before long. He is the author of some of our favourite passages of Greek landscape, and he has quoted nearly all the rest in his late performance. There is a stray bit of Aristophanes we feel inclined to apply to his verses:—

Τοιάδε κύνες
 συμμιγῇ βοῶν ὑμοῦ
 πτεροῖς κρέκοντες ἴαχον Ἀπόλλω
 τὴν τὴν τὴν τιολίξ
 ὄχθῳ ἰφελόμενοι παρ' Ἐβρον ποταμὸν
 διὰ δ' αἰθέριον νῆφος ἦλθε βοά. . .
 κύματά τ' ἔσβεσε νήνεμος αἰθήρη.—*Aves*, 769.

It is no use being angry with that sad young man. But in poetry as in history, word-painting does its utmost, and is not half really appreciated, because the public has not learnt to look on nature with the eye of the observer and the imitator. So in painting, the dumb genii speak in line, and sing in colour; and men are not yet taught what form and colour really are. Written description strains beyond its province, because men who can draw are but half-read, and cannot take their due and prominent place in the education of men; and

to this the Oxford scheme addresses itself. In Lord Macaulay's amusing protest against the dignity of history in favour of graphic narrative, his comparison of the greater or less importance of historical events brings him to a distinction of considerable value to us at this point. When a circumstance occurs which is an event in the history of an art or science, he concludes it has then a constant or constantly increasing value for mankind at all times, and is therefore of far more consequence than a fact which can only be considered with reference to its immediate effects.

"To an Athenian in the time of the Peloponnesian war, the result of the battle of Delium was far more important than the fate of the comedy of the Knights. To us the fact that the comedy of the Knights was brought on the Athenian stage with success is far more important than the fact that the Athenian phalanx gave way at Delium. A man who becomes acquainted with that comedy and its history at once feels his mind enlarged. Society is presented to him under a new aspect,—here is a community morally, intellectually, and politically unlike any other of which he has the means of forming an opinion. This is the really precious part of history,—the corn which some threshers carefully sever from the chaff, for the purpose of gathering the chaff into the garner, and flinging the corn into the fire."

This quotation answers our purpose, although it does show just the faintest insensibility to the actual consequences of the defeat at Delium, and its possible results if it had been a victory. The latter may be neglected, but the failure and disappointment of that day probably added to that ruinous eagerness for the Sicilian expedition, which, after all, was the turning-point of the Peloponnesian war, which was a turning-point in history. Had that war ended in an Athenian hegemony of all Greece, it might have affected our own condition at this moment, and certainly would have produced us a great many more comedies. Besides, over-pictorial history has run off into historical novels, and grouped biographies of favourite heroes, until nobody seems to believe in, or care for, events at all. And though we had much rather dispense with the chapters which contain Thucydides' account of Delium than with any comedy of Aristophanes, we could on no account spare the reflections on the Corcyrean sedition in the third book, which anticipate Italian municipal history, as Mr. Hallam observes;* nor could we do without the heart-breaking history of his seventh book. In short, it is fairly beyond us to argue out the wider question of the comparative value to us of the political or scientific side of the life of ancient times, nor does it matter. Of this we are sure—there would have been no Parthenon, and Pericles and Phidias might have been alike nameless to this day, if there had been no Marathon. The root of Greek art was struck deep in gallant blood shed under shield, as the school of Italian beauty

* "Middle Ages," vol. i. p. 232, ninth edition.

was in the struggles of free Florence, and the cities who wrought their own deliverance from the house of Swabia. If we are to study Greek life, let us take it when it was worth living. The Muses were not Sicilian-born, and Theocritus is only an echo of a faint and sweet renaissance. It is not our duty to write here about the moral aspects of history, but no one ought to close his eyes to the fact that the glories of the Periclean age were based on the virtues and the sacrifices of the Persian war, and that Pericles himself, and all the old breed of Athens, down to Socrates, were proud to show themselves of the same blood as the *Μαθηνομάχαι*, hard as Spartans. No doubt the Sophists called them Philistines.

Of course, as we have said before, men whose imagination and spiritual eye see gods and heroes driving them on in battle will make glorious imageries of gods and heroes as soon as they get time and marble. So did the Goth as well as the Greek: witness the churches of Milan and Verona; witness the fairy mythology of Scandinavian races, who had also seen their gods come down to rejoice in even combat and revel of spears, and the choosers of the slain go forth adorned before battle to call home the brave to Asgard. In their own land they could not embody their visions, or their fierce faith in truth and valour only. There was no cutting statues out of the gneiss precipices which battle for ever with the gulf-stream and the wind of the western sea, and cast perpetual shade across the solemn fjords, though probably the Vikingir often beguiled long days on deep dark waters by carving and painting the high stem and stern posts of the "steeds of the sea" into forms of raven and dragon. They worked in wood and steel as to this day, dwelling under the black shadows of the pine, which have rested on the nature of their descendants to this day. But the Lombards lost no time as soon as they had crossed the Alps—they found the marbles of the Southern Alps, and broke out at once into the histories and fancies of St. Ambrogio and San Zenone.

A great deal of Mr. Ruskin's best work on Italian Gothic has not been fully understood, as it seems, because people have not taken into account the supremacy of Gothic blood, forms, and manners all over Northern Italy. We remember the substance of a conversation last year at Florence with one of our greatest painters, which began by our remarking to him what very English faces some of Ghirlandajo's portraits had in the great frescoes of Sta Maria Novella. "Of course," he answered; "the high Gothic type is the same everywhere in good examples. As you look more at Italian people, you will observe the difference between the Goth and the old Etruscan. The first is tall, fair, blue-eyed, long-necked, large-boned, in fact, Northern all over; and Ginevra de Benci, Politian, and

Lorenzo de Medici, whose portraits you have been admiring, are all specimens of it, though she is so beautiful, and they are so ugly. You may take Dante for its central type. The Etruscan form may be represented by that of Napoleon, who was a pure Italian. It is short, square, and dark, with straight, soft hair; more statuesque than the Gothic, from the generally very great beauty of its neck and chest, which never run to too great length or flatness. The dark-eyed ideal of Italian beauty is the Italian or Etruscan ideal, as truly as the white herds of Clitumnus are to this day the ideal of Italian cows, though the latter breed is unmixed, as the Goths did not bring their cattle with them. And of course the dark, short, and powerful type prevails among the people, and more and more as you go South." All this was new and striking to us; and even the more interesting as the portraits of two of the Ghirlandajos, men of the people, seemed to us to show the mixed blood, with Gothic stature and size of bone, and Italian features and *morbidezza* of skin (we hope the word is right, as we rather enjoy bringing it in).

If ever we get a chance, we will try to work out a parallel between Greek and Gothic art-progress. For the present, as Coleridge, we believe, usually remarked after half an hour's conversational *excursus*, "all this is neither here nor there," except to enable us to express our hope that our renaissance poets and critics do not really mean to take their philosophy from Empedocles, *vice* Plato and Socrates, cashiered for Theism. Because, if the thing for the wise Autarches to do in these days is first to profess Stoico-Pantheism, and then to jump down the crater of Etna, how is he to tell his disciples how it answers? We are interested in art—*i.e.*, in the production of works of art; and we must ask, How are painters and sculptors to follow Phidias and Michael Angelo, if they are only, with Emerson and Mr. Swinburne, to "crave for the life of plants and stones and rain?" Man cannot reach such perfection as this, though he may, under favourable circumstances, attain to the ideal existence of the nigger. Something approaching to the life of plants and stones may be led in the South Seas, as Mr. Kingsley suggests, if we remember right.* Thackeray's celebrated hymn in "Vanity Fair" is here borne in irresistibly on us, with an imperceptible alteration:—

"Lead us to some sunny isle
 Bosom'd in the Southern deep,
 Where the skies for ever smile,
 And the rum's extremely cheap."

There or thereabouts, if anywhere, may self-sufficiency be looked for in this world.

Let no painter who is worth his salt ever search for the thing; his call is *μάχην καταδύμεναι ἀνδρῶν*, and to see if God is not therein,

* "Two Years Ago," vol. iii.

as of old. If he will go back to the ages of great art, he will find them closely connected with the ages of great deeds, with honour and piety, and love and daring; and will understand, in short, that the moral side of them is as real as the intellectual. Though the teeth of Puritanism are set for ever against art, the Christian faith has always welcomed it, and the Christian character has produced it. Artistic Atheism may belong to the age of Ptolemy, but there is no authority for it in that of Pericles.

We do not, of course, identify Mr. Arnold's views with those attributed to him in the *Fortnightly Review*. No one can say that he has spoken a word of voluntary insult or offence to the Christian faith, and we should not think the critique in question was very palatable to him. Yet there is a kind of affection in it which makes one think very favourably of the author. At all events, *multum amavit*. And he quotes exactly the passages which delighted us twenty years ago, when our set in Oxford read the "Strayed Reveller" with a will, for love of its author and itself. The "Forsaken Merman" we used to put first, and the songs of Charicles; in particular Apollo and Marsyas, and Cadmus and Harmonia. But most we loved (or as well as the Merman) the end of "Empedocles," which applies to painting as well as poetry; it had a great sound:—

"First hymn they the Father
Of all things; and then
The rest of immortals,
The action of men;
The day with its hotness,
The strife with the palm;
The night in her silence,
The stars in their calm."

There is a good deal of life in twenty years, to be sure. How little we thought, when we fought battles for Tennyson (all of us on one side) that we should live to see his disciple preferred before him as an orthodox atheist, *volentem volentem*.

We have worked round to the old connection between present University studies and a proper University Art-School. The University now bids men learn the history, not only of the Greek, but of the middle ages; and that is in a great degree the history of the civilization of the Greek and the middle ages; and the history of art is one-third at least of that history of civilization; and Oxford and England know nothing whatever about art as regards Greece or Italy. Our scheme is plain enough as to its connection between the history and practice of Art and the Modern History Schools; reasons have been given, moreover, for its real connection with *Literæ Humaniores*. Accurate knowledge of history is to be acquired just as well by means of biography, as by getting up chronology by rote in tables of dates. Let a lad be taught that Michael Angelo was the

greatest man of his time, greater than the men he worked for, great enough to influence able men at our own day. Show him, and teach him to draw, the Duke Lorenzo, or Day and Night. Tell him, and help him to find out, what sort of life the man who did those great deeds lived, and with whom; where he lived, and in what kind of place; whether he was Christian or heathen, freeman or slave, true man or false, brave or a coward. Teach your pupil to know the names and performances of the contemporaries of the great master; whom he lived with in his own Florence; what popes, emperors, dukes, and peoples he served, and how he bore himself before them all; in few words, make the whole history of a period turn in the lad's mind on its proper centre—*i.e.*, on its greatest man. Then your teaching of modern history will be something to him, and he will not forget it. All who are fit to learn history at all learn it in their youth by means of hero-worship, by attention given to the men best worth attending to; and the artists of Italy stand on quite equal ground with her poets; and both rank far above her statesmen. Read Macaulay's account in "*Machiavelli*" of the typical statesman of Italian history. It is not over-coloured. Do you think you will ever get an English lad to read such a man's life and doings with anything but disgust? Do not chain the attention of boys to what is hateful, and turn their eyes from things lovely and noble in history, if you want them to do their best at it as a study.

This applies to art as a means of actual education; and our point is that it is one of the most important parts of the subject of history, which ought no longer to be left out of our course. Its records are important pages in the tale of human civilization, and of the inner life and mind of men. Elsewhere it has been viewed as a means of general culture, tending to supply fresh ideas and elevating thoughts to all men, especially to those who want them most. We cannot help feeling some surprise that its possible influence, and the uses which have most undoubtedly been made of it in Gothic days, have never been noticed or appealed to by Mr. Arnold, who is the apostle of culture; we should be sorry to think him only "an apostle of the genteels," indifferent to the culture of the people; and we do not think it of him yet. But a man of his powers of thought and expression, who knows his own influence as a man of letters, cannot well be blind to the connection between literature and art, or to the fact that ideas may be conveyed as vividly and rightly by symbols of form and colour as by words and sentences. Perhaps his feeling for Renaissance as against Gothic may have set him against the means of culture which were so largely used by men of Teuton blood and feelings; or he may not like methods of teaching which were used so freely by ecclesiastical and monastic patrons. We cannot quite fancy him patronizing Orcagna; and we should not quite like him

to patronize Michael Angelo from his calm heights. But he would not be unwilling to acknowledge, on consideration, the indirect power to educate and elevate which is in painting and sculpture, irrespective of all the knowledge of facts and history to which they lead; he seems, indeed, to recognise it in what he says of the demands of the modern spirit. "What brings about, or rather tends to bring about, a natural, rational life, satisfying the modern spirit? This: the growth of a love of industry, trade, and wealth; the growth of a love of the things of the mind; and the growth of a love of beautiful things. There are body, intelligence, and soul, all taken care of." This is excellent as far as it goes; but it seems a pity that its accomplished author should fail to recognise Art, and despair of Religion, as a means of culture. Their practical connection is, indeed, so close in early work, that one cannot wonder that a thinker who denies the value of one should take no notice of the other. We cannot but think that he has suffered from too much or too close intercourse with Puritan forms of life, and thoughts on religion; and that their occasional want of refinement, depth, and tenderness has made him forget the great godliness and manliness possessed by many men of that spirit, and that they have a culture and elevation of their own.

But our hope is for art-prizes and scholarships, and for high instruction for the painters of the future in our Universities. By high instruction we mean, that whatever form the new movements for increasing the facilities of University education take in the end, they must do something for art-students. Merely shortening the time of residence to two years would be an advantage of which young artists might avail themselves. One great difficulty in the way of any scheme of Oxford enlargement is, where the additional pupils are to come from; and we really think the University would do well to bid for a few—perhaps an increasing few—of the best sort of art-students. Some promising artists have come out of Oxford in our time without encouragement, and a little of it might do much. There is Mr. A. Hunt, a Newdigate prizeman, who is really at the head of English grand naturalist landscape, and Turner's closest follower; there is the author of "*Jason*," who heads a decorative school; and Mr. Spencer Stanhope, whose health is the only thing in his way; and in particular Mr. Burne Jones. All these were contemporaries of ours, all desirous of, and unable to get, good art-teaching in Oxford. More than one has regretted to us time lost in Oxford, and having been unable to begin the technical part of art during residence.

We do not know how far parents object to their sons taking to painting. We are quite sure that if lads were brought up to it as a liberal pursuit, with proper training in language and history, and took it as a whole, and a fit occupation for all their time and all their

genius, they would be able to live by it. We do not see the necessity for a painter's making a fortune, any more than we do for a clergyman's; in both lines men are wanted who are not of the fortune-making temper. The very reason why the Universities should begin to make the most of students like those we have named is, that such men, properly encouraged and brought out by examinations and prizes given with the authority of Oxford, would have a chance of attention and support from the public, even though they painted real historical pictures which might instruct the public. Suppose a modern-history classman, well read, and fairly well taught in technical methods (it is a matter of experience that educated men acquire them with wonderful ease),*—suppose a staff of such men employed on public fresco in London and Manchester under Watts or Armitage, and advanced to original designs,—we do not believe the public would long remain without realizing how cheap and how valuable a means of culture and education such frescoes may be. Your artizans cannot design, because they never see good colour or good form. Spread good colour and good form before their eyes continually in corn exchanges and railway stations; encourage every skilled mason to carve leaves and animals; let your joiners do faces and fancies, instead of veneering; and give your decorators work in good colour, instead of graining and imitation marble;—before long, you will see an improved kind of work, and a happier and better set of men doing it, and you will not be any poorer either.

A fair excuse for long delay of University extension has hitherto been made—that though Oxford and Cambridge educate but a small number of men, they teach the teachers of the whole nation, and practically take their right place in public instruction. This plea amounts perhaps to a virtual justification of what has been done, or not done, hitherto. But all agree that an effort must now be made to popularize University teaching, and bring a larger number of men within reach of professorial or tutorial lectures, and under the influence of University, if not of college life. The first thing is to find the means; and the "Balliol plan" of matriculating men at a college, and offering them gratuitous superintendence and instruction, —with leave to live where they like, and as economically as they can, —might provide the best class of R.A. students with what they want most. It would give them, besides, the feeling of being connected with a college, and having therefore a body of active men to back them now and then when they want it, and to be proud of their successes. Not the least pleasant feeling to a man who has done a notably good stroke of work in anything, is "what they will say about it in old Christ Church or old Trinity." Such men would do the University quite as much credit, from the first and to the last,

* Harding's evidence, Royal Academy Commission.

as the sons of squires, however athletic, or of stockbrokers, however rich. We have spoken of Oxford men who wanted art; and we know plenty of artists who want Oxford, and who would ornament and delight her. In short, by recruiting from the artistic profession, we believe Oxford would do and receive immediate and substantial good, and might lay the foundation of a great system of teaching and culture by fresco illustration, which would not be confined to a highly educated few, but would reach very low and lead very high.

Again, a system which should give artists a share of Oxford education would prepare them against what we consider one of the leading temptations of art-work—its over-division of labour. We were once asked to make a conjecture why in old times nobody built any building that was not beautiful, and in modern times nobody builds one that is not ugly. We answered, Because then an architect was educated in something more than mathematics and estimates, and was a painter and a sculptor; because every building was considered with an ultimate view to its decorated beauty, and the men who calculated the strength of its piers could also design the frescoes which adorned its walls, and the carvings of its capitals; because in those days men learnt statuesque form in their painting by study and practice of sculpture in one form or another, as Orcagna, Verocchio, Ghirlandajo, and Durer from their goldsmiths' designs, and Masaccio from Donatello. Now we have division of labour, which is excellent for multiplying copies, but of no use whatever in producing original works. A water-colourist does not gain, but loses, by never using oil; an oil-painter will most assuredly learn and acquire much from tempera or fresco. And there is plenty of time for thought and reading besides. It is a reason for insisting on a high standard of laborious education for artists that, if it can be introduced, it will reduce the number of bad painters and bad pictures. Far too many so-called students seem to take up art as an idleness rather than a study, because they think all its work consists in easy manipulations, and that when they are dexterous enough in handling, they will at once design great works, or at all events be able to multiply saleable ones. The great difficulty of recommending a profession to young men's choice is always that one cannot tell them what is to become of the third-raters, or assure maintenance to men of real though average merit. But public teaching and patronage of art as we have described it would provide work for all. It is the *laissez-faire* system of letting the market command everything, and leaving the buyers uninstructed, which prevents our national schools from striding to the front of European art. Mr. Arnold's proposed Academy of Literature would, we think, like all the practical measures he points out, be of real advantage to us; but an effective Academy of Painting and Sculpture, which

really educated artists like Christians and men of thought, and recommended them to the public with its stamp of approbation, seems an obvious need. There is no doubt that when Englishmen get an idea or a pursuit which they know is really noble and worth following, they do follow it like wolves,—

" With their long gallop, which can tire
The keen hound's hate and hunter's fire." *

Everything which can persuade them that things of the Spirit or Mind are worth following is needed for them now; and we return good for evil to Mr. Arnold, who objects to religion as ministering to culture, by expressing confidence in culture as ministering to religion, with which, we remark for the thousandth time, art-culture was closely allied till the late Renaissance.†

It would not require any large sum in prizes or scholarships to bring to Oxford, under the easier and cheaper conditions of residence which will soon be open to all, some of the best young men of the middle classes. A college connection and a degree, with a prospect of steady employment on public work, or even under municipal authorities, would make an artist's career inviting; and to offer them

* "Mazeppa."

† We wish some of our readers would compare Mr. Lowe's speech at Edinburgh on University Education with the celebrated chapter on the Renaissance in the third volume of the "Stones of Venice," p. 95, and the Notes on Education in Appendix 7 in the same volume. He will find that the late Minister for Education makes the same complaint as the Master of English "Arts." Time and life are wasted, not in learning to speak or construe a language, which would be soon done, but in painful grinding over rules and generalizations about its structure, which cannot be remembered, or are remembered by means of examples, and ought to be learnt by practice. There are some remarks to the same purpose at p. 347, vol. iv., of this Review; where a distinction is drawn between grammar-teaching, in which it is impossible to appeal to the imagination, and history, where that faculty should be called to the aid of the teacher by pictorial illustration. It must edify and amuse Mr. Ruskin to see such children of the Renaissance as Mr. Lowe and Mr. Arnold fall out and chide; but we are sure they will not fight, and they are at one in their excellent advice about French-polishing the harshnesses of English writing. But we do not think with the former gentleman that M. Sainte-Beuve in French could take the place of the Greek of Thucydides and Herodotus in the English mind, though undoubtedly our method of learning to read Thucydides and Herodotus is open to comment. Nor do we see how men are to understand or acquire niceties of expression, urbanities, felicities, and all that, without severe scholarly training somehow. But how old Politian and the accurate scholars of the Renaissance would have stared at the words of their ungrateful children! What a shaking there must soon be among the dry bones of the grammarians! They should have their fame. We like Mr. Browning's! praise of their single-minded determination to know, and to systematize. It will never do to forget what we owe them; and we apprehend that Mr. Lowe, M. Sainte-Beuve, and modern French would hardly have reached their present perfection without considerable study, not only of Latin authors, but the Latin language.

(1) "The Grammarian's Funeral," *Men and Women*, ii. p. 217.

"This man decided not to live, but know;"

—and did better than Empedocles.

is to subsidize for the people a school of instructors who will teach with a new and subtle power.

Of Landscape and its uses, either for actual instruction or for its effect on general culture, we have said something, but not enough. All who read Wordsworth, or Scott, or Tennyson, or the various descriptions in Mr. Arnold's poems and the Greek landscapes in "Atalanta," must feel that they would not willingly lose such passages from the English language, and understand how these descriptive words in their way exalt a nation, like Amphion's song, as if her walls and towers "rose slowly to their music slowly breathed."*

Men write landscape, and justly take foremost places in the literature of their day, perhaps of future times. They will not look at it enough to understand the painter's work, or how it runs parallel with their poetry, ministers to it, interprets it. We do not want to set up painting against poetry; let us accept Mr. Arnold's award in the "New Poems."† We do not even want to compare them: in the first place, because we are too near the end of this article, and in the second, because there is only analogy, not likeness, between the effect of art and song on the human mind. Colours are not like sounds, though the blind man said scarlet must be like a trumpet: he meant it affected his nerves in the same way, not that it affected them by similar means. But let the greater poets head literature, and human teaching. Theirs is God's greatest gift; let them do their mightiest with it, in His fear and the love of their neighbour; for parts of which, honour, culture, and *love*,‡ in Goethe's sense, are all conventional terms. The painters speak a language without the use of sweet articulate words; but for all that, their sound goes out into many lands. Dante sits austere at the head of all the thought of Italy, but beside and not below him are the bent brows of Michael Angelo, and the lion-face§ of the Venetian dyer. Their thrones are in no Pagan temple; they sit at the feet of Him they owned and served; and to extol them with Pagan praises and scorn their Master is adoring Mercurius, and bringing oxen and garlands to St. Peter and St. Paul. Of the three, as the poet said all that words could say, so the painters expressed the ineffable; and their work is beyond words. The habit of ignoring them and their followers as teachers of mankind seems to us one of the most pernicious dulnesses of our times.

R. ST. JOHN TYRWHITT.

* Tennyson's "Æneid."

† "Epilogue to Lessing's 'Laocoon.'"

‡ "Heine," Goethe said—

"Had every other gift, but wanted love."

Arnold, "New Poems," p. 200.

§ See the Pitti portrait and M. Coignet's great modern picture of Tintoret painting his dead daughter's portrait, which repeats it. We have seen engravings of the latter in Oxford.



JOHN TOLAND.

A HUNDRED and eighty years ago there was a little boy at a village school in the north of Ireland, and he had for his Christian name Janus Junius. His parents, *if he ever had any*, were possessed of so feeble a sense of their duty that they suffered his godfathers and godmothers in mockery to give him this name. When the schoolmaster called the school roll in the morning, the other boys laughed at the odd cognomen, and to preserve the gravity of his scholars, the master changed it into John. This little boy was John Toland, who in his lifetime had more sermons preached against him than any other man since the days of Simon Magus or Alexander the coppersmith. Toland was educated in the Roman Catholic religion, which he renounced at the age of sixteen, never failing during the rest of his life to speak of it as one of the vilest superstitions. He began his studies at the University of Glasgow, and as a sturdy Presbyterian joined the inhabitants against the soldiers in the persecutions of 1688-9, for which the magistrates rewarded him with a testimonial certifying that "he had behaved himself like ane trew Protestant and loyal subject." He took his master's degree at the University of Edinburgh, and with the assistance of some Dissenters in England, who looked upon him as the future champion of their cause, he proceeded to Leyden, and studied under the learned Spanheim. His career of universities—for so we must speak—was

completed at Oxford, where he profited chiefly by the time spent in the Bodleian library.

John Locke had lately published his "Essay on the Human Understanding," and more recently still his treatise "On the Reasonableness of Christianity." They were sufficiently new to subject their author to the charge of heresy, though Christianity never had a more sincere friend than John Locke. They were also sufficiently original to suggest to other men new modes of thinking, which, if carried out to their legitimate conclusions, were likely to produce a revolution in theology. A year had scarcely passed since the publication of the "Reasonableness of Christianity," when an anonymous author sent forth a bolder, if not a more original, book than Locke's, under the title of "Christianity not Mysterious." The sensation which this book created is to us incredible. A second edition was demanded in a few months, and to this the author prefixed his name. It was *John Toland*.

The avowed object of Toland's book was to defend Christianity. He prayed that God would give him grace to enable him to vindicate revealed religion. And the greatest vindication which he supposed it to require was that it be freed from the charges of contradiction and obscurity. He laid it down as an axiom that the true religion must be reasonable and intelligible. He promised another book, in which he was to show that in Christianity these conditions are found. In a third treatise he was to prove that Christianity was a religion divinely revealed from heaven, and not owing its origin to mere human intelligence. The last two books were never written. The second, however, is virtually anticipated in "Christianity not Mysterious."

The peculiarity of Toland's mind was his want of faith in external evidence. He did not believe all that people told him, especially if what was said did not bear its own credibility on the face of it. He regarded history as a story-teller, and tradition as of less value than an old woman's fable. Divines, he said, inverted the order of nature. They discoursed first of the authority of the Scriptures, and after that they proceeded to consider their contents; instead of which we should begin with the contents, for only in this way can we know that the Scriptures are of Divine authority. Bacon began with natural phenomena as the foundation of physical science. Locke had done the same for metaphysics. Toland wished to begin with an examination of the Scriptures themselves, which he regarded as standing in the same relation to the theologian as natural phenomena to the physical investigator.

But this supposed in man the capacity of knowing truth. It was an appeal to reason as the ultimate arbiter of right and wrong, truth

and falsehood. The Christian world, both Catholic and Protestant, had generally refused to admit reason as the sole judge and discerner of truth. The Scriptures, they said, contain doctrines above reason; and where we cannot comprehend we ought to adore. The Church of Rome had carried this principle to its utmost bounds; maintaining that there were doctrines in the Scriptures not only above reason, but contrary to it, which were not on that account to be rejected, but rather the more devoutly to be received. *I believe because it is impossible*, was an axiom of the Catholic doctors. Some escaped the necessity of using their reason by supposing that what they themselves did not understand, the ancient Fathers understood for them. But Toland showed that the Fathers were not agreed about the meaning of the Scriptures; that they had cautioned their readers not to trust to them, but to use their own reason; and, moreover, it was more difficult to know what the Fathers meant than what the Scriptures meant. The Fathers and doctors of old time had no privilege over us except priority of birth, if that be a privilege. They were men of like passions with ourselves; and if human reason be defective with us, it was no less defective with them. Others appealed to General Councils, or the Bishop of Rome as the visible head of the Church, but they succeeded no better than those who bow to the Fathers. Popes and councils have refuted their own claims to infallibility by teaching and decreeing doctrines which contradict each other, and by the evidence they have given of being subject to the failings of ordinary men. The true Protestant says that we should keep to the Scriptures alone. They contain all that is necessary to salvation. But as the Protestant has no infallible external authority on whose word he can take the Scriptures, he must read them for himself to know what they teach. To this principle Protestantism has not been faithful. It has often made the Bible speak the language of a sect. Some system of divinity has been substituted in its place, and often forgetful of its own first principle, that the Scriptures come to us with their own authority, and not on that of Fathers or councils, Protestantism has been unfaithful in the full and free exercise of reason as the interpreter of Scripture. Some say we should abide by the literal sense, and when that teaches, or seems to teach, anything contradictory, we should receive it by faith. Others say we should use reason as the instrument, but not as the rule of our belief, so that what we do not understand should be received as a mystery; that is, something above our reason. Toland, as opposed to all these, said the only foundation of all certitude is reason. Everything revealed is, in virtue of that revelation, within the province of reason, in the same way as the phenomena of the natural world, "so that there is nothing in the Gospel contrary

to reason, nor above it, and no Christian doctrine can be properly called a mystery." There was a boldness in this statement sufficient to startle the generally sensitive religious world. But it was greatly mitigated by the admission that after all there are mysteries in the Bible; that is, doctrines stretching beyond our faculties in the same way, but not otherwise than as the natural world has wonders or mysteries which surpass our comprehension. The controversy depends on how much is included in the definition of the word mystery. There are mysteries in nature; that is, things which we cannot explain. There are none in revelation, because revelation explains them. Beyond what is explained, there are mysteries, doubtless, but we are not called upon to believe them. In fact, there is nothing for us to believe except that we cannot understand, and therefore cannot believe.

We have, according to Toland, four means of information: the experience of the senses; the experience of the mind; human authority; and Divine authority. The first two are the sensation and reflection of Locke's philosophy; the latter two are human testimony and Divine revelation. Human testimony is also called moral certitude, as when a friend relates anything credible, or when we are told that there was such a city as Carthage, or such a man as Luther. Divine revelation is the manifestation of truth by truth itself. If a proposition is evident, we have not the power to refuse assent to it; and if we are deceived where our conceptions are clear and distinct, we may be deceived in everything, even as to the existence of God and conscience. If reason is to be trusted at all,—if those common notions which we all have and daily act upon are grounded on truth, then the Gospel, if it really be the word of God, will not contradict them. There can be no contradiction between the written revelation and our sense of right. If there is, one or other must be given up; and as we only know the truth of revelation from its internal evidence, it is evident the sacrifice must be made here. As it is by reason, Toland argues, that we arrive at the certainty of God's existence, so must we discern His revelations by their conformity with our natural notions of Him. They must agree with reason; they must be rational and intelligible. If the evidence is internal, it is only by reason that it can be known, and the discovery of it begets faith or persuasion. A man from various motives, such as fear and superstition, may give his assent to what he does not understand, but he never has any solid satisfaction in his belief, never really acquiesces in it till he understands it. Scripture appeals to reason. We are commanded to try the spirits, and as wise men to judge concerning what the Apostles delivered to us. St. Paul, indeed, speaks of the vanity of the wisdom of this world, and says that he

did not come with excellency of speech or man's wisdom, which Toland, following St. Augustine, interpreted of the sophists and rhetoricians.

If the writers of the Bible never seek to confound or mislead, but to convince the mind, it follows that the best way to get to their meaning is honestly to use our intellects, following the same rules of interpretation which we should apply to any other book. Reason being in this way the channel through which we receive revelation, it is impossible that we can receive as Divine what is contrary to reason.

But is there nothing in the Gospel above reason? In this, too, Toland took the negative. A thing may be above reason in two senses. It may be veiled by figurative words, types, or ceremonies, and reason may be unable to penetrate the meaning till the veil is removed; or a thing may be inconceivable—not to be judged of by our ordinary ideas. In both senses it is a *mystery*; that is, above reason. The word mystery, Toland says, was generally understood in the first sense by the Pagans. To the uninitiated, religion had mysteries, but to the purified or regenerate the veil was removed. In this sense, too, the word is always understood in the New Testament. The Christian doctrines were mysteries till they were unveiled by special revelation.* Some Christians maintain that the doctrines of revelation are still mysterious in the second sense of the word; that is, inconceivable, however clearly revealed. Against these, Toland says that it is not necessary that a thing be a mystery because we have not an adequate idea of it, or a distinct view of all its perfections at once, for then everything would be a mystery. To comprehend anything is to know its chief properties. What is not knowable is nothing to us, for we can have no idea of it. We may not have an adequate or complete idea of every Christian doctrine, but it is not on that account a mystery, any more than the ordinary works of nature are mysteries. What is revealed in religion is known to us, just as we know wood or stone, air or water. Eternity, for instance, is not above reason because it cannot be imagined, any more than a circle is not above reason because it can be imagined. Infinity is as little mysterious as finity, or that two and three make five. It is only trifling with words to call anything a mystery because we do not know its essence. We do not know the real essence of anything in the world; we only know the nominal essence. The soul

* Mr. Pattison, in the "Essays and Reviews," says: "The word *μυστήριον*, as Archbishop Whately points out, always means in the New Testament not that which is incomprehensible, but that which was once a secret, though now it is revealed it is no longer so. Whately, who elsewhere speaks so contemptuously of the 'cast-off clothes' of the Deists, is here but adopting the argument of Toland in his 'Christianity not Mysterious.'"

is no more a mystery than the body, nor the Divine Being than a spire of grass or the meanest flower of the field.

Having thus explained mystery, Toland undertakes to prove from the Scriptures that there are no mysteries in Christianity. The Christian doctrines were mysteries before they were revealed, but now they are unveiled. The most enlightened philosophers could not discover them, but God hath revealed them to us by His Spirit. "We speak," says St. Paul, "the wisdom of God hid in a mystery." It was hidden from the Gentiles, but it is revealed to us. The law had a shadow of good things to come, but in New Testament times they are fully revealed. Moses put a veil on his face, but that veil is done away in Christ. The mystery was kept secret since the world began, but now it is made manifest. The ministers of Christ are called stewards of the mysteries of God; that is, revealers of what before was secret. The mystery was made known to St. Paul, which in other ages was not made known unto the sons of men as it is now revealed unto us. It had been hid for ages and generations, but now is made manifest to the saints. "Behold, I show you a mystery," said St. Paul to the Corinthians. He was to reveal to them a secret; he was to tell them that those who were alive at the sounding of the last trumpet would put off their mortality to be clothed with immortality, as well as those who were then to rise from the dead. The union of man and wife as a type of the indissoluble union of Christ and his Church is called a mystery, but now that we are told of it the figure is intelligible. Jesus said, "To you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them that are without it is not given." These things were parables to them. The judgment of the Fathers is not of much value in Toland's eyes; yet, as M. de Fontenelle says, "What these honest men could not make good themselves by sufficient reasons is now proved by their sole authority," and so Toland thinks it worth the trouble to show that they were on his side in this interpretation of mystery. Clemens Alexandrinus tells us that the Christian discipline was called illumination, because it brought hidden things to light, the Master alone removing the cover of the ark. Justin Martyr says that the name Joshua was a mystery representing the name of Jesus, and the holding up of Moses' hands a type or mystery of Christ's cross, whereby He overcame death, as the Israelites did their enemies. He also calls the predictions of the prophets mysteries, symbols, or parables. Tertullian says that all mysteries are under an oath of secrecy, and Origen makes the encampments of the Israelites symbols or mysteries setting forth the Christian's heavenly progress. He was so far from calling Christian doctrines mysteries that he expressly affirms them all to agree with our common notions. The mysteries supposed to

exist in Christianity Toland divided into two kinds. First, the incomprehensible dogmas which he said were introduced into the Christian religion by the metaphysicians, and which he likened to the occult qualities of the ancient philosophers. The second kind were the mysteries introduced into Christianity from the Pagan worship. The only ceremonies originally in the Christian religion were Baptism and the Lord's Supper. They were both of the simplest character, but by the second or third century they were strangely disguised and transformed by the addition of rites borrowed from the heathen. They were then called *tremendous and unutterable mysteries*. The Pagan worship indeed was largely adopted by the Christian Church when the Roman world was converted to Christianity. The emperors gave the heathen temples for the use of the Christians. The clergy had the benefices of the priests, flamens, and augurs; yea, they wore their very vestments as surplices, stoles, mitres, albs, copes, and chasubles. They took the same titles as the Pagan priesthood, and discoursed mysteriously of initiations, lustrations, and baptismal regenerations. The Lord's Supper was similarly transformed till it no longer served the object of its institution. "By endeavouring," says Toland, "to make the plainest things in the world *mysterious*, their very nature and use were absolutely perverted and destroyed, and are not yet fully restored by the purest reformation in Christendom."

"Christianity not Mysterious" had not been long published before its author was presented by the grand jury of Middlesex. But in his own country Toland had the greatest honours. He paid a visit to Dublin, and the first Sunday after his arrival he heard an Irish bishop preaching against "Christianity not Mysterious." He found the clergy in Ireland so much against him that a discourse concerning his errors was "as much expected as if it had been prescribed in the rubric." An Irish peer gave it as a reason why he had ceased to attend church that once he heard something there about his Saviour Jesus Christ, but now all the discourse was about one John Toland. The grand jury was solicited to present him, and the presentation of the Middlesex jury was reprinted and cried about the streets of Dublin. He was duly presented in the Court of King's Bench. The jurors quoted some passages from his book, some of them said they had never read it, and those who did said they could not understand it. Toland's enemies called him a Jesuit, a Socinian, a Nonconformist, adding that they had never read his book; and by the grace of God they never would read it. At length it was brought before Parliament. Toland wished to be present to defend himself, but this was not granted. The House agreed that the book was heretical, and condemned it to be burned by the common hangman, commanding that its author be taken into custody for further prosecu-

tion. One member proposed that Toland himself should be burnt; another that he should be made to burn his book with his own hands; a third added it should be done at the door of the House, that he might have the pleasure of treading the ashes of it under his feet. The last wish was complied with, and "Christianity not Mysterious" was burned before the gate of the House of Parliament in the august presence of the sheriffs and constables of the city of Dublin. Toland escaped from Ireland, and did not give his countrymen the opportunity of taking him into custody. At a later date his book was condemned as heretical and impious by the Lower House of Convocation, who blamed the Upper House for failing in their duty by not confirming the sentence. This time Toland was in good company. The inquisitors of Convocation began with "Christianity not Mysterious," and ended with a condemnation of Bishop Burnet's "Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles."

The replies to Toland's book were of various degrees of merit. Some of them, in the judgment of the writers, were unanswerable. Oliver Hill wrote "A Rod for the Back of Fools." He said that he had silenced Keith the Quaker, and Harvey with his new fanglement about the circulation of the blood. He had settled the matter with Gresham College in the case of their pressure and gravitation of air; and as he had served them, so would he serve Toland.

A Mr. Becconsall wrote "The Christian Belief," in which he maintained that many of the Christian doctrines were still mysterious, quoting many passages from the Fathers to show that they took this view of the mysteries. No. III. of "The Occasional Papers" was devoted entirely to reflections on "Christianity not Mysterious." The writer said that Toland's object was chiefly to oppose the Trinity, maintaining that to this doctrine we cannot apply reason. It is properly a mystery.

"The Socinian Heresy Refuted," by J. Gailhard, Gent., had appended to it some animadversions on "Christianity not Mysterious." The author identified Toland with the Socinians, and spoke of the presumption of those who expected to understand mysteries. He concluded with a prayer that God would give him understanding according to *His Word*, and not according to reason.

T. Beverly, a Presbyterian minister, wrote "Christianity the Great Mystery." He wished to prove that Christianity is above created reason in its best condition, and contrary to human reason, fallen and corrupt, and so in a proper sense a mystery. Man's reason is like the ass's colt, silly and wild. It naturally refuses Divine truth. The Word of God is a two-edged sword, which cuts reason in pieces. The reason of God is absolute: to it nothing is mystery. His declaration is, therefore, infallible, and to us mysterious. But God gives the

renewed soul an inward experimental sense by which it can set its seal to truth. The renewed man has a *spirituality* as much above *rationality* as rationality is above sense. Beverly admitted that Revelation had changed the mysteriousness of the Gospel, yet he thought there was mystery in it still. He was anxious to retain the word, lest some of the doctrines which he believed to be in the Scriptures should be denied under the pretence of denying mysteries. How far Toland would have agreed with Beverly concerning the inward sense given to the regenerate we cannot well determine. Beverly had stated his doctrine in the usual language of orthodox theology, but he made an admission which brought him near to Toland. "There is not," he says, "an idea rightly formed, nor one true ratiocination, not one witty invention for good use, not one righteous law or wise decree, but it is by grace through the Mediator, and from Him as the Saviour thus far of all men."

"An Account of Reason and Faith in Relation to the Mysteries of Christianity," was the work of John Norris, rector of Bemerton. Norris was a *good Churchman*. He used to call himself "a priest" of the Church of England, and as such was devoted to the mysteries. Their cause was with him the cause of Christianity. Toland's book he declared to be "one of the most bold, daring, and irreverent pieces of defiance to the mysteries of the Christian religion that even that licentious age had produced. But," he added, "we learn from prophecy that in the last days many would renounce their faith and turn infidels." Things above reason Norris defined not such as reason cannot discover, but such as when proposed it cannot comprehend. God has revealed the Christian mysteries, and therefore our assent is not grounded on any internal evidence from their being rational or intelligible, but on the fact that God has given His word and authority for them. Whatever God reveals is true. Here is something revealed by God; therefore it is true. Our whole business is simply to ask, Does this come from God? Internal evidence for or against any doctrine Norris reckoned worth nothing. Hobbes and Bishop Pearson had agreed that, after all, faith in the Bible was only faith in man; but Norris thought he could prove that independent of internal evidence it was faith in God. He quoted, in the way of endorsing, a French Catholic writer, who drew an argument for the divinity of the mysteries from their being universally received, notwithstanding that they were so repugnant to reason.

While Toland was in Ireland the cause of the mysteries was taken up with some ardour by Peter Browne, a senior fellow of Trinity, afterwards Bishop of Cork. It was in the character of an opponent to Toland that Browne pushed himself into notice, which gave Toland occasion to say that he had made Browne a bishop.

His reply was in the form of a "Letter" in answer to "Christianity not Mysterious," and "to all those who set up for reason and evidence in opposition to revelation and mysteries." Browne promised to show the weakness and folly of Toland's "arguings, and to lay open his cheats and fallacies." He reduced his leading errors to these two: that evidence is the only ground of persuasion, and that now under the Gospel the veil is perfectly removed. It is admitted that in Christianity there is nothing contrary to reason, and in a sense nothing above reason. And had Toland said this for any good, that is, for any orthodox object, Browne would not have been disposed to dispute with him, but he professed to see that Toland's "main drift was to set up natural religion in opposition to revealed." He said also that Toland, by talking about the reasonableness of religion, could only mean that the Christian world denied it. Evidence, Browne maintained, is not the only ground of persuasion, for God requires our assent to many things not intelligible in themselves, such as the equality of the Son with the Father, His eternal generation, the tripersonality of the Godhead, and the nature of the life to come. Under the Gospel the veil is not perfectly removed. Some Christian doctrines are still mysterious. There is something in them which we do not understand, and something of which we are wholly ignorant. The mystery of the future life which St. Paul showed to the Corinthians could never have been known without Divine revelation, and now that it is revealed we know it but in part. It doth not yet appear what we shall be. Now we see through a glass darkly. The Divine Being is more mysterious than a spire of grass or a flower, for of these we have an image in the mind, but we have no similitude of God. We have no idea of a spirit, of infinity, or of omnipresence, much less can we understand the Divine foreknowledge; for how can it enter into our heads how God can know what has *no* being? Yet all these things we must believe on another authority than that of reason.

Edward Synge, Archbishop of Tuam, added an appendix to his essay on "A Gentleman's Religion," in which he made some reference to Toland. Synge wrote and reasoned with great calmness and clearness. The few remarks he made showed that he understood the whole question better than many who wrote larger books. He denied that external revelation or testimony is only a *means of information*, for if a proposition be made to us which is reconcilable with reason, and the truth of it attested by persons whose veracity is beyond exception, it cannot but be believed. So that testimony is also a *motive* to persuasion. This did not prove much against Toland, for reason is still left in its office of judge. He undertook to demonstrate this proposition, "A man may have most sufficient and cogent

arguments to give his assent to such propositions as are not only in part, but wholly and altogether above his reason." He proved it by a blind man believing in light and colours. This was bringing the question to the proper issue, which is, the value of the external testimony. Syngé said that the contention about mysteries was only a contention about a word. Toland had said that the essence of God was no more a mystery than the essence of any material object; that if we choose to call all things beyond our reason mysteries, the world was full of them; "and surely," added Syngé, "if the world is full of them, may not religion be full of them too?" This was well said, only Toland objected to the word mystery being used in this sense at all.

The most remarkable controversy which grew out of "Christianity not Mysterious" was an intellectual warfare between John Locke and Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester. This controversy did not do much credit to either of the combatants. Locke the controversialist is no longer Locke the philosopher, and Stillingfleet loses his reputation for good reasoning. It is certainly the dullest, weariest, and most tedious wrangle that ever was known. The whole matter between them might have been settled in a page and a half for each side, instead of which Locke's portion alone fills a volume. Stillingfleet wrote a "Vindication of the Trinity." He said that the Unitarians served the Deists in their method of overthrowing revealed religion. He quoted Toland as saying that we must have clear and distinct ideas of a thing before we can have any certainty of it. Under this cover the Unitarians reject the Trinity. By the same argument, he said, we are left in uncertainty about the existence of substance, as Toland limits our ideas to those of sensation and reflection. Locke is introduced with Toland and the Unitarians as "the gentlemen of the new way of reasoning." They discarded substance out of the reasonable part of the world. It was an uncertain supposition of we know not what. Locke's illustration was that of the earth supported by the tortoise, and the tortoise supported by the elephant. Stillingfleet said we had a general idea of substance as the support of accidents. And he concluded from Locke that to be certain of the existence of a spiritual substance it was not necessary that we have a clear and distinct idea of it, nor that we be able to comprehend the mode of its operations. From this he drew the inference that we are not justified in rejecting a doctrine proposed to us as of Divine revelation, because of our inability to comprehend the manner of it; and especially when it relates to the Divine essence. Certainty, he argued, does not always come from clear and distinct ideas. We have a clear and distinct idea of God, but that does not prove His existence. Locke was indignant at being introduced with Toland and the Unitarians as "the gentlemen of the new way of reasoning."

He denied that he had anywhere placed certainty only in clear and distinct ideas, and he called upon Stillingfleet to show him the place where he had said that a doctrine proposed as of Divine revelation was to be rejected because we did not comprehend the manner of it. What Locke did say was simply that "certainty of knowledge is to perceive the agreement or disagreement of ideas as expressed in any proposition." He renounced all connection with Toland's doctrine as quoted by Stillingfleet. He showed that Stillingfleet's own head was not clear on the subject, that he had maintained the very thing which he undertook to oppose—the necessity of clear and distinct ideas, for he said that it was necessary to understand *person* and *nature* before we could discourse of the Trinity. Toland was a disciple of Locke's philosophy, but he applied it where Locke scarcely meant it to be applied; that is, to theology. Locke made a wide distinction between "certainty of knowledge" and "assurance of faith." The first was connected with clear and distinct ideas, but the second depended on Divine revelation. He took the authority of the Scriptures as the voice of God, in the same sense as the orthodox world took them. Stillingfleet made a great mistake in not distinguishing between Locke and Toland, and Locke resented it even more than measure for measure. Toland, however, professed to bow to the authority of the Bible as well as Locke, only he maintained that there was nothing in the Bible which we are required to believe that did not agree with our reason, and Locke really said, or at least wished to say, the same thing.

Under the title of "Letters to Serena," Toland published a volume of essays on various subjects. Serena was supposed to be Sophia, Princess of Hanover. One of them is on the "History of the Soul's Immortality among the Heathen." The doctrine itself has been revealed in Christianity, so that we have there the best and clearest demonstration of it. God himself has revealed it. It may not in everything fall under our comprehension, yet it is true and absolutely certain. Toland goes on to say that though the believer be equally ignorant with others about the nature of a thing, yet he may have the greatest conviction of its existence. This seems to contradict the main doctrine of "Christianity not Mysterious." It certainly contradicts it as his opponents understood it. Another of these essays was on the "Origin of Idolatry." Toland draws attention to an important distinction between the sound notions and moral practices of the ancients, which he ascribes to the light of reason, and the corrupt practices of the heathen world. Overlooking this distinction, some have said that heathenism was a better "foundation for works than Christianity. They should only have said at the most that the law of nature was often better fulfilled by the heathen than by Christians."

Others think that all who lived in the heathen world were idolaters, an error which ought to be corrected. Arnobius says that if the works of Tully were read the Christians need not trouble themselves with writings. At the end of the "Letters to Serena" was added "A Confutation of Spinoza," and another paper as a defence of the "Confutation." Toland maintained the distinct existences of matter and spirit. Matter, however, he considered to be infinite, and necessarily endowed with motion. Descartes supposed that in the beginning God gave "a shake to the lazy lump." Spinoza, like many of the old philosophers, supposed the Divine Essence to be identical with the essence of the universe; so that, in virtue of the Divine presence, all matter was animate. Toland thought there was no need for this supposition when it could be proved that motion was essential to matter. Dr. Samuel Clarke wrote a tract in refutation of this theory, and William Wotton, B.D., wrote a "Letter to Eusebia," occasioned by the "Letters to Serena." He did not find fault so much with what was said in the "Letters to Serena" as with what he supposed to be implied, but left unsaid.

After a visit to Holland, Toland published "Nazarenus; or, Jewish, Gentile, and Mahometan Christianity." This book consisted of three parts. One was an account of a Gospel which Toland had discovered in Amsterdam. He maintained that it was the Gospel received by the Mahometans, and he thought it identical with the ancient Gospel of St. Barnabas. He followed an opinion which had been maintained by Peter Martyr and others, that Mahometanism was originally a Christian heresy. Its canonical books were the Pentateuch, the Psalms, a Gospel of Jesus, and the Koran. In the Gospel of Barnabas Mahomet was named as the promised Paraclete. Mahometan writings have many passages out of our Gospels, and some out of the apocryphal; but they have also many passages which are found in neither. Toland's knowledge of Mahometan writings was derived from second-hand sources, and on this subject he was vulnerable. But the real object of "Nazarenus" was to set forth a peculiar doctrine about the original of Christianity, to vindicate some of the early heretics, and to show that the floods of corruption came in with the dominant sect which arrogated to itself the title of the Catholic Church. The Gospel which he discovered he supposed to be the same as the Gospel of the Ebionites, or Nazarenes. He maintained that they were the first Christians—a theory which has been ardently supported by M. Renan in his "Life of Jesus." It is grounded on some passages in Epiphanius, who says that the first Christians took to themselves the name of Nazarenes, and by this name they were called till at Antioch they got the name of Christians. They were also called Ebionites, from a Hebrew word signi-

fyng "poor," because the first disciples of Jesus were poor Galileans. When the Christian Church went beyond Judea they were treated as heretics. Toland argues that the Mosaic economy was binding on all believing Jews. The Gentiles alone were free from it. Jews and Gentiles were to be united into one Church, but it was to be a union without uniformity. This he says reconciles the differences between Paul and Peter about ceremonies, and Paul and James about justification. Peter and James write to the Jews, the scattered tribes; but Paul writes to the Gentiles. The severance between the two parties was brought about by the Gentiles, when such "hot-headed raving monks as St. Jerome" were permitted to say that whoever kept the Jewish law "was plunged into the gulf of the devil." The Gentiles were the subverters of Christianity. They clung to their native superstitions, and would neither fast nor pray at the same time as the Jews.

Dr. Thomas Brett wrote a book called "Tradition necessary to Explain and Interpret the Holy Scripture." It was preceded by a preface which was chiefly devoted to Toland's "Nazarenus." It was confined, however, to some remarks which Toland had made on the canonical books of Scripture, and the scarcely perceptible difference which the Fathers made between them and the apocryphal. Toland's difficulty, said Brett, could only be solved by tradition, which had always distinguished between the books received into the canon and those rejected as supposititious. For proof of this he appealed to the Fathers.

"Anti-Nazarenus, by way of answer to Mr. Toland, and also against a late pamphlet entitled 'The Difficulties and Discouragements which attend the Study of the Scriptures,'" was written by James Paterson. The pamphlet was the work of Francis Hare, Bishop of Chichester. Paterson's argument was that the Scriptures are the Word of God; that this is proved both by the excellency of the doctrine and the power and wisdom of God manifested in them, also by miracles and the fulfilment of prophecy. Finally, the Church is built upon a rock; that is, a never-failing succession of bishops and priests.

Thomas Mangey, a clergyman in Guildford, afterwards rector of St. Mildred's, Bread Street, replied to "Nazarenus" at some length, and controverted all that Toland had said concerning the Mahometan Gospel, the Nazarenes, and the Jewish law. Mangey's friends thought that "so weak and wicked a book should be treated with contemptuous silence." He himself did not think the book should be unnoticed, but as to "the religion or learning of Mr. Toland, he knew no subject so little worthy of the world's notice or his examination." Mangey says that Toland blunders in his very title-page. The heretical sect were not Nazarenes, but Nazaræans. They had their

name not from Nazareth, but from a word signifying *separate* or *holy*, equivalent to Puritan. They professed both the law and the Gospel. He denies that the first followers of Jesus took to themselves the name of Nazarenes. It was given to them by the Jews in contempt, as when Tertullus called Paul a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes. The Ebionites or Nazareans erred in supposing the Mosaic institutions necessary to salvation. They were not called Ebionites from their poverty, but their founder, *Ebion*. "I do not know," says Mangey, "any fact of antiquity better proved than that there was such a person, and that he gave the name to the sect." They mistook the whole spirit of the Gospel, which was an entire abrogation of the Jewish law. God Himself had begun to teach this to the Jews by the later prophets. They were to pay less attention to ceremonies. *He had given them statutes which were not good.* Our Lord not only rescued the law from the narrow and false interpretations of the Jewish doctors, but He entirely repealed it, telling His disciples that the *law and the prophets were until John*. The charge against Stephen implied that the Jews expected the Christians were to destroy their law. Mangey had many texts in his favour, but he was perplexed with the command to abstain from blood. He interpreted it as meaning effusion of blood, that is, murder; supposing the words *things strangled*, which follow, was a gloss upon *blood*. The reading, he says, was unknown to the ancients. The Gentile Christians are defended, and the corruptions charged on the Judaizers. The early Church is set forth as a pattern of purity. "In this," he says, "I do defend our own most excellent Church." As to the Mahometans, they have no canonical Scriptures except the Koran. They have apocryphal writings, and one of these is a Gospel sent to Jesus. They knew nothing of a Gospel of Barnabas, nor did the ancients know of such a Gospel any more than the Mahometans. Among the many spurious writings forged by the heretics there is no such Gospel named, except in the disputed canon of Pope Gelasius, and this declared that it was not genuine. There is a legend of a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel having existed in St. Barnabas' handwriting, which Mangey supposes to have been the origin of a Gospel being ascribed to Barnabas. Toland's candle is extinguished, his "folly," "weakness," and "ignorance" exhibited, though concerning this Gospel he erred, if he did err, in company with Ludivico Vives.

Before the publication of "Nazarenus" Toland had engaged the learned world in a controversy concerning the canon of Scripture. He did this without intention. An accidental spark fell upon combustible materials, and a great fire was kindled. Toland wrote a "Life of Milton." As Milton had written "Iconoclastes" in reply to

"Eikon Basilike," which was ascribed to Charles I., it fell within Toland's province to give the history of the latter book. It was written by Dr. Gauden, Bishop of Exeter. This was known to Anthony Walker and Brian Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury. It was revealed to the world by Dr. Gauden's widow. It was also attested by Lord Anglesey, who had it on the authority of the second Charles and the Duke of York. For writing it Gauden was promised the bishopric of Winchester, but *he was put off with that of Worcester*. After a full account of the "Eikon Basilike," Toland said, in conclusion :—

"When I seriously consider how all this happened among ourselves within the compass of forty years, in a time of great learning and politeness, when both parties so narrowly watched over one another's actions, and what a great revolution in civil and religious affairs was partly occasioned by the credit of that book, I cease to wonder any longer how so many supposititious pieces under the name of Christ, His Apostles, and other great persons, should be published and approved in those primitive times, when it was of so much importance to have them believed ; when the cheats were too many on all sides for them to reproach one another, which yet they often did ; when commerce was not so general as now, and the whole earth overshadowed with the darkness of superstition. I doubt rather the spuriousness of several more such books is yet undiscovered through the remoteness of those ages, the death of the persons concerned, and the decay of other monuments which might give us true information, especially when we consider how dangerous it was always for the weaker side to lay open the tricks of their adversaries, and that the prevailing party did strictly order all those books which offended them to be burnt or otherwise suppressed."

On the 30th of January, soon after the publication of the "Life of Milton," Offspring Blackhall, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, was preaching before the House of Commons in his capacity of Chaplain to the King. After abusing Toland and vindicating the genuineness of "Eikon Basilike," he exclaimed :—

"We may cease to wonder that he should have the boldness, without proof and against proof, to deny the authority of this book, who is such an infidel as to doubt, and is shameless and impudent enough even in print, and in a Christian country, publicly to affront our holy religion by declaring his doubt that several pieces under the name of Christ and His Apostles (*he must mean those now received by the whole Christian Church, for I know of no other*) are supposititious."

Toland wrote in reply "Amyntor ; or, A Defence of Milton's Life." Using Blackhall's words, he said the charge was "an impudent and a shameless one." He did not mean the books of the New Testament. He wondered how any one who had been so long at the University had never heard of spurious writings in the name of Christ and His Apostles. He drew up a catalogue of apocryphal books, adding that a great part of these were the spurious writings to which he referred. He intimated, however, that the whole question of the

New Testament canon required a fuller and more impartial treatment than it had yet received. A matter of so great importance should not be taken on trust. Its history ought to be investigated. There was not a book of the New Testament which had not been rejected by some of the ancients. The various sects in those days, like the various sects now, condemned each other for damnable heretics. The Epistle to the Hebrews, that of James, the second of Peter, the second and third of John, and the Revelation, were long doubted by that part of the Church which we reckon to have been soundest. Toland added a quotation from Dodwell, who says that "the canonical writings lay concealed in the coffers of private churches or persons till the latter times of Trajan, or rather perhaps of Adrian; so that they could not come to the knowledge of the Church. For if they had been published they would have been overwhelmed under such a multitude as were then of apocryphal and supposititious books, that a new examination and a new testimony would have been necessary to distinguish them from false ones."

Dr. Samuel Clarke, in a letter to a friend, made some remarks on "Amyntor." He chiefly objected to Toland that in denying the genuineness of the Epistles of Clemens, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Barnabas, he made too little of the judgment of the Church, both ancient and modern. Eusebius testifies that the Epistle of Clemens to the Corinthians was generally read in the churches as Scripture. These Epistles were not of canonical authority, yet some reverence should be paid to them.

Stephen Nye wrote a "Historical Account of the New Testament." He would not admit the truth of what Dodwell said about the sacred books being so long concealed in private chests. He maintained that the Fathers made a marked distinction between the canonical books and the Epistles of Clemens, Ignatius, and Barnabas, or any of those mentioned in Toland's catalogue. He admitted that they are often quoted as Scripture. Toland said that the writers of the canon were strangers to each other, and that the clergy were unacquainted with the books of the New Testament till a hundred and thirty years after Christ. Nye would not admit this, for the Fathers of the first century had quoted from them; and as to the writers being strangers, it was evident that Mark had abridged Matthew, that Luke had read other Gospels, and that John approved of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. Toland said that the Ebionites had a Gospel of Matthew different from ours, and the Marcionites of Luke's; that considerable sects of Christians ascribed the apostolic writings to heretics, and that Celsus had complained of the Christians that they had altered the Gospels three or four times. Nye answered that the Ebionites had probably Matthew's Gospel in Hebrew; that Marcion had retracted his vicious

copies of Luke ; that John's Gospel was rejected only by the Alogians, who afterwards saw their errors ; and as to Celsus, it was the copies of Marcion and the Valentinians that were changed, not those that were read in the churches.

Another reply to the "*Amyntor*" was "*The Canon of the New Testament Vindicated*," by John Richardson, late Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. He began by controverting some statements made by Basnage : that for three centuries after Christ there was no certain canon, when both private persons and also whole Churches partly admitted supposititious books for sacred, and partly despised the genuine as profane ; that Origen believed *Hermas' Pastor* to be divinely inspired ; that Theodorus of Mopsuestia calls the book of Job a fable borrowed from Paganism, the books of Chronicles and Esdras a vain rhapsody, and the Song of Solomon a love song ; that Eusebius says of the Second Epistle of Peter that it was no part of the New Testament, and that in the time of Gregory Nazianzen some of the orthodox received it and others rejected it. Richardson answers that the Second Epistle of Peter and the Epistle to the Hebrews were both reckoned canonical by the Council of Laodicea ; that Theodorus is not to be taken as representing the Catholic Church—in fact, he was condemned by the fifth General Council ; and as to Origen, he speaks of the *Pastor of Hermas* as divinely inspired, but not as canonical. Richardson distinguished between Scripture, inspired Scripture, and canonical Scripture. Origen, he says, reckoned the books of the Apocrypha uncanonical ; and yet calls the books of Wisdom and Maccabees Scripture in the same way as the Homilies of the Church of England call the books of Tobit and Ecclesiasticus by the same name. Divinely-inspired Scripture includes all books which teach truth. Such Origen reckoned the *Pastor of Hermas*, and among these Clemens Alexandrinus included the writings of the ancient philosophers. The canonical books are those which were written by Apostles, or at least had apostolic authority. These alone are absolutely infallible. Richardson said that Toland had an excellent talent for detecting forgeries. If he could believe that "*Eikon Basilike*" was not written by King Charles, it was no wonder that he doubted the genuineness of the Epistles of Barnabas, Polycarp, Ignatius, and Clemens Romanus. He maintained that spurious writings under the names of the Apostles were soon detected. The Church was cautious in receiving books as canonical. In different places the canon was different until all the books were universally known by the Church Catholic. This was about the time of the death of St. John, the beginning of the second century.

A work of much greater pretension than Richardson's, called "*A New and Full Method of Settling the Canonical Authority of the*"

New Testament," was written by Jeremiah Jones. He admitted that the subject had great difficulties. Casaubon and Spanheim affirmed that the Fathers quoted apocryphal books promiscuously with the canonical as Scripture. Archbishop Wake said that the Apostolic Fathers were inspired, and therefore incapable of mistaking the mind of the Apostles; and that their writings contained the "true and pure faith of Christ without the least error intermixed with it." Whiston reckoned their works as authentic books of the New Testament, and also many books not now extant. Toland thought, and Jones said justly, that if the writings of the Apostolic Fathers were genuine, they were as much entitled to be in the canon as a Gospel of Mark or Luke. Jones bestowed great labour on his work, but he does not seem to have had a clear idea in his own mind what he meant by the canon. At one time he says it is simply a question concerning the genuineness of certain books; at another time he says that those books only are canonical which the first Christian writers have cited as Scripture, and all others are not. He admits that there was no certain agreement about the canon till the fourth century, but he denies that in the writings of the first ages of Christianity the canonical and apocryphal books are promiscuously cited as Scripture. He quoted from Catholic and Protestant writers the grounds on which they respectively receive the Scriptures. The Catholics receive them simply on the authority of the Church. Without this authority they are of no more value than *Æsop's* fables, and St. Matthew is no more to be credited than Livy. The Reformers received the Scriptures on their internal evidence, or from the Spirit witnessing in them that they were the Word of God. Some English divines took an intermediary view, allowing full weight to the internal evidence, yet receiving the canon on the authority of the universal Church. Jones, as we have seen, was disposed to rest it on the genuineness of the books. Toland raised a great question which we cannot pursue further. Perhaps it is correct to say that it is not settled yet. Were we to venture a remark suggested by reading this controversy, it would be, that the question of the canon should be considered by itself, apart from what it is worth; and then *how* it is related to inspiration.

Of the character of Toland we know but little. He seems to have been one of those men who have always more enemies than friends. If we except Lucilius Vanini, perhaps no man in history has been more universally abused. D'Israeli says that "he had all the shiftings of the double-faced Janus, and all the revolutionary politics of the ancient Junius." Toland's politics consisted chiefly in an ardent attachment to the Prince of Orange. In religion he professed to conform to the Church of England. Mr. Huddleston, a Scotch schoolmaster who wrote an account of his life, says that he remained

steadily attached to Presbyterianism till the hour of his death. After praising Toland for his attachment to the Revolution, he adds: "Real and unaffected piety, and the Church of Scotland, which he thought bore the greatest resemblance to the primitive simplicity of the apostolic times, always found in him an able and inflexible advocate." All his adversaries united in setting but little value on his talents or acquirements; but this was surely unjust.* His learning was extensive, and his abilities far beyond the average lot of even eminent men. As the work of a young man in his twenty-fifth year, "*Christianity not Mysterious*" was a marvel of intellectual strength. He had, indeed, a high estimate of his own powers, and this apparent vanity repelled some who would have been his friends. With the failing natural to his countrymen, he gave out that he was descended of an ancient and noble family;† his enemies said he was the illegitimate child of a Catholic priest. With the national tendency to exaggeration, he boasted of having enjoyed in Holland the friendship of Limborch and Le Clerc. Limborch doubted if he had ever even seen him, and Le Clerc believed that he had once spoken to him. In Ireland he spoke of John Locke as if he were the bosom friend of the philosopher. Nothing could have given greater offence. Locke, who had a high opinion of Toland's abilities, disowned him for ever. The world has but little toleration for men who show a consciousness of their own greatness. And yet what is the difference between them and others, but that they have not learned to affect humility like those who have more worldly wisdom? All great men know that they are great. And for those who by the force of their own talents have risen from humble positions, it is almost impossible to conceal from others the sense of their greatness. When Theodore Parker was dying, he said to his friends: "I have had great powers committed to me, and I have but half used them." When Robert Burns lay on his death-bed, overwhelmed with poverty and wretchedness, among his last words to his wife were these: "Ah, Jean! the world will think mair 'o me a hundred years after this." They may call this vanity who wish to sneer, but it is the overpowering sense of greatness, and a better evidence of a true man than the affectation of humility.

Toland published some time before his death a book called "*Pan-*

* Mr. Pattison says, "Leibnitz, who knew Toland personally, is 'glad to believe that the design of this author, a man of no common ability, and, as I think, a well-disposed person, was to withdraw men from speculative theology to the practice of its precepts.'"

† D'Israeli says: "When in after-life he was reproached with native obscurity, he ostentatiously produced a testimonial of his birth and family, hatched up in a convent of Irish Franciscans in Germany, where the good fathers subscribed, with their ink tinged with their Rhenish, to his most ancient descent, referring to the Irish history,⁽¹⁾ which they considered as a parish register fit for the suspected son of an Irish priest."⁽¹⁾

theisticon," which did not add to his fame. A subject so deep and awful as the relation of the Divine Being to the universe should never have been treated with the levity of the "Pantheisticon." Toland's failings were evidently great. No excuse can be made for them, though much may be said in extenuation. He was, says D'Israeli, a seed cast out to take root wherever it could. The seed was good, but it fell on stony ground. His whole life was troubled and restless. He had a hard struggle with poverty from the beginning to the end of his days. No one knew how he got the means of subsistence.* He made frequent visits to the Continent, and it was insinuated that he was "a monitor of princes and diplomatists." He wrote a Latin epitaph for himself, in which he mentioned the place of his birth, his knowledge of ten languages, and his love of liberty. It ended thus: "His soul is reunited to his Heavenly Father, from whom it formerly proceeded; his body yielding to nature, is also replaced in the bosom of mother earth. He himself will undoubtedly arise to eternal life, but he *will never again be the same Toland.*" This has always been taken for Pantheistic heresy. He did not expect to be, he did not wish to be, the same man that he had been. None of us do wish to be what we are here. Our hope rather is in what *we shall be*. Toland died suddenly at the age of fifty-two in his lodging at Putney, and was buried in Putney churchyard.† A hundred and forty summer suns have set since then. No tombstone ever marked the place where his ashes repose. He may have been vain, perhaps he was impolitic, certainly he was unfortunate; but he was one of the world's great men. Every man who thinks and feels, whether he be a sceptic or a believer, will drop a tear of sympathy by the grave of poor John Toland.‡

JOHN HUNT.

* "In examining the original papers of Toland which are preserved, I found some of his agreements with booksellers. For his description of Epsom he was to receive only four guineas in case 1,000 were sold. He received ten guineas for his pamphlet on naturalizing the Jews, and ten guineas more in case Bernard Lintott sold 2,000. The words of this agreement run thus: 'Whenever Mr. Toland calls for ten guineas, after the 1st of February next, I promise to pay them if *I cannot show* that 200 of the copies remain unsold.' What a sublime person is an author! The great philosopher who creates systems that are to alter the face of his country must stand at the counter to count out 200 unsold copies!"—D'ISRAELI'S *Calamities of Authors*.

† D'Israeli says: "Toland died in an obscure lodging at a country carpenter's, in great distress. His only patron was Lord Molesworth, himself poor. He promised Toland at least *bare necessities* if he lived. His lordship says: 'Tis an ungrateful age, and we must bear with it the best we may till we can mend it!'" The entry of Toland's burial in the register of Putney Church, in 1722, runs thus: "Mr. John Toland, from Edward Hinton's, buried March 13."

‡ "Toland was accused of an intention to found a sect, as South calls them, of 'Mahometan-Christians.' Many were stigmatized as *Tolandists*; but the disciples of a man who never procured for their prophet a bit of dinner or a new wig—for he was frequently wanting both—were not to be feared as enthusiasts."—D'ISRAELI.



THE VERDICT OF POLITICAL ECONOMY UPON LUXURY.

IT is becoming a commonplace in society to say "Luxury is condemned by Political Economy, and is therefore wrong." The assertion is listened to with increasing attention, and overpowers slowly the tenacity of the previous generation (so to call it) of commonplace, which laid it down "that the luxurious expenditure of the rich was necessary for the support of the poor." But since the two assertions are still often pitted against each other—and even those who maintain the first are not very clear about its grounds—it may be worth while to look at them more closely.

The prominence of the question, in ordinary society, is characteristic of the times; for our age is marked to a very unusual degree by a readiness to defer on practical subjects to the results of speculation, and to recast its institutions and its opinions in obedience to those results. In the *mêlée* and confusion of an age of criticism and reconstruction, it is only natural that those who, like the speculator, possess views which are developed, formulated, and coherent with one another, should get chances of coming to the front, which would have been denied to them in other times. The theorist or the visionary of another age becomes the prophet of this. These successes, once achieved, tend to reproduce themselves. Public opinion, with the demoralization of an army accustomed to defeat, is ready to sur-

render to any assailant who is able to make a decent display of force. Nor can it be a matter of doubt that on the whole this generation is greatly the gainer. The coincidence of traditions, prejudices, and vested interests may be trusted to supply a sufficient drag-weight. We shall lose here and there by the success of crude schemes, to which the authority of supposed science has lent unmerited influence; and we shall lose—which is far more important, and far less commonly observed—by the enervating reaction which will drive many worthy but puzzle-headed or desponding people, who may be bewildered by the multitude of conflicting schemes, and disheartened by the collapse of so many fair-seeming castles in the air, to acquiesce in an universal scepticism as to the possibility of obtaining any certainly valuable conclusions in theory or innovations in practice. In these ways—without speaking of the often lauded and probably real excellences of traditional anomalies, or of the often-repeated censures which the all-powerful word “unpractical” casts upon men of science (though the growth of statistics is likely to make this charge less true)—we can see that our gains are and will be tempered by losses. Yet the gains will immensely preponderate. We shall be able to give an account of what we do; our ablest men will be our most influential men, and principles, the best which the contemporary intelligence can ascertain, will be our guarantee that we are not wilfully tolerating what is absurd, or mischievous, or wicked.

Among the sciences, Political Economy is the one which grew most rapidly to a certain maturity, and which can claim for its main principles the most general acquiescence of the competent. Nor has it failed of its reward. The victory of Free Trade was the victory of speculation over interests as strong, traditions as stubborn, practical good sense as plausible, as it will often encounter. It proved that where speculation is not divided against itself, its victory is assured. But since the condition of Political Economy is such as we have described, and therefore opinions which it has endorsed are readily received, the greater is the need that, in the first place, its utterances should be closely scanned, lest they should be false or faulty; and in the second place, that pains should be taken to appreciate them exactly—not to distort or alter them. To undertake the first duty would be to venture on the more doubtful parts of Political Economy, and to challenge some at least of the Political Economists. That is in no wise intended here. The second duty is easier, and we attempt to perform a part of it here by trying to ascertain, with precision if it may be, what Political Economy has to say to plain people on a single point of considerable popular interest.

The point is one which is worth discussion, if only for the reason that nothing is more demoralising to society than to repeat with

sanctimonious energy its acceptance of a law of duty, to which it does not, or perhaps cannot, yield obedience. This is to stifle conscience, when it has been allowed to speak most loudly; nor does demoralization the less follow because conscience may be mistaken or ill-informed in the particular case; for conscience may sometimes require education, but should never be disobeyed.

It is easy to see more than one cause of the attention which the subject attracts at the present time. In the first place, the divisions between wealth and poverty, between the softest luxury and the hardest misery, the contrasts which have been nowhere displayed with such telling clearness as by Mr. Disraeli in his "*Sybil*," are becoming every day more conspicuous. The democratic movement, which would seem to prophesy a speedy annihilation or diminution of these distinctions, in fact justifies no inference of the kind. The experience of democratic America, still more of democratic France, is probably decisive on this point.

A deeper explanation may be drawn from the observation of two movements, one religious, the other moral—professedly uncongenial, but ultimately drawing their life from the same spring. Amidst the perplexities of its work of criticism and destruction, the abounding energy of the nineteenth century has been directed to the plainer and less debated truths of morality. It has seized upon the morality of self-sacrifice and self-abasement, and by a strange fatality, has erected into a great antagonist of the Church of Christ that which, more certainly than anything else, the world has owed to Christianity. The Christian character has its two great factors—faith and works: the tendency of these times is to select works, and ignore faith. Morality has been erected into a religion. While its prophets and believers emulate in zeal and self-denying charity the example which a fuller Christianity than their own could alone have originally suggested, they add the impulse of competition to that lavish spirit of self-sacrifice within the Church which owes its origin and its greatest force to the mighty stirring of the waters by the Spirit of God witnessed by our own generation.

Thus these two movements, however different in their spirit, and still more in the forces upon which they rely, exert in this respect a coincident influence upon society. They both feel the force of the communist spirit which (if it may be reverently said) has known how to blend itself in the doctrine of Christianity with respect for existing institutions, and with the necessary action of social development; they both agree in branding selfishness as the worst of vices, and in venerating love of others as the queen of virtues; they both assert, with significant energy, the sacred truism, that all men are equal in the sight of God. The rise of the new school of Radical Catholics, as it is sometimes called—a puzzle and self-

contradiction to many—is explicable enough when considered in this light.

By the side of such powerful forces as these it is unnecessary to dwell on those which are of smaller and more partial influence. Such, to take a single instance, has been the re-assertion of the indissoluble unity of the Church in all times, followed naturally by a revived affection for all that belongs to the Church of the past, and therewith for monasticism. Monasticism displayed within its own pale, and diffused far beyond that pale, the idea that true Christianity obliges us to take an *eccentric* attitude towards society and the world as they are, and it embodied this assertion in its vows and in its counsels of perfection.

Thus we see in more ways than one that we are not discussing an unimportant question, but one which has been brought into prominence through the action of some of the most powerful contemporary influences; and we discern ample reason why an inference of political economy, which is supposed to involve an obligation to turn our backs upon luxury, and upon the society which is penetrated by luxury, meets with easy acceptance, if not always with ready obedience from the present generation. It is not our business here to resolve the question how far, or in what sense, that obligation really exists, but only to discover what is the contribution which Political Economy makes to its solution.

In the first place, it is worth notice, in case the two are still by any one confused, that it is Political Economy, not Political Philosophy, which utters, or is supposed to utter, a command in this matter. The difference is great; for Political Philosophy, even if we diminish the magnificent prerogatives with which the ancients invested her, is still a mistress among the sciences. Political Philosophy takes account of right and wrong, and, therefore, within her sphere, she can give a final verdict upon questions of duty. But with Political Economy it is not so. For "right" and "wrong" Political Economy reads "tending to increase," or "tending to diminish-wealth." Not, we need hardly say, that any Political Economist considers "right" and "productive of wealth" as synonymous, but he has consented to narrow his ground in order that he may gain in clearness and accuracy what he loses in breadth. He takes wealth with the laws of its production and redistribution; and therefore when a law or practice comes before him, he is not concerned to pronounce upon its moral or political value, but only to ascertain whether it does or does not favour the growth of wealth.

What then does Political Economy, as guardian of the interests of wealth, say of luxurious expenditure? Bearing in mind that wealth is not equivalent to money, but includes all articles of exchangeable value, let us take the simplest case. Two men, A and B, have each

in hand a sum of £1,000. A shall spend this in paying wages to a company of actors. B shall lay it out in paying labourers to cultivate his estate, to sow crops, tend, and reap them. At the end of the year we compare the effect of the two lines of conduct upon public wealth. The £1,000 of A still exists, dispersed in the pockets of his actors, or elsewhere. The £1,000 of B also remains, dispersed in similar ways among his labourers, or among others to whom they have passed it on; but there is also the year's crop of wheat and other produce, which is the result of the labourers' work, and to which, the labour of the players being essentially unproductive, there is nothing to correspond in the former case. Thus by just the value of these crops will B, and those owners of wealth who follow his example, enrich the country more than A and his imitators. See what follows: the next year A, so far as that £1,000 represents his property, has no money left to spend on employment, has spent all he had without return, and must turn his players adrift; B, possessing his crops or their value, has a fund from which to employ his labourers for a second year.

But remembering that the cases of A and B are only instances; that A might have spent his money in travelling, or a thousand ways, and that B might have added equally to his country's wealth by employing miners or craftsmen, we have to ask what is at bottom the difference between the two kinds of cases which they respectively represent. The answer is plain. The one kind of expenditure does, the other does not result in production. The latter therefore has nothing to show for itself at the end, and nothing which will supply means for future employment.

One kind of luxurious expenditure has thus, by help of a typical instance, been considered, where the expenditure is simply absorbed without return. More complicated cases remain. The habitual use of champagne is confessedly a luxury. Suppose now that C, a third person, spends his £1,000 in buying champagne for his table; to understand the effect of this it must be borne in mind that all we consume is so much taken from the aggregate of public wealth. The consumption even of the necessities of life diminish it. Now C, like B, had a fund of £1,000, which he might have spent on employment of labour, by the produce of which labour he would have added to the public wealth; instead of this, he converts that fund into champagne. This champagne he consumes, and as in A's case, his money is gone past return; he has no fund left for employment or production. It will be said there is no question of luxury here; men must live, and if C had bought wheat or beer he would equally have consumed it, and through it, wealth. This is true; but if we were guided by it, it would be equal to saying because we have one evil, we may as well have two. The premise is correct, but it does not support the

inference. The premise is that men must live on something; the inference is, they may as well live on champagne as anything else. But £500 out of the £1,000 would have purchased an equal amount of stimulant of a less costly kind, and the remaining £500 might still have been devoted to paying productive labourers. Luxury consumed that second £500 in order to gratify the palate of the champagne drinker. So in the case of dress, a precisely similar argument would show that the difference of price between a silk and a stuff gown is the exact amount deducted from the public wealth by the luxury of the consumer.

Let us put the argument in another way. Definitions are more or less arbitrary, and should not become tyrants. It is only as a matter of convenience, after comparing other definitions, that we limit what we understand by wealth to material objects. Suppose we include in it, not indeed the "hearts of oak" of our countrymen, but the muscular force and vital energy which, as primarily essential to the production of wealth have popularly speaking nearly as much right to be treated as wealth as the tools they direct. Then the consumption of necessary food, since it is converted into muscle, will no longer deserve to be treated as a diminution of wealth; nor the use of warm clothing, since it preserves the body in vigorous health. The diminution will be perceived to begin when that which is consumed, without adding more to a man's forces than some other article would, absorbs more wealth, in other words, is dearer,—as the champagne or the silk gown. If the nobleman who, according to common story, treats his labourers to cigars, were to give them champagne for their dinners, assuredly though they might applaud his generosity, he would have served the interests of the public wealth better by leaving them to buy their beer.

The explanation of such cases as that of jewellery is still more obvious. Here the thing bought can in no wise help production, while the sum diverted from production to buy it is usually large. In fact, since the material object is absolutely useless for production, the expenditure upon it may be classed with that of A, who obtained no material object at all for his money.

These two classes of luxuries, of which the first obtains in return only a transitory pleasure or service, and the second obtains, indeed, a material object, but one either wholly unproductive, or at least not productive in proportion to the amount of capital which it represents, are probably exhaustive, and include all cases of luxurious expenditure. In both cases, Political Economy passes on that expenditure the verdict that it diminishes wealth, and therefore (and this is all important), the fund which is to provide employment in the future.

We have still to see what that verdict implies. But before doing

so, it is impossible not to notice one argument against what has been said, which enjoys considerable popularity. It is that the demand for luxuries induces merchants and tradesmen to expend capital in producing them, and therefore increasing employment. There are exceptional cases in which this is true, and which give it plausibility as a general truth. If the demand for the produce of a large manufacture were to cease so universally and so abruptly that all the produce in stock was wasted, the cessation of the demand would have the effect of deducting that amount from the wealth to be spent in employment. But, as a rule, the amount of capital devoted to employment depends on the possessor of capital, not on the consumer. In the case of A, B, or C, or the jewel buyer, the wants of the actors, or the wants of the labourers, or the necessity of transporting the champagne, or of extracting and polishing the diamond, each opens a way for the expenditure in employment: the only difference is the kind of employment. And thus the argument which appeared formidable really illustrates our case. For though the owner of money has the choice how much he will spend in employment, he is a slave in the hands of the consumer, as to the kind of employment which he is to select. Thus the consumer of luxuries, who forces him to select unproductive employment, is responsible for blasting so much capital with the curse of ultimate sterility.

What then does the verdict of Political Economy on Luxury, as we have stated it above, imply? Looked at carefully, it is a verdict not on luxury, in the popular sense, or with its popular associations, but on all expenditure which, on the one hand, is not employment, and, on the other, provides anything but the barest necessities of life. Thus, if every human being were agreed to take this verdict unchecked as his rule of life, property would give sustenance to all, pleasure to none, or at least, no pleasure but the grosser ones, such, for instance, as the pleasure which eating the bare necessities might give. Therefore, Mr. Mill says (*Pol. Ec.* p. 33)—

"It would be a great error to regret the large proportion of annual produce which in an opulent country goes to supply unproductive consumption. It would be to lament that the community has so much to spare from its necessities for its pleasures, and for all higher uses. This portion of the produce is the fund from which all the wants of the community, other than that of mere living, are provided for; the measure of its means of enjoyment, and of its power of accomplishing all purposes not productive."

If expenditure on luxury necessarily produced misery, it must be, we imagine, absolutely condemned. But this is not so: we spoke above of one of our typical friends turning his players adrift in a second year, and it is possible that that allusion might suggest to some one that the inevitable result of unproductive expenditure

was to call a class into existence merely in order to leave them after the occasion had passed in the hopeless misery of forced and starving indolence. But this inference is not justified: in order to justify it it would be necessary that our devotee of the drama should spend not only his £1,000, but all the rest of his property, except what supplies his necessities, unproductively, and that every other owner of money should do the same. Then, in the following year, would be seen completely what we saw in miniature by isolating the case of A and his £1,000; and the whole population which had produced the luxuries in the first year, destitute of employment in the second, would witness incontestably to the truth of our description of the true character and tendencies of unproductive expenditure. But of course, in fact, every year part of the returns of productive expenditure is spent in luxury, and thus the fund is renewed which maintains the population employed in creating luxuries.

There is then no reason to enter upon a crusade of extermination against unproductive expenditure. But in the first place, we see from the extreme instance supposed in the last paragraph that it ought to be moderated; though it would be chimerical and foolish to preach total abstinence, yet clearly temperance becomes a duty. In the second place, it is to be observed that the pleasures which unproductive expenditure is the means of obtaining may be distributed in different proportions among the population; it may be carved into large dividends for the few, or into small ones for the many. The method of affecting the distribution is obvious, for any sum which a man spends unnecessarily on himself, increasing his own dividend of pleasure, he might, by spreading it in employment, lay out in such a way as would tend to increase the dividend of the labouring, that is from the nature of things, of the poorer and less comfortable classes. If it did not actually so increase them, this would be for one of two reasons. Either in our lamentable social condition, it would rather be absorbed in providing those before unemployed with the means of obtaining the necessities of life (which surely would not be a less adequate result of the sacrifice); or, secondly, the result would be that indicated by Mr. Mill when he says, "The use the labouring classes choose to make of any advantageous change in their circumstances, is to take it out in the form which, by augmenting the population, deprives the succeeding generation of the benefit." In other words, the marriage-rate would rise almost with every increase in the fund devoted to wages. But even here, if we regret that this cause prevents our hoping for much general improvement from a decrease of luxury, yet at least the self-denial of the upper classes would give to the lower increased prospects of obtaining the comforts of marriage and domestic life. Thus we may affirm that what is deducted from the luxurious

expenditure of the rich, goes, if spent on employment, in some way to help those below him. The spread of the Limited Liability companies has familiarised every one with the nature of investment. Investment is practically the means by which most people in our highly-organized society, can employ labour. I cannot work a mine and pay miners, but I can contribute money towards the company which shall do so. In the option between expenditure on pleasure and saving by investment, which comes in some form before most people, everybody knows that provident selfishness exhorts to saving. That enlightened benevolence leads the same way is less generally known (and is even contradicted, as we have seen, by the commonplace about the necessity of luxurious expenditure), but may be asserted now as one definite result of our inquiry. To find another, we need only look at the other option between charitable and luxurious expenditure. Now charity is not productive, and therefore, as is vaguely known and repeated, Political Economy has something to say against it; but when it is known that luxurious expenditure is also unproductive, there is no difficulty in perceiving that the only difference between the two cases is, that what a man spends luxuriously he spends upon himself, but what he gives in charity he spends upon others, who commonly need not only comforts, but necessities. There is a third option, namely, the choice between investment and charity, but that is not within our subject, and with regard to it, we have only space to say that Political Economy shows charity to be *theoretically* a temporary expedient—without committing ourselves to any opinion upon the practical probability of a time arriving when it may be dispensed with.

We consider ourselves to have now done, imperfectly, the work which it is the true and only function of Political Economy to do perfectly in questions of this kind. It is to present evidence before the tribunal of conscience. What is selfish and what is unselfish, Political Economy shows with a completeness and providence of demonstration not attainable by mere common sense. It remains for the moralist to comment on the evidence to the truth of his precepts derivable from the coincidence between the results of a far-looking scientific investigation and the dictates of the uninstructed conscience. It remains for the theologian to reflect on any testimony to religion which may be derived from the harmony between these great irresistible laws and the discipline which it has always enjoined on the individual. It remains for the enlightened conscience, assisted by them both, to make, as it aforesaid has made, only now with ampler evidence to assist it, the world-old decision on the point of duty—to say generally for a class, and precisely for the individual, how far the motives which they are able to bring to bear constrain us to carry the self-surrender for others' sake which they agree to enjoin.

E. S. TALBOT.



THE DARK AGES.

THE term "Dark Ages" is one of the most indefinite in history. It has been used, in England at least, for the most part with acrimony, and with the vagueness which is bred of acrimony. To a Protestant the period covered by the name is often that intervening between the Apostolic Age, or perhaps the Nicene Council, and the Reformation; to the historian of Philosophy it is the period between the decay of the Greek spirit and its renaissance; to the student of literature it is that between the extinction of classical and the rise of vernacular writers; to Hallam it is the first half or the first eight of the ten mediæval centuries; to Gibbon the first six; to the author of the "Historia Literaria" the *seculum obscurum* is a single century in which, along with much clerical immorality, he discerns the fewest councils and the greatest number of heresies. The period which has been the subject of the exaggerated attacks of Milner and Robertson, and the somewhat special defence of Dr. Maitland, comprises the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries.

Now it occurs to the mind at once that all these divisions alike lack that universality of point of view, as well as that foundation upon a sufficiently definite principle, which can alone justify the historical student in applying the reproach of "darkness" to any period of the past, without exposing himself to the retort that possibly the darkness of which he complains may be in himself. "I know

nothing of those ages which knew nothing" is an aphorism made up of two propositions, and in many cases the first of them is as true as the second.

The popular notion that the Middle Age *as a whole* was a period of intellectual paralysis and senility, is probably traceable in great measure to the scientific reaction which is identified with the name of Bacon.

"Human reason," says that philosopher, "such as we now have it, is a mere farrago and crude mass made up of credulity, much accident, and withal of those puerile notions which are imbibed in early life." "The philosophy in vogue, whether Arabian or scholastic, has overlaid knowledge with a host of treatises, instead of increasing its amount." "Originality, where it has survived, has been hitherto concentrated on the narrowest specialities, the nature of the magnet, or the *thema cæli*—anything which savoured of the occult and mystical." "The Logic we use is more potent in fixing error than in finding truth, while its union with Theology (*malesana admistio*) produces heresy in religion, and fanciful conceits in the brain of the philosopher."

Such, in substance, is his charge against mediæval intelligence; a charge the truth of which we need not pause to discuss, as we are only interested in noting that the deep impression which the constructive side of the Baconian theory has produced upon British modes of thought, has also contributed to make this conception of the Middle Ages, as a time of sterility and darkness, a part of the unconscious stock in trade of almost every ordinary mind.

Curiously enough Dr. Maitland's defence does not touch this point, and, indeed, the four centuries for which he pleads, are those immediately preceding the rise of the great Nominalist and Conceptualist schools of Roscelin and Abelard. In a religious point of view those four centuries from Charlemagne to Innocent III. cannot be said to have been "dark" or dead: and to show this would perhaps have been more to Dr. Maitland's purpose than to prove against the exaggerations of Milner and Robertson, that *all* kings were not equally illiterate, or that considerable care was taken to exclude unfit persons from the ministry, or that personal cleanliness was enjoined in the administration of the Sacraments, or that the knowledge of the Vulgate was considerable, that of the Missal, Manual, Calendar, Passional, Penitential, Lectionary more considerable still, or that for a time at least the morality of monasteries was as the salt of the earth, or lastly, that if monkish ignorance sometimes wrote legends of the saints over good classical MSS., monkish learning and industry were the only available modes of intellectual life so long as Greek literature remained in the hands of the Mahometans. We can quite believe that Mosheim, in ridiculing the portrait of the Christian life as sketched in monkish homilies—almsgiving, washing the feet of

the poor, humility, the hospitable reception of strangers, presenting oblations upon the altar, the imprecation of saints, the repetition of the *Credo* and *Pater Noster*, the celebration of church festivals—failed to understand entirely the conditions of mediæval life, besides laying himself open to the charge of quoting passages to suit an unfavourable view to the exclusion of others. But it would have been far more to the purpose to rejoin that the purely religious life of the soul, by reason of the very antagonism of the Church and the world, attained a degree of intensity during the middle ages, which is impossible in modern Christendom, when spiritual influences have pervaded and transformed secular life, and the Church and the world are in great measure identified in civilization. It is true that the isolation of the spiritual life arising out of the Church's struggle for existence, amid lawlessness, violence, and corruption, had this disadvantage, that the light being placed under a bushel the house was dark. But so far from the darkness of these four centuries being attributable, in the ordinary sense, to the influence of Catholicism, it is not too much to say that so soon as the Papacy, under Hildebrand, became triumphant, the "Dark Ages" ceased.

Again, the *moral* darkness of the middle age belongs rather to the centuries immediately preceding the Reformation, when the Holy See was declining and becoming corrupt, the light of truth had become obscured by masses of superstition, while the whole political and religious fabric of mediævalism was fast giving way beneath the strokes of scepticism and the rise of the industrial classes. The intellectual and moral anarchy of the Reformation period is apt to be forgotten amidst the immense advantages which mankind has derived from the movement; but such demoralization is inseparable from those great revolutions in society when the continual conflict between past and future, which is the life of the present, is aggravated into a crisis, because the *status quo*, instead of passing over insensibly into a new order of things, outlasts its day, and then at length falls through with a crash, to make room for a fabric which has yet to be built from the ground. Such times are always seasons of darkness and social discontinuity, the tendencies to decay prevail over the tendencies to repair, and a "pathological condition" (as it has been called) of the body politic ensues. Thus the darkness of the last part of the Middle Age may be said more properly to belong to modern times, to which it forms a kind of background; and this view, if correct, indicates also the true limits within which we must place the "Dark Ages" of the mediæval world, *i.e.*, not in it, but behind it.

The Roman Empire, like the mediæval polity, after years of decline, gave way at length precipitately, not so much owing to the invasions of the barbarians, who were half Romanized, as from the

discontinuance of vital force at its centre. The Roman principle had worked itself out, and the world was destined to be renewed by entirely fresh social elements, which only came to the surface some centuries after the break-down of the former system. The interval of transition from Paganism to Catholicism, from the municipal system to feudalism, from Latin and Greek to vernacular writers, was a time, more or less exactly determinable, during which the mere struggle for existence and foot-room cast out effectually the light of culture and reason. This appears to us to be pre-eminently "the Dark Age" of the world's history, so far indeed as it can be said to have any history at all. Decay, scepticism, immorality, violence, the suppression of whole classes, the extirpation of whole peoples, the overthrow of law and government, blood, and fire, and sword—that is its history; a picture of indiscriminate confusion. The efforts of the better emperors to infuse new life into the mass of discordant elements, came too late: the Empire was giving way in great measure from its enormous size, and from the remoteness of the heart of the system from its extremities. The only remedy was that which nature itself afforded, (1) to give time for the settlement of the Teutonic nations; (2) that the Empire should recede into the East before the Church; and (3) that the pressure of Mahometanism *from without* should kindle anew in an innumerable multitude of points, that vitality which it was no longer possible to propagate from a single centre.

The life of the Empire, like that of all purely military systems, depended upon its ability to expand. The defeat of Varus in the Teutoburgerwald marks therefore the point at which its expansion was first effectually checked, and its decline began. It would be an inaccuracy to place the commencement of the "Dark Ages" so early; but it is necessary to a true conception of them to push them back beyond the ten mediæval centuries to some period between this defeat of the Roman legions, and the rise of Catholicism in the seventh, with that of feudalism in the eighth and ninth centuries. The period, how far soever we may extend its extreme limits on either side, may be said to culminate in the first half of the fifth century, between the capture of Rome by Alaric and the battle of Châlons. During the latter part of that time Europe lay helpless in chaotic confusion at the mercy of the huge army of Attila. But exact dates are always misleading in the study of political facts, which cannot adequately be set in any framework but that of nature—their causes, characteristics, and effects. In the present case these may be conveniently gathered under three heads: (a) the Empire, (b) the barbarians, and (c) Christianity.

(a) The influence of the barbarian migrations in producing the

destruction of the Roman Empire is, in most accounts of this period, greatly exaggerated. The barbarians upon the frontier had become Romanized, the Prætorian guards had been since the time of Augustus in great measure Germans; after Constantine the majority of the whole army was barbarian, after Theodosius, a Roman was an exception. Barbarian emperors had also disgraced and adorned the purple. Maximinus was a Thracian; the great emperors in the last generation of the third century were of Illyrian descent; Zeno was an Isaurian; Justinian, himself, a Dacian peasant. This infusion was rather an element of strength than of weakness, and when the frontier began to give way, the barbarians entered in many cases much more as colonists of waste places than as extirpating and devastating hordes.

(1) The Empire sank from its own inherent decay. First, as has been noticed, its mere size was an element of decay, by at once overstraining the heart of the organism, and attenuating the central vigour before it reached the extremities. It was born but to die, as Horace saw in his day, when he sang,

"Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit."

The same idea must have been present to the mind of Diocletian when he overspread the world with a complicated web of officialism; and in that of Constantine led not only to his elaborate diocesan system, but also, in some measure, to the establishment of a second centre of government on the Bosphorus. Every year the Imperial system assumed more and more an exclusively military character. From the first Rome had based its greatness upon the principle of physical force, and now that it had become such an unwieldy mass, it was physical force alone which could hold it together. Accordingly, the great reforming emperors of the decline, like the Illyrian Claudius, were army reformers.

(2) These considerations will help us to understand what a shock it was to the very foundation of the Empire to be defeated by the Germans in the Teutoburgerwald. That check turned the life of Rome inwards upon itself.* The picture which Tacitus gives us of the state of the city shortly afterwards, shows that the work of dissolution was not slow to begin. "*Pars populi integra et magnis domibus annexa, clientis libertique damnatorum et exulum; . . plebs sordida et circo ac theatris sueta, simul deterrimi servorum, aut qui adesis bonis per dedecus Neronis alebantur.*" Such were the ingredients of the population which had compelled the world to look up to it for light and guidance. And what was the condition of

* M. Rénan has remarked the rapid decadence which took place after the death of Augustus: "*Rapide, ou, pour mieux dire, tout à fait subite,*" is what he says of it. The old Roman cultivation "*vanished like a dream.*"—*Les Apôtres*, p. 329, follg.

the army by which the Roman name was upheld in the provinces? We may condense the historian's account into a few of his own emphatic words: "Vacationes, latrocinia, otium, socordia, licentia, seditiones, discordiæ." As Aristotle* said of the Spartans, "continued war was their only safety; they perished so soon as they attempted to govern, because they knew not what to make of peace, having never learnt any other trade save that of war."

(3) The destruction of the nationalities which composed the Empire doubtless conspired with the paralysing influence of centralized military despotism to produce a dead level of apathy and recklessness throughout the provinces; but even these causes will not completely explain the lack of all coherence and life. Not only did the people fail to support the Government in its struggle with the barbarians, but the provinces, abandoned to themselves, did not attempt, even on their own account, any resistance. There is no history of the struggle of the Gauls, Spaniards, Italians, on their own account as nations, with the Teutonic races; the Empire withdraws, the barbarians advance, the mass of the inhabitants undergo the horrors of war, pillage, and famine, without a sign of life. M. Guizot has shown that this arose from the impoverishment and ruin of the middle classes in the towns. These, under the name of *Curiales*, were compelled to undertake the local administration with its burdens, especially the collection of the taxes, their own fortunes being held responsible for the returns. The result was that this class sank lower and lower, and finally became extinct. There remained the civil functionaries, the clergy, and the army, but they had no bond or community of interest with the mass of the free population, and outside the towns the population was not free. This explains the fact that in the fifth century so many towns are depopulated, so much land waste, the great cities at the mercy of a hungry and unoccupied rabble. Special causes, no doubt, aggravated the evil. The provinces were exhausted by the contests of the score of usurpers who arose at the death of Gallienus, and by the fifteen years of famine and pestilence which followed.† The barbarians, too, at this time make their appearance within the frontier. The great ancestral houses, the last glory of Rome, subside into obscurity in consequence of the dispersion of the remnant of the educated classes‡ by Alaric. At this point, as was said above, the darkness of the Dark Ages culminates. "Nulla est regio," writes St. Jerome, Ep. 98, "quæ non exules Romanos habeat."

* Politics, ii.9.

† These scourges are said to have produced the death of 5,000 persons a day.

‡ These educated pagans carried with them to the frontier the greatest hatred of Christianity as the cause of the dissolution of the world; it is said that St. Augustine's *Civitas Dei* was written in answer to their invectives.

A century later we find the same tendencies predominant. Britain, Gaul, Rætia, Pannonia, Vindelicia are reduced to poverty and desolation; foreign commerce almost annihilated, and home trade reduced to the exchange of the rudest commodities.* The mercantile classes are crushed by invading Goths and Vandals, under the supposition that they are favourable to Rome; in Italy, Spain, Africa, Sicily, the same law of depopulation and impoverishment is observable. Justinian's chimerical attempt to reclaim Italy is paid for by the destruction of half the population. From the first ages, indeed wherever the Empire spreads, population and wealth begin to fall. The so-called revivals under Diocletian, Constantine, and Justinian are all accompanied by excessive and badly-managed taxation. Even Anastasius (*βασιλεὺς κοσμοφθόρος*, as he is called in a contemporary epigram) is exceeded by the infamous and illiterate John of Cappadocia, "the cause" (in Gibbon's words) "of the death of thousands, the poverty of millions, the ruin of cities, and the desolation of provinces." Whilst Justinian's engineers and architects are filling Europe with forts and churches, the masses of the capital are without bread and water.

Such ages are but dimly lighted by the sneers of satirists, or the stoicism of Seneca and Marcus Aurelius. Boethius, too, the last of the classics, after whom the lamp of culture went completely out, is chiefly interesting from the conception which he enables us to form of the state of the world as it appeared to expiring paganism. He asks, "Does chance or providence rule the world?" and pours out his soul,—

"Heu quam precipiti mersa profundo
Mens hebet, et propriâ luce relictâ,
Tendit in externas ire tenebras
Terrenis quoties flatibus acta
Crescit in immensum noxia cura."—*Consol.* i., met. 2.

"O, my Lord," he exclaims, "look upon this miserable world, look upon all mankind, as it struggles amid the waves of the world" . . . and again, "the covetousness of men is burning as the fire in the hell." Here is the last of the philosophers; his mind crushed to prostration beneath the chaos of dissolving society. The almost saintly virtues of Marcus Aurelius, as illustrated by his commonplace book, written at the end of the second century in his camp on the banks of the Danube, shed enough light to illuminate his individual figure, but not enough to brighten his age; indicating at once a man painfully "possessing his soul," almost like a Christian ascetic, and on the other hand, an age in which this constrained and Stoical isolation is the only possible form of spiritual life.

* Finlay's "Byzantine Empire," vol. i., p. 329. Cf. p. 62.

We may compare the internal decay of the Empire with the downfall of particular kingdoms or nations; with that of the Greek towns after the Peloponnesian war, or with that of the Merovingian and Gothic dynasties. In each, decay intensifies the struggle for existence; in each, culture vanishes while the struggle for existence continues. But there is this difference. Individual nations and communities are commonly swallowed up in their decline by the conquest of a stronger, better consolidated, more living nation; while, from their size, the balance of progressive culture in the world is not materially disturbed. It was the misfortune of the Roman Empire in its decline that there existed no power sufficiently large to come by violence and swallow it up. The barbarians who covered parts of it, were unconnected tribes, for the most part in that stage of existence which is prior to the political, so that its gradual subsidence was unhindered, the twilight which it shed upon the world well-nigh unrelieved. Before the rise of the Austrasian and Germanic empires, the darkness was complete. Guizot and Hallam (*Hist. Lit. c. i.*) agree with Fleury (against the view of the older English historians), in placing the lowest depth to which the European mind has sunk in historic times, in the seventh century, the century before Charlemagne. It was the fact that the balance of progressive culture was disturbed and upset *throughout Europe*, which constitutes this the darkest age in history. We may compare it to one of those vast physical revolutions revealed by geology, in which the whole existing state of things has given way under the effort to originate a new type.

(b) The barbarians who defeated the army of Varus were essentially the same race which ultimately colonized Europe. Huns and Avars, belonging to the lowest Turanian stock, swept again and again over the Empire, but were incapable of effecting a settlement. They vanish from history. The European world was regenerated by that German race, which the Romans had tried in vain to conquer. The reason of this failure appears to lie in the fact that the Germanic tribes east of the Rhine developed exceedingly slowly. Their nationality is consummated the last of all, in the ninth century; but at the time of conflict with the Empire they had scarcely transcended the "hunting and fishing stage" of existence. Nomadic tribes cannot be conquered, and hence neither Arabia nor Germany were ever included within Roman rule, just as Scythia was invincible to Darius. In all cases these German nomadic peoples had to pass over, through the military and the agricultural, to the political stage, *after* they had come within the Imperial frontier. We have thus as the constituents of the Dark Ages, on the one hand, the political system of the Empire outliving the corresponding social state, and

becoming more and more purely artificial, while disintegration goes on continually beneath the surface; and on the other, the isolated and mutually repellent units of barbarism, before political coherence is reached, overwhelming the waste places within the frontier like a storm of sand. This characteristic of the invading hordes is so extremely important in accounting for the peculiar conditions of the "dark" centuries, that it requires to be drawn out into greater explicitness. It may be said without exaggeration to have coloured the whole Mediæval period.

(1.) The reign of mere physical force and selfish impulse, while man is still "of the earth, earthy," filling the world with violence, is an idea present to the minds of political philosophers, both ancient and modern, in describing "the state of Nature." Rousseau's notion of ideal savages, drawn together by cords of love and sympathy, is a mere dream. Plato's child of nature, whose ideal is to inflict injustice upon others and avoid suffering it himself, belongs more or less to the primitive history of every nation. Mr. Gladstone has shown by a large induction of Homeric passages that the earliest Greek notion of goodness was simply or mainly that of physical pre-eminence; Roman history opens with rape and fratricide; the hideous story of the Levite's concubine, and the extermination of the males of Jabesh-gilead, indicate a similar opening of Jewish history, when "there was no king in Israel," and "every man did that which was right in his own eyes." This universal condition of barbarism appears to have been aggravated in the case of the Germans by reason of their peculiar character, as well as prolonged by the slowness of their development. Their essential mission was, no doubt, to introduce the new element of individual or purely spiritual freedom to the world. But this in its primary and germinal form is mere caprice, "chance desire," *arbitrium*. Tacitus was evidently struck with this trait in the German character, as is evident from some passages in his *Germania*: "Quia inter impotentes et validos," he says (c. 36), "falsò quiescas, ubi manu agitur," "where the sword is the sole arbiter;" and again (c. 13), speaking of their mutual distrust, "nihil autem neque publicæ neque privatæ rei, nisi armati agunt." The same "form of particularity," as it has been somewhat obscurely called, appears in the alleged incapacity of the Teutonic race for conspiracy; in the modern perpetuation of the small independent fiefs; more than all, in the severed and individual character which was impressed on the feudal polity, in which every proprietor of land is a kind of petty sovereign, in which patriotism is an aggregate of private aims, rights are mainly class privileges, laws are all particular obligations, trials are judicial combats, and penalties are inflicted by private revenge.

(2.) We may discern, too, in the Teutonic customary codes a defi-

ciency in depth of sentiment respecting right and wrong. Murder, for instance, is not a crime against the nation, but an injury committed against an individual and his family, expiable by a fine. "*Luitur enim etiam homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero, recipitque satisfactionem universa domus*" (*Germ. Tac. c. 21*). In the Salic law, in which the penal articles exceed all the others together in the ratio of more than five to one, all crimes are brought under the two heads of robbery and violence, and, except in the case of slaves or labourers, there are no corporal punishments, no imprisonment, few capital penalties, all of which can be redeemed by the payment of composition. Awe at the infinite abyss yawning beneath the selfishness and wrong-doing of mankind is the most essential bond of political society; but where the sentiment is still so remote, vague, and abstract as the Teutonic codes show it to have been, political coherence is impossible. And yet we know that in these barbarians the whole future of Europe lay hid.

(3.) The correctness of the preceding view is confirmed by the history of the earliest barbarian kingdoms. All were premature; all lacked cohesion; all passed away in a few generations. The Salic Franks in Gaul, the Ostrogoths in Italy, the Visigoths in Spain, the Vandals in Africa, the Suevi, and Burgundians, and Lombards, all more or less obey the same law of decline and disintegration. Even the great empire of Charlemagne broke up after his death. Coincident with this is the remarkable phenomenon of the degeneracy of the reigning families. This is true of both the Gothic kingdoms, but pre-eminently so of the later Merovingian race. The hopeless effectness of the *rois fainéants* is almost without a parallel even in Oriental dynasties. They appear, indeed, to have been physically exceptional. Michelet has remarked that they were all parents at fifteen years of age, and old men at thirty; while out of thirteen six died at or before twenty-seven years of age. Doubtless polygamy, from which Charlemagne himself was not free, may have weakened the race; but the political and social immaturity of the Dark Ages seems here to have found some "representative men."

Thus far we see the elements of future society, as mere *disjecta membra*, and mutually repugnant atoms, standing to one another in a wholly mechanical relation of external impact and resistance: like the bones in the valley, "behold there were very many of them in the open valley, and lo! they were very dry."

(c) It was Christianity which in the event was destined to "prophesy upon the bones," shaking them, bringing them together, clothing and organizing them. As the feudal system reduced to coherence the isolated social *nuclei*, so the Papacy, as it gradually became the supreme arbitrator and fountain of truth in the Western world, deepened and rectified with religious sanctions the originally

shallow moral sentiment of Teutonic Europe. Both these instruments of reconstruction perhaps originate from the same spirit, just as the soldier and the saint merge into one in the spirit of chivalry: under Charlemagne's influence they go hand in hand, but, as was natural, the religious regeneration slightly preceded the political. To one knowing what Christianity is, it is not wonderful that it did so much; on the contrary, before the rise of the Papacy, that it did so little to enlighten and regenerate the age, requires to be accounted for. The causes seem to lie partly in the internal conditions of the Christian spirit itself in the first six centuries, and partly in its relation to the outward world.

(1.) The effect of persecution upon the religious life of the Church was to stimulate it into a state of feverish excitement. The mere fact of recent conversion is enough to produce this amongst masses of rude population; and, as in the case of the Suevi and Visigoths—indeed, to a greater or less degree it is true of a large part of the barbarian converts—the excitement of conversion came over them twice, first to Arianism, and then to the Catholic faith. The Franks and the Saxons appear to have been the only nations whose Christianity was not originally Arian. Before this process of re-conversion was complete—and Recared did not bring his people over to Catholicism till the last generation of the sixth century—the rivalry of the two forms of belief degenerated into the merest political intrigue. Clovis owed his success in great measure to the support of the Catholics; in Italy, too, the party of Theodoric were Arian, the Imperialists, Catholic; in Africa, Genseric is aided by the Donatists; the death of Hilderic is compassed by the Arians; the re-conquest by Justinian is invited by the oppressed Catholics and the Manichæans. This excitement, rivalry, intrigue, impaired Christianity as a *moral* power in the world. And we may add, that with the world the Christian clergy began rapidly to barbarize.* Two causes contributed to the existence of military bishops in the fifth century—the sentiment that war was the sole ennobling occupation, and also the gradual acquisition by the clergy of lands involving military service.

(2.) The abnormal excitement of the religious emotions produced by conversion, persecution, rivalry, re-conversion, had a similar effect in producing an *intellectual* decline, which was further increased by the fact that Christianity was in every sense, in the first instance, the "gospel of the poor," learnt by them, preached by them, and having for its essence the apprehension of an Invisible Presence in the heart and conscience, rather than a conception of the religious idea by the intellect. Again, at its first entrance into the world, Christianity

* v. Milman, *Lat. Christianity*, vol. i. p. 368. One cause of barbarism in the Church, too, was that, as the barbarians became converted, many began to enter the ranks of the clergy.

was necessarily brought into contact and conflict with the prevailing philosophy. This consisted in the main of the mere dregs of Platonism, made vague by the infusion of the dreams of the East, and falsified by scepticism and sophistry. The opposition of the Church to philosophy in its decline degenerated into opposition to philosophy, learning, and speculation at large. Thus, putting aside the probably mythical accounts of the destruction of books by the Christians, or by the great Gregory, it is not mythical that physical science was proscribed as contradictory to revelation, or that Jerome condemns secular study, or that the Church discouraged it, or that the fourth Council of Carthage in 398 prohibited the bishops from reading profane books. We may, perhaps, attribute some influence also to the necessary detachment of the more philosophical systems of Christian doctrine from the centre of religious instruction by the proscription and dispersion of heretics.

As instances of this intellectual decline within the Church, two things are worth noting. First, that the metaphysical distinctions of the Ecumenical Councils were drawn by bishops, many of whom—at least at Ephesus and Chalcedon*—could not write their names, and were received by the mass of the faithful, whose narrow core of Christian knowledge—the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer—was already becoming obscured by a blighting overgrowth of Mariolatry, the cultus of the departed, and ecclesiastical miracles. Secondly, that the metaphysics of the Councils were, and have always been, regarded by the Church as *purely negative*. Their object was not the evolution of new and living truth, but the refutation and exclusion of new error. This negative hair-splitting may have been necessary, but it weakened both the religious and intellectual force of Christian truth, on the one hand, by rationalizing what is really apprehensible only by spiritual feeling; and, on the other, by stimulating the inferior faculty of the understanding—the dividing, negating, distinguishing side of the mind—at the expense and to the exclusion of the higher efforts of affirmative and creative thought.

(3.) In relation to the outward world, the Church ideal of *imperium in imperio*, as well as the spiritual ideal of monachism, were a practical renunciation for the time of the project entertained by the highest philosophic minds of Greece, of making spiritual and intellectual ideas dominate in the world. As has been said above, the very struggle for existence necessitated seclusion, isolation, asceticism, a secret gathering together of the waters before the banks were burst and the world submerged. The conversion of Constantine was a great step in advance, but the retirement of the Empire to Byzantium, “before the moral power of the Papacy,”† was a greater still: this

* Jortin, quoted by Hallam.

† A bizarre expression of De Maistre's. He means to point out, probably, the fact

was the turning-point of the Church's history. But until Gregory I. the conflict with the Greek Empire and the barbarian kingdoms was but unequally waged; the spiritual power might still be deposed, arraigned, and brow-beaten. The ultimate rise of the Papacy was simultaneous with the first vigorous onset of Mahometanism, idealizing Teutonic valour by a sacred cause, and intensifying the religious sentiment alike of the lower as of the higher strata of population. The real victory of Christianity over the barbarians was consummated in the Crusades. As its first contest, the conversion of Europe, took place under the pressure of heathen persecution, so its second conquest, supremacy in Europe, took place under the pressure of Mahometanism. But before this time, the conflict of the spiritual power with chaotic physical force, like that of the gods and Jötuns in the Norse mythology, is mutually extinctive. While Thor wrestles with the "world-serpent," the whole universe sinks in "twilight" and ruin.

To sum up our conception of the Dark Ages. The old spiritual bond of imperial society has broken, or is breaking, down; the new spiritual bond is working underground in catacombs, in prisons, in monasteries. Meanwhile the elements of future social life stand in a merely mechanical relation to one another, like a handful of sand. The new spirit emerges at length at sundry times and in diverse places: Monasticism in the Egyptian Thebaid, in the fourth century; the Papacy, Catholicism at Rome, in the seventh; Feudality in France, in the eighth and ninth; Scholasticism in the twelfth; Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Chaucer, in the fourteenth; the whole quickened by eight centuries of Mahometan pressure, from the seventh to the fifteenth. Thus may we analyze the Mediæval movement; thus were the "dry bones" clothed and articulated. But the interval between the decay of the old and the rise of the new was an hiatus in human history to which there is no parallel. The French Revolution is, perhaps, the most like it. The issues of both are obscured by the smoke of human passion; both, however, usher in a new spirit; in both we catch instructive glimpses of the abyss on which society reposes. It is humiliating to mankind to reflect that, in these

"Whole centuries of folly, noise, and sin,"

the most memorable event of the Dark Ages was the three days' battle on the field of Châlons. If the Huns had not been beaten, Europe might still have been groping in twilight, if not in darkness.

CHARLES E. APPLETON.

that Christianity, as represented by the Papacy, was a new and aggressive power in the world,—one, too, which began to refresh the face of society by penetrating to its moral centre; whereas the Empire had long been a purely external and artificial system, and was giving way in the West of Europe, whilst the Church was taking its place.



GLÜCK AND HAYDN.

PART II.

Letters of Distinguished Musicians. Translated by LADY WALLACE.
London: Longmans, Green, & Co.

GLÜCK and Haydn worked parallel to each other. We are not aware that they ever met. Both carried out great reforms—Glück in the sphere of opera, Haydn in symphonic and instrumental music. Both were adored in foreign countries—whilst Glück was known in England and worshipped in France Haydn was known in France and worshipped in England. Both, however, were recognised and admired in Germany; both were generous in their recognition of others; both were the friends of Mozart; both knew how to be popular with princes without forfeiting the respect of equals; both could compose for the people without pandering to what was vicious or ignorant in their tastes; both began as “poor devils” (to use Haydn’s phrase), and lived to enjoy an easy competence; and both descended to the grave, after long, laborious lives, heavy with years and honours,—Glück dying, 1787, at the age of seventy-three; Haydn, 1809, at seventy-seven.

We may thus draw an outward parallel between the founder of the German opera and the inventor of the German symphony; but the parallel belongs more to the career than the character, to the work than to the person, of the composers. As we turn from that eager, restless, ambitious face by Duplessis, to the placid, easy-going, and contented profile by Dance, the contrast between Chevalier

Glück and "Papa Haydn," as Mozart loved to call him, is complete.

The face of Haydn is remarkable quite as much for what it does not as for what it does express. No ambition, no avarice, no impatience, very little excitability, no malice. On the other hand, it indicates a placid flow of even health, an exceeding good-humour, combined with a vivacity which seems to say, "I must lose my temper sometimes, but I cannot lose it for long;" a geniality which it took much to disturb, and a digestion which it took more to impair; a power of work steady and uninterrupted; a gentle, sound, and healthy piety; a capacity for the enjoyment of all the world's good things, without the craving for any irregular indulgence; affections warm, but not intense; a presence accepted and beloved; a mind contented almost anywhere, attaching supreme importance to one, and one thing only—the composing of music—and pursuing this object with the steady instinct of one who believed himself to have come into the world for this purpose alone;—such was Francis-Joseph Haydn, born on the 31st of March, 1732, at Rohrau, a little village about thirty miles from Vienna, on the confines of Austria and Hungary.

The father, Matthias Haydn, coachmaker and parish clerk, had married a domestic servant in the household of one Count Harrach. He was fond of the harp, and after the day's work he delighted to sing and play whilst Frau Haydn sat busily knitting, and joined in occasionally, after the manner of German Fraus. Joseph, when about five years old, began to assist on these occasions with two pieces of stick, grinding away in perfect time, like any real fiddler. These wooden performances were not thrown away, for one day a Hamburg schoolmaster named Franck happened to see the child thus earnestly employed, and ascertaining that he had a good voice, took him off to Hamburg, and promised to educate him, to the great delight of the honest coachmaker.

Franck seems to have taught him well, although he knocked him about a good deal; but the boy was a merry and industrious little fellow, and did not mind, providing he was allowed to transfer the blows in play-hours to a big drum, on which he practised incessantly. When he was about nine years old, Reuter, the *Capellmeister* of St. Stephen's, Vienna, happened to be dining with Franck, and Joseph was produced as a musical prodigy. Franck had taught him to sing, and all this his master knew he could do. At the close of his song the delighted Reuter cried "Bravo! But, my little man, how is it you cannot shake?" "How can you expect me to shake when Herr Franck himself cannot?" replied the *enfant terrible*. "Come here, then;" and drawing the child to him, he showed him

how to hold his breath, and then make the necessary vibrations in his throat once or twice, and the boy caught the trick and began shaking like a practised singer. The *Capellmeister* had found a new star for his cathedral choir, and Haydn was carried off in triumph to Vienna. Here he gained instruction in singing, and an acquaintance with sacred music; but it was no part of Reuter's plan to teach him the theory of music. At the age of thirteen he tried to compose a mass, at which his master merely laughed; indeed, Haydn was wholly uninstructed in composition, and no doubt the mass was poor stuff. But genius was not to be daunted; money was hoarded up, the "*Gradus ad Parnassum*" and the "*Parfait Maître de Chapelle*," by Mattheson, were purchased, and with these two dull and verbose dampers to enthusiasm the lad set to work to discover the science of harmony. We have no means of knowing what progress he made; we only know that he worked away for eight years. At the end of that time his voice broke, and he was turned away by Reuter on quite a frivolous pretext. Some say the master was afraid of finding a rival in the pupil, but we think this improbable, as at this time there is no proof that Haydn had arrived at any special excellence in composition, but Reuter was a selfish, and, in Haydn's case, a disappointed man. From the first he had desired to perpetuate, by the usual means, the fine soprano of his pupil, and thus retain him in his service for ever. Happily this project was firmly withstood by the parents; and Reuter, who was no doubt annoyed, kept the boy as long as he could to sing; and when his voice broke, not caring to trouble himself with any further connection, picked a quarrel with him, and turned him out. But the chorister's sweet voice was known to many who came to worship at the cathedral of St. Stephen, and when Keller, the barber, heard that Haydn was a homeless wanderer, he came forward and offered him free board and lodging.

In a little upper room, with a little worm-eaten harpsichord, Haydn pursued his studies; and down-stairs he dressed and powdered away at the wigs. Unhappily, there was something besides wigs down-stairs—there was Anne Keller, the barber's daughter, to whom, in a luckless hour, he promised marriage, and of whom more presently.

By-and-by things began to improve. He played the violin in one church, the organ in another, and got a few pupils. Vienna was not the city to allow a good musician to starve, and Haydn soon found those who could appreciate and help him. He left Keller, took a small attic in a large house, and, as luck would have it, in the state apartments of that very house lived the great *poeta Cesareo*, or, as we should say, poet-laureate of the day—Metastasio. Through the poet

Haydn's good fortune began: he introduced him to the Venetian ambassador's mistress, a rare musical enthusiast; and in her circle he met the famous Italian singing-master, Porpora, then a very crusty old gentleman, who appears to have occupied at Vienna the same post of musical dictator and privileged censor which Rossini has for so many years held in Paris.

The relations between Haydn and the Porpora were sufficiently amusing. Madame Sand, in "*Consuelo*," has sketched them in her own incomparable way. Of course Porpora could have nothing to say to so lowly a personage as Joseph Haydn. But he was always meeting him. They even lived in the same house for some time, for they both accompanied the ambassador to the Manensdorf baths for the season. However, Haydn had found his man in the Porpora, and was not slow to take his cue. He wanted instruction: no one in Italy or Germany could give it better than Porpora; so he cleaned Porpora's boots, trimmed his wig to perfection, brushed his coat, ran his errands, and was his very humble and devoted servant. Before such attention as this the old man at last gave way. Haydn became the master's constant companion, disciple, and accompanist; and the benefits which he derived in return were soon manifested in the increased saleableness of his compositions.

At the age of eighteen, Haydn composed his first stringed quartet. It consists of a number of short movements, and does not differ materially from other cabinet music of the period, save in being written for four instruments. Let any one take up the famous eighty-four quartets, and trace the growth of the master's mind, and he will be astonished how slow, and yet how steady, is the development. Nothing hurried—no torch blown by the wind—but a lamp, well guarded from gusts and currents, slowly consuming an abundant supply of oil. It is not till we get past the No. 50's that all traces of the Boccherini school begin to disappear; the movements become fewer, but longer, and quite symphonic in their development, until we break upon such perfect gems as 63; whilst in 77, 78, 81, the master reaches that perfect form and freedom of harmony which is observed in the quartets of Mozart and Beethoven.

As quartets, Haydn's have never been surpassed. Mozart has been more rich, Beethoven more obscure and sublime, Spohr more mellifluous and chromatic, Schubert more diffuse and luxuriant, Mendelssohn more orchestral and passionate; but none have excelled Haydn in completeness of form, in fine perception of the capacities of the four instruments, in delicate distribution of parts to each, and in effects always legitimate—often tender, playful, and pathetic—sometimes even sublime.

At night the young minstrel, accompanied by two friends, used to wander about the streets of Vienna by moonlight, and serenade with trios of his own composition his friends and patrons.

One night he happened to stop under the window of Bernardine Curtz, the director of the theatre. Down rushed the director in a state of great excitement.

"Who are you?" he shrieked.

"Joseph Haydn."

"Who's music is it?"

"Mine!"

"The deuce it is! at your age, too!"

"Why, I must begin with something."

"Come along up-stairs."

And the enthusiastic director collared his prize, and was soon deep in explaining the mysteries of a libretto entitled "*The Devil on Two Sticks.*" Haydn must write music for it according to Curtz's directions. It was no easy task; the music was to represent all sorts of things—catastrophes, fiascos, tempests. The tempest brought Haydn to his wits' end, for neither he nor Curtz had ever witnessed a sea-storm.

Haydn sat at the piano banging away in despair; behind him stood the director fuming, and raving, and explaining what he did not understand to Haydn, who did not understand him. At last, in a state of distraction, the pianist, opening wide his arms and raising them aloft, brought down his fists simultaneously on the two extremities of the key-board, and then drawing them rapidly together till they met, made a clean sweep of all the notes.

"Bravo! bravo! that's it—that's the tempest!" cried Curtz; and jumping wildly about, he finally threw his arms round the magician who had called the spirits from the vasty deep, and afterwards paid him one hundred and thirty florins for the music—storm at sea included.

In 1759, at the age of twenty-eight, Haydn composed his first symphony, and thus struck the second key-note of his originality. To have fixed the form of the quartet and the symphony was to lay deep the foundations of all future cabinet and orchestral music. Of the one hundred and eighteen symphonies comparatively few are now played, but probably we have all heard the best. The twelve composed for Solomons in the haste of creative power, but in the full maturity of his genius, are constantly heard side by side with the amazing efforts of Mozart and Beethoven in the same department, and do not suffer by the comparison because they are related to them, as the sweet and simple forms of early Gothic are to the gorgeous flamboyant creations of a later period.

probably long pardoned him for refusing to sacrifice his time and genius to the caprices of a silly and ill-tempered woman. He did what was probably best for both. He gave her a fair trial, and then separated himself from her, making her a liberal allowance; and thus permitting her to enjoy the fruits of his labour, without destroying his peace of mind or robbing the world of his genius.

In the retirement of the prince's family, between 1760 and 1790, an incredible number, and amongst them some of his most famous works, were produced. We may note several of the later quartets, six symphonies written for Paris, and the famous seven last works written for Cadiz.

The labour of thirty years had not been thrown away. Haydn appears to have been very unconscious of the immense reputation which he had been acquiring all through France, Spain, and England, and was probably never more astonished in his life when a stranger burst into his room, only a few days after the death of his beloved patron, Prince Nicolas, and said abruptly—"I am Solomons from London, and am come to carry you off with me; we will strike a bargain to-morrow." There was no bond now sufficiently strong to keep him in Germany. He was getting on in life, although hale and hearty; and now, at the age of sixty, he prepared to cross the sea on that journey to London so famous in the annals of music. Yet were there dear friends to part from. Dr. Leopold von Genzinger, the prince's physician; and the charming Frau von Genzinger, to whom so many of his letters are addressed, who made him such good tea and coffee, and sent him such excellent cream. Then there was Dittersdorf and Albrechtsberger; and, lastly, Mozart. These would fain have kept him. "Oh, papa!" said Mozart, who had already travelled so much and knew everything, "you have had no education for the wide, wide world, and you speak too few languages." "Oh, my language," replied the papa with a smile, "is understood all over the world."

December 15, 1790, was the day fixed for his departure. Mozart could not tear himself away, nor was he able to repress the tears that rose as he said in words so sadly prophetic—"We shall now doubtless take our last farewell." They dined together indeed for the last time. Both were deeply affected, but neither could have dreamed how very soon one of them, and that the youngest, was to be taken away. A year after we read in Haydn's diary, "Mozart died December 5, 1791." Nothing could exceed Haydn's admiration for Mozart. In 1785 Mozart wrote the six celebrated quartets dedicated to Haydn. "I declare to you," said the old composer to Mozart's father, "before God, that your son is the greatest composer who ever lived." In 1787 he thus writes:—

"I only wish I could impress on every friend of music, and on great men in particular, the same deep musical sympathy and profound appreciation which I myself feel for Mozart's inimitable music; then nations would vie with each other to possess such a jewel within their frontiers. It encourages me to think that the unparalleled Mozart is not yet engaged at any imperial court! Forgive my excitement; I love the man so dearly."

His wife must needs write to worry him in England by saying that Mozart had taken to running him down. "I cannot believe it," cried Haydn; "if true, I will forgive him." As late as 1807 the conversation turning one day on Mozart, Haydn burst into tears; but recovering himself—"Forgive me," he said; "I must ever, ever weep at the name of my Mozart."

On his way to England Haydn was introduced to Beethoven, then twenty. Beethoven actually had a lesson or two from him, and Haydn was exceedingly anxious to claim him as a pupil. Beethoven, upon hearing this many years afterwards, said characteristically and no doubt truly—"Certainly I had a lesson from Haydn, but I was not his disciple; I never learned anything from him."

"By four o'clock we had come twenty-two miles. The large vessel stood out to sea five hours longer, till the tide carried it into the harbour. I remained on deck during the whole passage, in order to gaze my fill at that huge monster, the ocean." Haydn was soon safely but, according to his moderate German notions, expensively housed at 18, Great Pulteney Street, London. He was to give twenty concerts in the year, and receive £50 for each. The novelty of the concerts was to consist in the new symphonies which Haydn was to conduct in person, seated at the piano. His fame had long preceded him, and his reception everywhere delighted him. "I could dine out every day of the week," he writes. At concerts and public meetings his arrival was the sign for enthusiastic applause; and how, in the midst of Lord Mayors' feasts, royal visits, and general starring, he managed to have composed and produced the Solomons Symphonies and countless other works written in London, is a question we cannot attempt to solve.

But Haydn was hundred-handed, and had, moreover, eyes and ears for everything. He tells us how he enjoyed himself at the great civic feast in company with William Pitt, the Lord Chancellor, and the Duke of Leeds (Leeds). He says, after dinner, the highest nobility—i.e., the Lord Mayor and his wife (!)—were seated on a throne. In another room the gentlemen, as usual, drank freely the whole night; and the songs, and crazy uproar, and smashing of glasses, were very great. The oil-lamps smelt terribly, and the dinner cost £6,000. He went down to stay with the Prince of Wales (George IV.), and

Sir Joshua Reynolds painted his portrait. The prince played the violoncello not badly, and charmed Haydn by his affability. "He is the handsomest man on God's earth. He has an extraordinary love for music, and a great deal of feeling; but very little money." From the palace he passed to the laboratory, and was introduced to Dr. Herschel, in whom he was delighted to find an old oboë player. The big telescope astonished him, so did the astronomer. "He often sits out of doors in the most intense cold for five or six hours at a time."

From these and other dissipations Haydn had constantly to hasten back to direct his concerts at the Hanover Square Rooms, and before he left England he produced at the Haymarket the first six symphonies of the twelve composed for Solemons. The public was enthusiastic; but so much orchestral music was both a novelty and a trial; indeed, it was rumoured that people had gone to sleep in the middle of some of the adagios. The well-known "Surprise Symphony" is said to be Haydn's answer to such culpable inattention. The slow movement, it will be remembered, begins in the most *piano* and unobtrusive manner, and by about the time the audience should be composed in sleep, a sudden explosive *fortissimo* brings every one to his senses. In amateur orchestras it is not unusual for some enthusiast to let off a pistol behind the stage to give tone to the big drum, but it has been generally thought unnecessary to paint the lily in this manner.

The evenings at the Haymarket were triumphs that it was not easy to rival. In the public prints we read:—

"It is truly wonderful what sublime and august thoughts this master weaves into his works. Passages often occur which it is impossible to listen to without becoming excited—we are carried away by admiration, and are forced to applaud with hand and mouth. The Frenchmen here cannot restrain their transports in soft adagios; they will clap their hands in loud applause, and thus mar the effect."

To stem this tide of popularity the Italian faction had recourse to Giardini; and to beat the German on his own ground, his own pupil, Pleyel, was got over to conduct rival concerts. At first Haydn writes, "He behaves himself with great modesty;" but, later, we read, "Pleyel's presumption is everywhere criticized;" yet he adds, "I go to all his concerts and applaud him, for I love him."

Very different were the social amenities which passed between Papa Haydn and the Italian Giardini. "I won't know the German hound!" cries the excited Italian. "I attended his concert at Ranelagh," says Haydn; "he played the fiddle like a hog!"

In a year and a half (July, 1792) Haydn was back at Vienna, conducting his new symphonies, which had not yet been heard in

Germany. In 1794 he returned to the large circle of his friends in England, and in the course of another year and a half produced the remaining six symphonies promised to Solomons. In May, 1795, Haydn took his benefit at the Haymarket. He directed the whole of his twelve symphonies, and pocketing 12,000 florins, returned to Germany, August 15, 1795.

The eighteenth century was closing in, dark with storms, and the wave of revolution had burst in all its fury over France, casting its bloody spray upon the surrounding nations. From his little cottage near Vienna, Haydn watched the course of events. Like many other princes of art, he was no politician, but his affection for his country lay deep, and his loyalty to the Emperor Francis was warm; the hymn, "God Save the Emperor," so exquisitely treated in the seventy-seventh quartet, remained his favourite melody; it seemed to have acquired a certain sacredness in his eyes in an age when kings were beheaded and their crowns tossed to a rabble. But his own world, the world of art, remained untouched by political convulsions. In 1795 he commenced, and in 1798 he finished the cantata or oratorio called the *Creation*. It very soon went the round of Germany, and passed to England; and it was the *Creation* that the First Consul was hastening to hear at the Opera on the memorable 24th of January, 1801, when he was stopped by an attempt at assassination.

In 1800 Haydn had finished another great work, "The Seasons," founded on Thomson's poem. In 1802 his two last quartets appeared. A third he was forced to leave unfinished; over it is written—

"Hie ist alle meine Kraft,
Alt und schwach bin Ich!"

He was now seventy years old, and seldom left his room. On summer days he would linger in the garden. Friends came to see him, and found him often in a profound melancholy. He tells us, however, that God frequently revived his courage; indeed, his whole life is marked by a touching and simple faith, which did not forsake him in his old age. He considered his art a religious thing, and constantly wrote at the beginning of his works, "In nomine Domini," or "Soli Deo gloria;" and at the end, "Laus Deo."

In 1809 Vienna was bombarded by the French. A round-shot fell into his garden. He seemed to be in no alarm, but on May 25 he requested to be led to his piano, and three times over he played the "Hymn to the Emperor," with an emotion that fairly overcame both himself and those who heard him. He was to play no more; and being helped back to his couch, he lay down in extreme exhaustion to wait for the end. Five days afterwards, May 26, 1809,

died Francis-Joseph Haydn, aged seventy-seven. He lies buried in the cemetery of Gumpfendorfe, Vienna.

The number of Haydn's compositions is nearly estimated at eight hundred, comprising cantatas, symphonies, oratorios, masses, concertos, trios, quartets, sonatas, minuets, &c.; twenty-two operas, of which eight are German, and fourteen Italian. But the great father of symphony is not to be judged by his operas any more than the great father of oratorio.

The world has often been tantalized by the spectacle of genius without industry, or industry without genius, but in Haydn genius and industry were happily married.

"Ego nec studium sine divite vena
Nec rude quid possit video ingenium."

In early years he worked sixteen, and sometimes eighteen, hours a day, and latterly never less than five; and the work was not desultory, but very direct. No man had a clearer notion of what he meant to do, and no man carried out his programme more rigidly. He was equal to Schubert in the rich flow of his musical ideas, but superior to him in arrangement and selection. He could be grave and playful; serious, and sometimes sublime, but seldom romantic. In him there is nothing artificial, nothing abnormal; his tenderness is all real, and his gaiety quite natural; nor is the balance of symmetry anywhere sacrificed to passion or to power. The abundance of his ideas never tempted him to neglect the fit elaboration of any. He applied himself without distraction to his thought until it became clear to himself. He would often compose, and then recompose on a given theme, until the perfect expression had been found. We remember, some years ago, one of the finest classical scholars at Cambridge who was in the habit of making miserable work of his Greek-construing during class-time. Few of his pupils could understand what he was about; to the inexperienced freshman it sounded like the bungling of a schoolboy. The sentence was rendered over and over again, and at the close probably not a word retained its original position. Whilst the novices scribbled and scratched out, the older hands waited calmly for the last perfect form. The process was fatiguing, but amply repaid the toil. Poets have been known to spend days over a line which may afterwards have been destined to sparkle for ever.

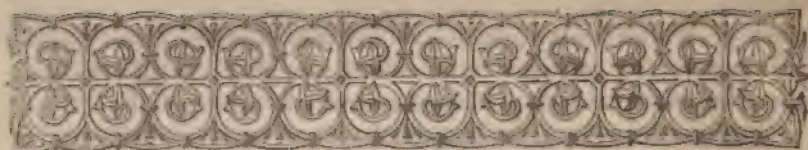
"On the stretched forefinger of time."

Like good construing or good poetry, good music demands the most unrelenting toil. No doubt the artist attains at length a certain direct and accurate power of expression. We know that many of Turner's pictures are dashed off without an after-touch. Whilst

Sterne's manuscripts are almost illegibly interlined and corrected, many of Walter Scott's novels are written off without an erasure ; but such facility combined with accuracy is, after all, only the work of a mind rendered both facile and accurate by long practice.

Haydn is valuable in the history of art, not only as a brilliant, but also as a complete artist. Perhaps, with the exception of Goethe and Wordsworth, there is no equally remarkable instance of a man who was so permitted to work out all that was in him. His life was a rounded whole. There was no broken light about it ; it orbled slowly with a mild, unclouded lustre into a perfect star. Time was gentle with him, and Death was kind, for both waited upon his genius until all was won. Mozart was taken away at an age when new and dazzling effects had not ceased to flash through his brain : at the very moment when his harmonies began to have a prophetic ring of the nineteenth century, it was decreed that he should not see its dawn. Beethoven himself had but just entered upon an unknown sea whose margin seemed to fade for ever and for ever as he moved ; but good old Haydn had come into port over a calm sea, and after a prosperous voyage. The laurel wreath was this time woven about silver locks : the gathered-in harvest was ripe and golden.

H. R. HAWES.



THE POOR OF PARIS.

AS the stranger in Paris wanders along the gay and brilliant streets which he is most likely to frequent, he sees but few traces of poverty and of suffering. Begging has long been studiously discouraged as a profession there, being now but timidly represented by a few blind borderers on mendicancy, and misery feels itself so much out of place amid the prosperous bustle and the careless enjoyment of the fashionable boulevards, that it dwells apart, and they ignore it. If any one wishes to make its acquaintance, he must seek it in its various haunts, many of them but little known to the Parisians themselves, none of them possessing much attraction for the ordinary tourists. Several of these haunts the writer of the present paper visited in the depth of last winter, trying to form a correct opinion as to the actual condition of those poor of whom various persons gave such widely differing accounts. And from the notes he then took, he now proposes to endeavour to convey to others some idea of the scenes which he witnessed.

As convenient a street as any in Paris for one who is in search of squalor and discomfort is the Rue Mouffetard. We may as well invite those readers who are inclined to follow us, to join in our researches there by way of a commencement. Suppose we turn off from that steep and noisy thoroughfare, and enter this dingy alley, which seldom rejoices in more than a few minutes of sunshine, so

close together are the walls which bound it. Ascending the dark and creaking staircase of one of the houses, we mount from story to story till we reach the attics. The door of the room we have come to see is closed, and secured by a huge padlock, but an officious neighbour insists upon forcing it open and showing the apartment. The room is at least as bad as the worst of the London lodgings. Its ceiling is the sloping roof of the house, and the heat in summer must be almost intolerable, as any one can tell who has ever had the misfortune to live in July "under the tiles;" but just now, when the snow lies thick upon the ground, and the Seine is half covered with floating ice, the cold is intense. And there is no sign in the room of any means of heating it. There is no stove, not even a brazier. Nor is there a bed. Only in one corner there is a large heap of the chickweed, or whatever other green stuff for birds it is that the occupant sells in the streets. On this he sleeps, and in it he probably stores away his property, for there is no sign of anything like a cupboard in the room. All is bare, and hard, and cold. It is a mere den, fitter by far for a wild beast than for a human being. And yet we are told by our guide that its inhabitant is so well-behaved and respectable that it is a pity he is not at home to do the honours of his dwelling himself.

Suppose we make acquaintance next with an old couple who support themselves, not without difficulty, by collecting the refuse of the streets. It is not every day that one has an opportunity of seeing a *chiffonnier* at home. Theirs also is a wretched room, but not of quite so desolate an appearance as that of the green-stuff seller. One corner is taken up by a mountain of rags, which are being sorted by a miserable-looking old man, who seems thoroughly in keeping with them. Another is occupied by a heap of pieces of paper of all colours and sizes. In the middle sits a very old woman, haggard in appearance and tattered in dress, up to her knees in a mound consisting for the most part of bones. These she is setting aside in a noisome heap by themselves, and making at the same time little branch collections of broken bottles, fragments of metal, and other relics of housekeeping. A few sticks are feebly burning in a small brazier, a little tongue of flame, licking their white ashes from time to time, affording all the heat of which the old people can avail themselves for warming and cooking purposes. It does not seem to be an attractive life that they lead; but they are tolerably cheerful, only complaining of the rheumatism which makes stooping a pain to them. The greater part of the night they are wandering about the streets, exposed to all the hardships bad weather brings in its train; and the greater part of the day they have to spend in sorting what their nocturnal industry has been able to collect. And it requires a considerable amount of time to be spent in collecting and sorting

before bones or rags enough have been brought into a condition to command a franc.

These old people, and the man whose room was visited first, belong to the poorest of the poor. They are on the lowest rungs of the social ladder. Let us mount a few steps higher; we shall find no lack of suffering there also. Here, for instance, is the home of a workman who bears a good character as an honest and industrious man. He has creditably supported a family for some years, but latterly he has found himself scarcely able to gain anything. He is evidently far gone in decline. His cheeks are fallen in; his arm is like a mere stick. He is past all working now, and there is no chance of his ever recovering. No hospital will take him in, and there is nothing for him but to lie here as long as he can manage to pay his rent, and so await the approach of death. His appearance is greatly in his favour, and he expresses himself remarkably well, complaining very little, and seeming very thankful for any small kindness. On asking what relief he obtains, we find that he is on the roll of persons receiving five francs a month from the "public assistance," and he also gets a small amount of bread and fuel from the charitable fund of the district; but even with this help, it is as much as he and his wife and children can do to exist. The soup-kitchen of the neighbourhood, however, is a great blessing to them, for they can there obtain for a few sous what is really a good meal for the entire family.

Here, again, is another household which has seen better days. That poor woman must have been very good-looking, for even now there linger traces of beauty in her face; but she has evidently passed through great suffering, and there is a look of profound sorrow in her eyes. Her husband, she tells us, is now in an hospital, a confirmed invalid, and she has recently lost one of her children. There are five still left, pale and sickly little creatures, who do not look as if they often had a satisfying meal. Indeed, their mother says she does not know what she could have done had not that good friend helped her. So saying, she points to an old seller of vegetables, with a singularly unprepossessing countenance, who shares the room with her. That compassionate individual, who has no teeth, and whose head is tied up tight in a red pocket-handkerchief with white spots, let her and her children have stale vegetables enough from time to time to keep them alive. Without that help they must have been starved to death.

Not far from her abode—to visit which, by the way, we have wandered some distance from the point at which we commenced, for we are now in the Faubourg St. Antoine—is the dwelling of a most interesting family. Madame B—— came some years ago

from Brussels, of which city her husband also was a native. He had a good position in the commercial world, and he gained enough to support, in tolerable comfort, his wife and eight children—a family which would be thought large anywhere, but in France enormous. But suddenly an attack of cholera struck him down. He died, and left but a very small income to his widow and to his children, who are very nice-looking, and remarkably intelligent and well-mannered. The eldest boy, not long ago, met with a bad accident, a stick having been poked into his eye, and for a long time it was feared he would be blind; but he has lately undergone an operation, and it is hoped that his sight will be preserved. The room occupied by this family is bright and neat, and the children are evidently well looked after; but the mother's face wears the anxious look of one who has passed through much suffering, and has not a by any means bright prospect before her.

Everywhere we hear the same story about the terrible dearth of lodgings. The prices are about the same in Paris as in London—two francs a week being about the lowest charge, and the average being from three to four francs; but here it is necessary to pay a week's rent in advance. Here also, as with us, a family with many children in it finds a great difficulty in obtaining accommodation. Some of the newer streets are so narrow that the sky overhead seems like a mere riband, and the sunlight can never shine in upon the lower rooms, and of the old houses many are of the wretchedest possible nature. Narrow alleys lead into miserable courtyards, with a huge dunghill in the middle, not the slightest idea seeming to prevail there with respect to drainage or other sanitary measures. Wretched tumble-down houses surround what in summer must be a hot-bed of disease. In many of the rooms there is no window at all except four panes of dingy glass above the door. Even at mid-day the farther end of these dens is so dark that it is scarcely possible to make out whether there is any one in the bed which looms indistinctly in the distance. The atmosphere in these horrible dwellings is almost suffocating, and even in winter there hangs about them an offensive smell which in summer must become a noisome stench. A certain air of picturesqueness is not wanting to these strange haunts of squalor—the habit common to all their occupants of hanging out to dry their raiments of divers colours rendering their walls attractive to the eye.

Some of these dwellers in out-of-the-way places, seem to be hard-working and orderly people. One room, for instance, is occupied by a staid old Strasburger, a thorough German in appearance and in speech, who is evidently a man to be trusted and respected. He is a marble-polisher, and with the help of his wife he can earn about three francs a day.

In another room is a woman who makes the little cardboard boxes used for holding copper caps, insecticide powder, and the like. She gets fifteen sous for a gross, and she and her children between them can turn out a gross in a day. Many of the inhabitants of the most wretched rooms are Italians, some of whom cannot speak a word of French; and very pretty, in many instances, are their dark-eyed little children, numbers of whom are always clambering about the staircases. There are numerous Italian families also in that quarter of Paris to which we are now about to refer as being perhaps the most miserable of all. About Batignolles and La Villette are the headquarters of the street-sweepers of the city. They are almost all Germans, mostly Hessians, and the majority of them can scarcely express themselves in French. One woman said she had been seven years in Paris, yet she could not concoct a single French phrase without undergoing what appeared to be severe internal agony.

They form a little community among themselves, and it is in their own tongue that they chatter to each other about their friends and acquaintances, or exchange hopes of eventually going back to their native land. With that object in view they slave all day and often a great part of the night, they live in the most miserable of dens, and they feed on what is little better than garbage. Some of their rooms are worse than anything we have ever seen in London "rookeries," and that is saying a great deal. There are in the neighbourhood of the large factories of Batignolles a number of rickety wooden buildings, surrounded by shaky balconies. The boards of which they are formed have been rotted by the wet and warped by the sun, so that every here and there they stand apart from each other in an unseemly gap; the paint long ago bestowed upon them has blistered and fallen off in unsightly patches; the windows not only refuse to shut properly, which is perhaps a benefit, but yield free ingress to the rain, and rattle incessantly in the wind. In these poverty-stricken barracks reside a vast number of the poorest German families. As you thread the long tumble-down galleries, you catch glimpses through half-open doors of dusky interiors, with wild-looking figures flitting through shade and smoke. Unwashed and unkempt, they have a heathenish air; but there is little that is criminal about them. Their pastor, the minister of the little Lutheran church at Batignolles, though he cannot speak of these members of his flock in very high terms of approval, testifies, at all events, that they do not often actually break the laws. His greatest difficulty is to induce them to send their children to school, for a child's labour is worth money to them. There is generally plenty of work to be had in the streets, where a man can earn fifty sous a day, a woman five-and-twenty, and a child fifteen or twenty. Out of this, however, about six sous a

week have to be paid for brooms, a broom being used up every two days. The rent of the wretched dens we have tried to describe is from a hundred to hundred-and-fifty francs a year, and of the necessity for so ruinous an expenditure these poor creatures complain bitterly. They are very liable to illness, and when they are unable to work their condition is indeed pitiable. As foreigners they cannot claim relief from the public funds, and as Protestants they are not likely to know to what charity to appeal for relief. There are plenty of rich Germans in Paris, it is true; but if they deserve a character for generosity, they have been singularly misrepresented. So these poor Teutons have to struggle on as they best can, and often die from sheer want. But it is not in death that their lot seems so terrible as in life. There is something very painful in the sight of the utter degradation in which they live, herding together like brute beasts, and lodged in holes in which a kindly master would object to keep a dog. And the rents of these miserable dens keep rising and rising, and ever as another block of old buildings goes down to make way for a splendid street or a palatial edifice, the mass of anxious seekers after lodgings increases, and with it waxes the never-ceasing murmur of their complaining. In the case of the Germans and Italians there is this to be said, that they might, perhaps, live more comfortably if they chose; but they do not choose to do so, being in haste to save money enough to enable them to return home. But with the French poor it is different, and it is impossible to avoid sympathizing with them; for they are, as a general rule, thrifty, prudent, and sober. Their poverty does not often arise from their own fault, as is the case with so many of our own poor; and they seem much more intelligent than persons of a similar class are in England, and they are very decidedly superior to them in manners. Some of them express themselves remarkably well, telling their little stories in a way which cannot fail to touch the hearts of those who hear them. We may mention as instances of this two women, one about fifty years old, the other about twenty-five. The former lives in a kind of small loft over a stable at the end of a yard nearly opposite the Abattoir on the boulevard Grenelle. The room in which she lives with her two children, a boy and a girl, is very neat and tidy. She can make from fifteen to twenty sous a day by sewing, and her son can earn about fifteen francs a week, in a printing-office, when he is in work. Just now, unfortunately, he is out of work, owing to the weakness of his sight. Her daughter, a girl of fourteen, is apprenticed to an embroiderer. When she has served her time, she will be able to make about twelve francs a week. The rent of the room is one hundred and thirty francs a year, and firing costs about a franc a week. Her experience, like that of others, is that both board and lodging are now twice as

expensive as they were ten years ago. The other case we have mentioned is that of a young woman with a remarkably pleasant, almost a handsome face, who is now one of the crippled inmates of the Salpêtrière, and who tells the story of her life with a simple grace which makes it very touching. She used to wheel about a little cart in the streets, being a seller of fruits and vegetables. Some accident crippled her, and she was obliged to ask for admission into a hospice. There she will probably end her days, for she has no friends who can take charge of her. It is true, that she has a brother who at first used to come regularly to see her; but he has married since then, and has others to think of, so the intervals between his visits grew longer and longer, and now he never comes at all. She can work a little, and so can earn about two sous a day, and she is able to do little kindnesses to the infirm old people in whose companionship her life is spent. It seems a sad fate for a young woman whose character is evidently far above the average, and whose appearance and voice have something very attractive about them.

Before taking leave of the poor of Paris, there is one class among them to which we would gladly call special attention. Twice a week, about two o'clock in the afternoon, an interesting little stream of pilgrims flows towards a very unpretending house in the Rue du Faubourg St. Honoré. They come from different parts of Paris, and they represent various grades of society; but they all claim the same nationality, and they all have the same object in view. They are all compatriots of ours, and they have come to seek relief from the British Charitable Fund, the committee of which holds its bi-weekly sittings in this house. There are many sights in Paris less interesting than those it can afford. Suppose we enter there, and assist at a committee meeting. Passing through a little ante-chamber, we find ourselves in a small parlour occupied by half-a-dozen gentlemen, whose faces are well known to most of the English residents in Paris. Above the table at which they sit hangs a cord, which communicates with a bell in the waiting-room beyond; on the walls are lists of the fifty-one pensioners of the charity and the four-and-twenty children it has at school; and in a corner of the room is a second table occupied by the secretary. The president rings the bell, and the first on the list of applicants steps in from the waiting-room. It always takes, at least, one hour, sometimes it takes more than two, to listen to the stories of the candidates for relief, and to decide upon their claims; for each new case is closely examined into, and all its particulars are entered in the books of the society. Here are a few of these cases. The applicants who occupy the waiting-room to-day are a fair sample of the great body of English who find their life in Paris a by no means easy or luxurious form of existence.

The first person to appear before the board is the wife of a working painter. She is English; but her husband, whom she married some years ago in London, is a Frenchman. He generally makes enough to support his family and maintain in comfort the home they have at Passy; but some time ago he fell ill with painters' colic, and had to go into a hospital; since his illness, which lasted two months, he has been out of work, and his household has accordingly fallen into great distress. Next come two old women, one of whom, a native of Leicestershire, has lived in Paris for sixteen years. She has never been married, and she is now leading a quite solitary life; but when she is asked if she would not like to go back to England, she says decidedly not, for if she were to return to her native place she would be utterly friendless, not a person would recognise her, so she prefers to drag on her life as she best can in Paris. The other old woman has lived for ten years at Batignolles, but has lately been turned out of her lodgings, where she was ten francs in debt; and now she wants four francs to make up the sum demanded on her taking possession of the new apartments she has managed to find. She has lived by dressmaking, getting three francs for a dress, out of which she has to pay about five sous for thread and other necessities. Next comes an Irishwoman, who assures the committee that she has lost two lungs, and who first objects to a ticket for firing, saying she can't eat coals, and then complains, with bitter anguish, when bread has been given to her, that she has nothing to keep her from being frozen to death this hard weather. She is followed by a decent looking stableman, who finds that he cannot get on in Paris. There is no work to be had, except a chance job now and then—as, for instance, the washing of a carriage, by which he yesterday earned a couple of francs. So he would be glad to be sent back to England. A similar request is urged by an interpreter, who finds that since the Exhibition closed there is no longer any demand for linguistic services; and by a shoemaker who has been working for some time in Paris, but can scarcely gain enough to defray his necessary expenses. He can speak very little French, but it seems he can read it with ease, and it appears that he has a similar knowledge of German. In the house in which he and a friend lived in London there were several foreign lodgers, and from them he learned enough French and German to be able to read those languages. So he thought he would perfect his knowledge by foreign travel, and come over to Paris to carry on his trade. But the experiment has proved a failure, and he is anxious to get back to London, where he means to continue his linguistic studies. In each of these cases a free passage home is granted, an arrangement having been made by the committee with the railways, by which all such travellers are conveyed to London at

expensive as they were ten years ago. The other case we have mentioned is that of a young woman with a remarkably pleasant, almost a handsome face, who is now one of the crippled inmates of the Salpêtrière, and who tells the story of her life with a simple grace which makes it very touching. She used to wheel about a little cart in the streets, being a seller of fruits and vegetables. Some accident crippled her, and she was obliged to ask for admission into a hospice. There she will probably end her days, for she has no friends who can take charge of her. It is true, that she has a brother who at first used to come regularly to see her; but he has married since then, and has others to think of, so the intervals between his visits grew longer and longer, and now he never comes at all. She can work a little, and so can earn about two sous a day, and she is able to do little kindnesses to the infirm old people in whose companionship her life is spent. It seems a sad fate for a young woman whose character is evidently far above the average, and whose appearance and voice have something very attractive about them.

Before taking leave of the poor of Paris, there is one class among them to which we would gladly call special attention. Twice a week, about two o'clock in the afternoon, an interesting little stream of pilgrims flows towards a very unpretending house in the Rue du Faubourg St. Honoré. They come from different parts of Paris, and they represent various grades of society; but they all claim the same nationality, and they all have the same object in view. They are all compatriots of ours, and they have come to seek relief from the British Charitable Fund, the committee of which holds its bi-weekly sittings in this house. There are many sights in Paris less interesting than those it can afford. Suppose we enter there, and assist at a committee meeting. Passing through a little ante-chamber, we find ourselves in a small parlour occupied by half-a-dozen gentlemen, whose faces are well known to most of the English residents in Paris. Above the table at which they sit hangs a cord, which communicates with a bell in the waiting-room beyond; on the walls are lists of the fifty-one pensioners of the charity and the four-and-twenty children it has at school; and in a corner of the room is a second table occupied by the secretary. The president rings the bell, and the first on the list of applicants steps in from the waiting-room. It always takes, at least, one hour, sometimes it takes more than two, to listen to the stories of the candidates for relief, and to decide upon their claims; for each new case is closely examined into, and all its particulars are entered in the books of the society. Here are a few of these cases. The applicants who occupy the waiting-room to-day are a fair sample of the great body of English who find their life in Paris a by no means easy or luxurious form of existence.

The first person to appear before the board is the wife of a working painter. She is English; but her husband, whom she married some years ago in London, is a Frenchman. He generally makes enough to support his family and maintain in comfort the home they have at Passy; but some time ago he fell ill with painters' colic, and had to go into a hospital; since his illness, which lasted two months, he has been out of work, and his household has accordingly fallen into great distress. Next come two old women, one of whom, a native of Leicestershire, has lived in Paris for sixteen years. She has never been married, and she is now leading a quite solitary life; but when she is asked if she would not like to go back to England, she says decidedly not, for if she were to return to her native place she would be utterly friendless, not a person would recognise her, so she prefers to drag on her life as she best can in Paris. The other old woman has lived for ten years at Batignolles, but has lately been turned out of her lodgings, where she was ten francs in debt; and now she wants four francs to make up the sum demanded on her taking possession of the new apartments she has managed to find. She has lived by dressmaking, getting three francs for a dress, out of which she has to pay about five sous for thread and other necessities. Next comes an Irishwoman, who assures the committee that she has lost two lungs, and who first objects to a ticket for firing, saying she can't eat coals, and then complains, with bitter anguish, when bread has been given to her, that she has nothing to keep her from being frozen to death this hard weather. She is followed by a decent looking stableman, who finds that he cannot get on in Paris. There is no work to be had, except a chance job now and then—as, for instance, the washing of a carriage, by which he yesterday earned a couple of francs. So he would be glad to be sent back to England. A similar request is urged by an interpreter, who finds that since the Exhibition closed there is no longer any demand for linguistic services; and by a shoemaker who has been working for some time in Paris, but can scarcely gain enough to defray his necessary expenses. He can speak very little French, but it seems he can read it with ease, and it appears that he has a similar knowledge of German. In the house in which he and a friend lived in London there were several foreign lodgers, and from them he learned enough French and German to be able to read those languages. So he thought he would perfect his knowledge by foreign travel, and come over to Paris to carry on his trade. But the experiment has proved a failure, and he is anxious to get back to London, where he means to continue his linguistic studies. In each of these cases a free passage home is granted, an arrangement having been made by the committee with the railways, by which all such travellers are conveyed to London at

such cases as this the committee sometimes make a grant of twenty francs a month.

The greater part of the applicants for relief are such as we have seen to-day—coachmen and grooms who come over to Paris, and soon learn that it is not easier to get a living here than in London; sailors who have spent their money, and find themselves suddenly stopped on their way to a sea-port; mechanics from the gas factories and ironworks, who break down in health or get tired of French wine and German beer; dressmakers, servant-maids, and shop-girls, most of whom have come here with some vague idea of bettering themselves, but have not met with much encouragement. But there is another class of applicants which is deserving of special interest. Every year there come to Paris a number of ladies who hope to obtain employment as governesses, or perhaps to attain fame as artists. Some of them succeed, but too many find their hopes frustrated. They do all they can to get pupils, they give lessons at the most modest of prices, they paint away diligently at the Louvre, they call every day at the shop where they have left their picture or their specimen of modelling, to see if any one has bought it, or at least admired it; but as a general rule their industry meets with but a small reward. Day after day passes by fruitlessly, and in spite of economies, which often entail actual suffering, the little store of money diminishes till scarcely anything is left. At last there comes a time when the position becomes absolutely untenable, and then the Fund is able to render an invaluable service to an applicant who might not know where else to turn for assistance. Every now and then a little group of travellers may be seen collected at the stations of the Northern Railway, waiting for the train in which they are to start for England. They are the parting guests whom the British Charitable Fund is speeding on their way. When the train starts, and they are gliding out of Paris, some of them, perhaps, are thinking of the very different auspices under which they first entered the city, when their hearts bounded within them, full of hope and expectation of what the coming years would yield, and little dreaming of the long days of disappointment which lay before them, the slow hours passed in forced inactivity, the weariness of mind and body which the sense of failure produces, the sickness of heart which arises from hope long deferred. But in their case, along with the consciousness of failure, some hope of future success at home may be realised. Drearier by far than theirs is the lot of some of their order, who have no other home to go to, who have done well in earlier years in this their adopted place of residence, but who have grown too old or too infirm to work. Many a lady who has done good service in her day, who has worked

courageously as long as her health and strength lasted, breaks down at last, or at least finds great difficulty in obtaining a sufficient number of pupils to defray her modest expenses, and under these circumstances she would scarcely know where to turn for relief were it not for the British Charitable Fund.

During the year 1867 the number of persons sent home to England at the expense of the Fund was 204, the total number of cases relieved being 2,699. Its receipts during that year amounted to about fifteen hundred pounds, at least two-thirds of which were the proceeds of the ball annually given on its behalf, while less than one-fifteenth was contributed by the listeners to the charity sermons in which its cause was pleaded in the various churches and chapels frequented by the English in Paris. Surely this striking disproportion would be rectified if the objects and the results of the Fund were better known to the thousands of our countrymen who every year carry to Paris full purses and warm hearts. No one who spends an hour in its committee-room can fail to sympathise with its endeavours, or to be greatly pleased with what he sees of the practical good sense with which its operations are carried on, of the cordial goodwill with which the clergy of all denominations join together in the work, and of the liberality with which some of the busiest medical men in Paris gratuitously bestow upon it their time and their skill. Season after season there return from Paris troops of visitors who have thoroughly enjoyed their stay there, and whose memories are stored with pleasant recollections of its bright, gay life, so cheerful and animated, and seemingly free from care. It may be that they will appreciate these reminiscences all the more if they are able to feel that they have contributed, even though it be in a very small measure, to cheer the sad hearts and to strengthen the failing limbs of those who know nothing of the sunny side of Paris life, but who are only too well acquainted with that which is cold and dark and dreary.

W. R. S. RALSTON.



THE PRESENT STATE OF METAPHYSICS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

THE present state of metaphysical research among us is little different from that in which it was left some eight or ten years ago by Hamilton and Ferrier, of whom the first had then given us the *Relativity of Human Knowledge* in his edition of Reid and in his "Discussions," while the latter had then given us the *Inseparability of Being and Thinking* in his "Institutes." All that has since taken place among us is the gradual recognition that these two doctrines are identical with one another, and are both of them identical with the Material Phenomenalism of Berkeley.

In order to understand the state of metaphysical research in a nation, it is necessary to bear in mind that the cardinal questions in Metaphysics are three. They relate to Man; to the Material Universe; and to the Cause of both. We ask, What are these? and, What is their relation to one another? To these three, all other metaphysical questions are subordinate.

Some writers, indeed, have undertaken to show that the three objects now indicated can be analyzed into one another,—that is, can be shown to be all three only one object; and this one, which is thus, in all cases, the same and of the same nature, each of these writers calls by the one of the three names which seems to him, for some reason or other, the most appropriate. We have those, accordingly,

who say that there really exists nothing but the Cause of all things, identifying the effect with its cause, as both constituting one object. We have others who say that only Man exists, and that everything bursts into being from his nature. Others, again, say that there is nothing but the Material Universe in existence—that Man is part of it, and that the Cause both of it and of Man is part of it. Without, however, determining here anything respecting the alleged identity of all these three objects, or respecting the propriety of applying any one of the three names to the alleged one object, it will be found a sufficient generalization of the problems in Metaphysics to say that there are three of these problems:—viz., (1.) What is the Origin of all things? (2.) What is Man? (3.) What is the Material Universe? and as an essential part of each question, In what respect do these three objects differ from one another?

It will also be proper to observe here that those who, in our islands, pretend to judge upon these subjects (and they are many more than those who write upon them) were, until very lately, of three classes:—(1.) The Materialists,* who used to hold, like Hobbes, that there is an occult matter over and above all that we see and feel in material things, which occult matter can perceive things. (2.) The Immaterialists,* who, like Locke, used to hold that there is this occult matter in material things, but that it cannot perceive things. (3.) The Phenomenalists, who, like Berkeley, held, as they still steadily hold, that there is no occult matter in material things—that the whole of matter is essentially a phenomenon, (*i.e.*, a thing of such a nature that, like pain, or colour, or sound, it can exist only *in relation* to a Percipient,) but is, nevertheless, as real as anything else we know of.

Now, most of the British writers who preceded the eighteenth century were either Materialists or Immaterialists. The latter were then, as they always subsequently continued to be, by far the larger of these two classes, and they always contended, stoutly but vaguely, with the Materialists. For, although the doctrine bequeathed to them by Locke leads logically to Materialism (since, if there were this occult matter, why should it not perceive phenomena as well as produce them?), they nevertheless seemed always to be unconscious of this, asserting Immaterialism with much energy and confidence, but without attempting any proof of it, as what seemed to them to be sufficiently established by other unexplained evidence, much stronger than this seeming adverse logic.

* The words "Materialist" and "Immaterialist" are not used in English to distinguish him who believes in occult matter from him who does not; but to distinguish him who supposes that it is able to perceive things, from him who holds that it is not able to do so. Both the Materialist and the Immaterialist believe in the occult matter.

Berkeley, observing the rapid increase of materialistic views among us in this neglected state of our Metaphysics, and that these views were attended with all the degradation of thought and feeling that is usually supposed to attend them—observing also that these views resulted wholly from this strange hypothesis about the Material Substance not being that which we see and feel, but some unseen and unfelt thing which, concealed in each material object, causes that which we see and feel,—Berkeley, I say, observing all this misapprehension, and result of misapprehension, stepped boldly to the front of the battle, and challenged the Immaterialists, as well as the Materialists of that period, to show that there was any such thing at all in nature as this occult or unphenomenal matter which they asserted. His first work on this point was "The Principles of Human Knowledge," about eighty octavo pages. His second was of about the same length, "The Dialogues of Hylas and Philonous," a more popular exposition of precisely the same facts. In both these works he shows that this sort of matter is not only what no one could see or feel a trace of in the nature around us, but what no one could even imagine a nature for. His writings, especially that named "Siris," had also the effect of arousing attention to the discussions of the early Greek philosophers, in which discussions the germs, ay, and more than the germs, of all our most advanced modern metaphysical theories may be found.

In those days of Berkeley, Metaphysics for the first time took deep root in these islands, and from that date the science has never ceased to occupy the attention of those among us, whether Phenomenalists, Materialists, or Immaterialists, who have possessed the leisure and enlightenment required by its problems. Persons so qualified have nevertheless never been, and are not now numerous enough to constitute a remunerative public for the production and sale of metaphysical works. It would be a misinterpretation of the facts then to imagine that the extremely small number of English metaphysical writers is any measure whatever of the deep attention given to such investigations, or of the progress made in them in this country. The foreigner may perhaps here remark that it is not from the paucity of our metaphysical writings that he infers our want of metaphysical thought—that he finds no paucity of these writings—that that from which he infers our want of metaphysical thought and prowess is the extremely superficial Metaphysics of most of those among us who write upon such subjects, and especially of those writers who are the most popular. This also is, it must be admitted, a *primâ facie* case against us. But let the foreigner take all the facts into account. We acknowledge at once that we have not a large public for the more deep and delicate problems in Metaphysics. This public among

us is, as I have just said, so very small, that it does not pay for a work upon such subjects. The individuals, therefore, who constitute this public do little else in this way than discuss among themselves, or, at most, exhibit their conclusions in an occasional review-article, which, however, is seldom admitted, because not more than one or two hundred in the whole country understand it. There is, nevertheless, a more extensive public of *dilettanti* in Metaphysics, who do not care enough about the problems to be either a student public or a paying public, but who are unwilling to be without some of the technical language, and some appearance of an acquaintance with the science. This public neither understand much, nor are they written for by those who do. The popular and superficial "Philosophers" then, who work for this public, are those who obtain for our islands this disrepute in metaphysical research. Conclusive evidence upon this point lies rather in the fact that it would be easy to count a hundred private libraries in this country in each of which we meet with some or all of the works of Hegel, Schelling, Fichte, and Kant, and whose proprietors will be found to have mastered the German language for the express purpose, more or less, of reading these writers in the original. One or two hundred purchasers, nevertheless, as I have just remarked, do not constitute a remunerative public, however energetic a body they may supply for the discussion among themselves of advanced thought upon the nice distinctions of the metaphysical analysis.

Berkeley's doctrine is the very simple one that matter is a phenomenon, and the material universe a phenomenon—the brain, the eye, the ear, the human body, every animal body, a phenomenon. His discovery gives at once the relative nature of Man, and Matter, and the Cause of both; but, although accepted at once by all the deepest thinkers who could be prevailed upon to examine it, it was so completely rejected by the majority—by that vast class of superficial "Metaphysicians" who, as Berkeley says, refuse to think, while they insist upon having opinions—that Hume, one also of those who had rejected it, or affected to do so, found it an easy task to turn it into ridicule, and with it all metaphysical research whatever, just as some writers, of a very inferior stamp to that of Hume, are now-a-days attempting to do. In his writings, then, which are extremely suggestive, but nothing else (they do not even pretend to be anything else), Hume seeks, as the poet expresses it, to "vanquish Berkeley with a grin." He affects to accept his doctrine and to show that, *since* there is no occult matter—*since*, in material nature, there are phenomena only, there is probably, therefore, nothing that can perceive phenomena—that *since* phenomena cannot be a proof of an inanimate cause, wrapped up in the phenomena themselves, they

are not a proof either of a living cause of them placed elsewhere, nor even of a percipient of them anywhere. Berkeley is quite right, said Hume (with the sarcastic sneer to which he was provoked by Berkeley's numerous admirers in Edinburgh), Berkeley is quite right, and this being the case, there can be nothing existing but phenomena to serve every purpose,—i.e., for Spirit, for Matter, and for the Cause of both.

Hume's critics have, of course, for the most part regarded him as serious, as having really accepted Berkeley, as having even said what nearly convinced themselves, and what therefore might easily convince less thoughtful men. The first, and by far the ablest, of all these critics was Kant. I shall here only observe that Kant's efforts to place matters upon their right basis were not regarded as satisfactory or final even by his own countrymen, and that, after several other German metaphysicians had successively discussed and modified for half a century what Kant had accomplished, the two last and most distinguished of these critics, Schelling and Hegel, while believing themselves to have completely carried out Kant's intentions—to have refuted Hume and reconstructed philosophy—were actually, and apparently without being conscious of it, come round again to precisely Hume's original position, maintaining, nay, demonstrating, as Hegel considered, with mathematical precision, that the All of things is Thought—that there is nothing either existent or possible except phenomena—nothing except matter and things of the same nature as matter—to constitute either a Cause or a Percipient for anything.

Dr. Reid, who entered cordially into all Kant's alarm, was the first, and is to this day the most eminent of those who, in these islands, supposed that Hume was in earnest, or that Hume was really able to deduce the corollary that "there exists nothing but Phenomena" from Berkeley's doctrine that "there exists nothing but Percipients and Phenomena." Unlike Hume's final critics, Reid, like Kant, directed all his efforts to reinstating the occult matter of Locke—the *ding an sich*—which it had been Berkeley's whole aim to dislodge. Unlike Kant, however, Reid sought to make it appear that this occult matter was patent to common sense as well as to philosophy, and that it was contrary to common sense to deny it. This is what was called in Scotland the "Philosophy of Common Sense." It constituted all that Reid had to say against Berkeley. Not one of Berkeley's arguments, however, had either been refuted or denied.

But what, it will be asked, were the rest of those men in Britain doing all this time, who exist, in all enlightened countries, with a sort of special mission for metaphysical research? If they did not

acquiesce in Reid's superficial criticism, why were they silent? Why did they not select some other champion against Hume? Does not this inaction show that they acquiesced in Reid's occult matter, and rejected Berkeley? I answer, It does not. Not a single one, as I have just said, of Berkeley's arguments against occult matter had ever been even disputed, and Hume's inference (that as there was no occult matter in nature to produce the phenomena, there could therefore be nothing even out of nature able to perceive anything), was not only not in itself by any means so very plausible as to require a reply, but was plainly contrary to common sense and common fact. Besides, the discussion of the very point at issue was going on with the utmost vigour before the metaphysical public of Germany, from Kant to Hegel inclusive, and the whole attention of the British metaphysicians was from the first engrossed in that discussion. They expected from it whatever solution of Hume's dexterous enigma might be required to remove the prejudice which this enigma had created upon the Continent against the phenomenal nature of the Material Substance. This is the true account of Britain's silence during all this period. She was listening. It is not, perhaps, it may be thought, a very creditable line of conduct. Nevertheless, it is the one which she adopted, and, with her own small metaphysical public as well as her more extensive continental requirement, it was the only one open to her. Besides, what else better could Britain do than listen? Or what other account of her silence can be assigned?

To infer that she has no metaphysical instincts, and had then no metaphysical thought, merely because she has no metaphysical press, as Germany has, would be a complete misapprehension of the facts. For see how she was placed during the period in question. The greatest of her metaphysicians—one of the acutest and greatest in any age or country—had propounded a doctrine so enormous in itself and in its results, that it seemed utterly incredible (as incredible at least as an Atlantic Telegraph, for instance, would have appeared if proposed in those days), and was therefore easily disparaged among all except the closest students and the acutest thinkers. That doctrine is that we are dreaming the material universe with all its sternest realities; that matter is a phenomenon and a real thing, just as pain is; that there exists, therefore, nothing but Phenomena and Percipients; and that there is nothing, therefore, in existence except Percipients that can cause anything, since a phenomenon clearly cannot. It was easy for Hume, especially in countries in which Berkeley was not read in the original, and among all the less reflective of his own countrymen, to disparage such a doctrine by a misrepresentation of its consequences. He succeeded even with Kant;

and that to such an extent that Kant, while he sought to refute Hume, had no greater anxiety than that he should not be thought to be an adherent of Berkeley's. Hume merely said: If you find with Berkeley, as you certainly must, that there are only Phenomena and Percipients and the Causation that is not physical, you will also most certainly find that there are Phenomena only; no Percipients of Phenomena possible, and therefore no Causation at all; nothing but the rope of sand—the mere sequence of Phenomena. While Kant in Germany refuted this—with what success we have just seen—Dr. Reid, in a popular way, endeavoured to do the same in Scotland, but without any greater success than Kant. Hume had thrown sufficient confusion over Berkeley's doctrine to conceal it from all except the most careful, and it was impossible, as Hume well knew, for any one else but the thus thoroughly concealed Berkeley himself to refute him. Is it then any wonder that English metaphysicians, without a metaphysical public, should have done nothing whatever but listen and look on, during the German controversy, from Kant to Hegel? For it is admitted that they did nothing else. It is admitted at once, as has been already observed, that Dr. Reid (*a fortiori* Dugald Stewart, Dr. Thomas Brown, *et hoc genus omne*) amounted to nothing whatever in this controversy against Hume.

When, however, soon after Hegel's death, it became known in Britain that all that this distinguished man and the other eminent German metaphysicians had been able to effect in their discussions, was a mere return to Hume's proposition (*viz.*, that Thought is the All of things—that there is nothing at all conceivable existing in nature or above nature except Phenomena); and when also it became known in Britain that Hegel's school had, accordingly, discovered it to be quite as consistent with Hegel's conclusions to be Materialists, and of course Atheists, as to be Berkeleians and Theists, if not far more so, we then at length find the metaphysical spirit of our islands turning discontented from the strife of thought which it had been so long silently but attentively witnessing, and we find it on all sides beginning to enter upon an independent action of its own to explain and to uphold its great philosopher against Hume and the critics of Hume.

It is needless to say that writings then also on behalf of the supposed panacea for all this bewilderment (*viz.*, Occult Matter), from both classes of its advocates, the Materialists who held that occult matter could think, and the Immaterialists who held that it could not, began to multiply considerably; but in no case was the slightest attempt made by these writers to go beneath the surface of the question, or to do more than deal, as they had always done, in those vague generalities which the foreigner so often regards as British

Metaphysics. The Materialists always professed themselves satisfied with whatever the Immaterialists could say in favour of the occult material universe; and the latter, on their part, had no argument to offer in favour of it, except the alternative that nothing was possible but either this occult material universe or Hume. There were then also, however, abundant indications that Phenomenalism still flourished in the deeper and calmer recesses of the British mind, as completely unaffected by the result of the German controversy as it had been by the scoffs and jeers of Hume. Nevertheless, we find no distinct works, expressly against or for the Occult Matter, published yet for some years on either side. Both Phenomenalists and the two classes of Occult-Matter Theorists introduced their respective conclusions only incidentally and indirectly, often merely by implication, in works upon other subjects or in reviews of popular books; and it is only in this way that we find even such men as Hamilton and Ferrier announcing the result of their investigations at this period—the former in the *Edinburgh Review* and the latter in *Blackwood's Magazine*.

About this period (that immediately succeeding Hegel's death) we have Sir James Mackintosh declaring, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, that Hume's attempt to make the phenomenal character of matter appear contrary to common sense was entirely groundless, and that the support afforded to this attempt of Hume's by the Materialists and Immaterialists was even evidence of a deficient metaphysical capacity on the part of all such writers. We have some corroboration of the truth of this remark of Mackintosh's in the fact that the Materialists not only acknowledge themselves to labour under this incapacity, but hold that even all men labour under it, and that in Metaphysics we have a branch of knowledge inaccessible to mankind. Accordingly, no work of any metaphysical merit (whatever may be its merit in other respects), not even a review-article in justification of their occult-matter theory, has ever appeared since Berkeley's time upon the side of the Materialists. The only distinct work, in fact, of theirs that has appeared at all is that entitled "Letters on Man's Nature and Development" by Miss Martineau and Mr. Atkinson in 1851. These "Letters," however, suppose the metaphysical question to be settled in favour of the Occult Matter believed, by all Anti-Berkeleyians, to be in some way wrapped up in the material phenomena; and thus assuming this Occult Matter without even trying to prove it, the "Letters" proceed dogmatically, entirely from that assumption, to show how the Occult Matter itself alone can, when once given, be conceived to cause and to perceive everything.

But although the Materialists produced no other, even unmetaphysical, work themselves upon their theory, yet two remarkable

unmetaphysical works that appeared about this time were laid claim to by them as written in their interests. One is that of M. Comte "On the Physical Sciences," and the other the anonymous work known as "Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation." Now, as to the first, M. Comte was no metaphysician. He said he was not. He said that metaphysicians should be allowed to settle their own questions; that the questions in Natural Philosophy related only to the unoccult Material Universe which we see and handle; that this consists wholly of Phenomena and their Laws, these being all in Physics with whose existence we are acquainted; and that the Physical Philosopher had nothing whatever to do either with what perceives or with what causes anything. It was to this effect and often that M. Comte frankly expressed himself, and this is what he calls "Positivism." Yet in Britain, on account of this exclusion of what perceives and causes from the Physical Sciences, he was applauded as a partisan by the Materialists, and was thereby brought into disrepute with the Immaterialists. The Materialists gave out that he not only discountenanced Berkeley's doctrine on the Nature of Matter (*viz.*, the doctrine that it consisted wholly of Phenomena and their Laws, and consisted neither of what caused such things nor of what perceived such things), but that he had also clearly established its inaccuracy; whereas either of these acts would have implied that very research in Metaphysics which M. Comte disowned. The truth is, that M. Comte did neither. He did not disallow Berkeley's doctrine respecting Occult Matter, nor did he establish or seek to establish anything whatever adverse to it. On the contrary, he started in the Physical Sciences with Berkeley's doctrine. He said that this doctrine about Matter's being nothing but Phenomena and their Laws was so far true that we have, in the Material Universe, nothing else; nothing to deal with, nothing that we know of, nothing else patent either to reason or to sense, nothing else that belongs to Physics, nothing else that is unmetaphysical. As to what causes things or what perceives them, M. Comte says nothing and professes to know nothing, merely saying that these are metaphysical questions which ought not to be mixed up with his physical ones. Thus, although he, as far as he went at all, declared himself a Berkeleian, the Materialists nevertheless endeavoured to force his name and his popularity into their service. Miss Martineau, for instance, one of their ablest writers, even attempted in 1853 to re-introduce into Physics all the metaphysical fictions about the ethers and vibrations of Occult Matter, under cover of M. Comte's writings, as we find in her summary of his "Positive Philosophy." All our unmetaphysical writers, however, do not act so. Mr. John Mill, for instance, is, he himself tells us, a Berkeleian and a Comtist at once;

and is candid enough to acknowledge that he finds almost everybody, or, as he expresses it, "the common world," to be Berkeleians.

A similar effort was made by the Materialists in the case of the second work above mentioned, "The Vestiges of Creation." The anonymous author of this curious work professed, like M. Comte, to treat only of Phenomena and their Laws, and to omit entirely all consideration of what perceives, and of what causes things. This work was nevertheless immediately claimed by the Materialist class of the Anti-Berkeleians, as the complete overthrow both of their special rivals the Immaterialists, and of the common foe of both, the Berkeleian party. The doctrine of the author, however, upon this point, was nothing else whatever than that of M. Comte, viz., that the Material Universe should be studied as a mere congeries of Phenomena and their Laws (as it was found to be), without any regard to what it is that may cause things or perceive things; and in subsequent editions he has succeeded in wresting his work entirely out of the hands of the Materialists. They will have no more to do with him.

At the same period also another disciple of M. Comte undertook to show from history not only that, as his master had said, all physical study should be divested of the metaphysical questions as to what perceives and causes, but that all such questions, as well as that respecting what *is* perceived and what *is* caused—*i.e.*, respecting the material phenomena themselves—are questions entirely inaccessible to human nature. I speak of Mr. Lewes in his so-called "History of Philosophy." After tracing all the phases of the three great metaphysical questions (viz., 1, as to what the Material Universe is; 2, as to what produces it; 3, as to what perceives it), from Thales to Hegel, he gives it as his opinion that neither himself nor any other human being possesses this capacity for Metaphysics of which Mackintosh speaks,—that it is not possible for us ever to know even whether the Material Universe *which we see and feel* is a phenomenon or not, and that all history clearly proves not only that Anti-Berkeleians are, as Mackintosh says of them, incapacitated for all such knowledge by the limitation of their faculties, but that, as Mr. Lewes himself thinks, even Berkeleians are so. In his work, however, this writer gives an account which is at once concise, correct, and clear, of the Berkeleian doctrine (that Matter is a Phenomenon), admitting that it had never been refuted; that if he could have believed the metaphysical problems to be within the reach of his understanding, he would have accepted Berkeley's solution of them, and frankly owning that it was not in his power to detect any other radical objection to this doctrine than that there were more people who disbelieved it than believed it; that it was the almost

irresistible belief of mankind not only that colours, for instance, and sounds, could exist without percipients, but also that there is an Occult Material Universe in existence, as well as the one which is not occult. Had most people's belief not been against it, he could, he says, have accepted it, and Philosophy would have been saved! So writes Mr. Lewes in his chapters upon Berkeley. But is it indeed true that there are more people who believe in Occult Matter than who do not? and is it indeed true that any one who understands the subject at all, believes that colours and sounds can exist without percipients? Mr. Lewes, however, is carried beyond all bounds by his enthusiasm on these two points. He often speaks of *every one* as believing both.

Nearly at the same time (1847-8) appeared the Exposition and Defence of Berkeley's Metaphysics under the title of "The Nature and Elements of the External World," by T. Collyns Simon; on which occasion, for the purpose of drawing attention to the validity of Berkeley's demonstration, a prize of £100, open to the whole world, was offered by the author, for the first refutation that should be sent in of Berkeley's proposition, by the conditions of which prize each candidate was himself allowed to select the umpires in his own case. As stated in the second edition of the work, not a single essay was sent in, although several writers began to employ themselves upon the required refutation; and from that time the whole question had manifestly entered upon a new phase of estimation. The heedless opposition almost entirely ceased; nor did any writer of the least note attack the doctrine in a formal manner for nearly twenty years afterwards, when we find Mr. Herbert Spencer, in the *Fortnightly Review* for July 15, 1865, intimating some objections, not very distinctly stated, to Mr. John Mill's denial of Occult Matter, and saying, respecting "this something," as he calls it, that for his own part "he is obliged to think it."

Before Mr. Spencer's time, however, and while the three great metaphysical problems were still rocked beneath the shock given to all such questions by the result of Schelling's and Hegel's efforts at the reconstruction of that philosophy which Hume was supposed to have overthrown, we find two Scottish metaphysicians of great mental power and immense industry, the two most distinguished that have written in Scotland since Hume's own time, Hamilton and Ferrier, proceeding next, and each in his own way, to this same great work of reconstruction. The result of their investigations is not only the reversal of Hume's proposition (that there is nothing which perceives anything or causes anything), but also the full recognition nevertheless of Berkeley's (that Matter is a Phenomenon).

Hamilton admits that the difference between him and Berkeley is radically *nil*; but apparently on account of the extent to which Berkeley's expressions were still in 1846 misinterpreted and unpopular, he employed himself in establishing the same doctrine (*viz.*, that Matter is a Phenomenon), under the new and more comprehensive name of the "Relativity of Human Knowledge;" in his remarks upon which subject Hamilton exhibits, with an earnestness, a clearness, and an ability of the highest order, the great fact that all that is immediately perceived (except, of course, the Percipient itself), exists in relation to the Percipient, *i.e.*, is a phenomenon; that not only the Material Universe is a phenomenon—is relative to the Ego—is what has the very condition of its existence in that relation, but also, in general, that all that we perceive directly—the immediate Non-Ego, whatever be its nature—exists by this relation to the Ego, *i.e.*, is a phenomenon; that all that we are conscious of exists only, and can only exist, relatively to that which is or can be conscious of it; that, in short, all that is perceived, whether mediately or immediately, can only be conceived as existing in relation to something that immediately perceives it, and that it is only when an Ego *infers* the existence of a Non-Ego (and this is constantly happening), that this Non-Ego can be spoken of as to that extent, and in that sense, existing absolutely or irrelatively, and that that Ego's knowledge of it can be spoken of as a knowledge of the irrelative. But even then—even though irrelative to that one Ego—it must nevertheless be able to become relative to it, or must be relative to some other Ego. It could not otherwise possibly exist at all. Such is Hamilton's "Relativity of Human Knowledge," as described both in his "Discussions," and in the Dissertations appended to his edition of Reid. One of our popular reviewers already adverted to, Mr. John Mill, speaks of it as "a doctrine of great weight and significance," "the subject of the most generally known and most impressive of all Sir W. Hamilton's writings, the one which first revealed to the English metaphysical reader that a new power had arisen in philosophy."

Ferrier boldly announced himself a Berkeleian from the first; but, although he remained so always, he produced his great work on the phenomenal nature of the Material Universe under the more comprehensive title, "The Theory of Knowing and Being," and in terms which would often lead us to suppose him unconscious that his doctrine was but an extension of Berkeley's from the sense-phenomena to all phenomena, and in itself substantially the same as Hamilton's respecting the "Relativity of Human Knowledge." Nor is this all. His noble work comes before us with this further remarkable peculiarity, that although he was a German scholar, and was in

possession of all Schelling's and Hegel's works, he nevertheless assures us that these writers were to him (as to most people) entirely unintelligible, and was manifestly quite unconscious that it was only in point of Method, and in the all-important matter of not allowing Thought to be analyzed into a Thinker, or Perception into a Perceptient, that his doctrine differs from theirs; for it is only so it differs from these, invested although we must admit that doctrine to be, as it now stands, with all the freshness, and vigour, and originality of his own fine intellect. The doctrine itself is, that as there can be no thought without some object of thought, so there can be no object of thought—no, not even the material universe itself—without this same thought or thinking. We have this fully developed in his "Institutes of Metaphysics" (1856) and in his posthumous work, "Lectures and Philosophical Remains" (1866), the "Lectures" of which work are on the Greek Philosophies, and perfectly original as well as very clear.

Since the death of Hamilton and Ferrier, the cardinal question in Metaphysics has had no other solution proposed for it in these islands than that given to it by Berkeley, and thus vindicated to it by these two great men. The question may, therefore, be considered as virtually and finally solved, although those who do not fully understand Berkeley's language will always seem to the uninitiated to keep some discussion of it alive among us.

Of the very few writers who devote themselves exclusively to the three great metaphysical problems, and to the solution of them in Britain, we may mention Professor Fraser, now occupying Hamilton's chair in Edinburgh, and a staunch as well as able upholder of the Berkeleyian Metaphysics. He is occupied at present in preparing a new edition of Berkeley's Works, with notes and dissertations, in four volumes. But for foreigners, who are too apt to think that we are not proud of our metaphysical position, the most significant circumstance connected with this edition is that it is being prepared at the expense of the University of Oxford (where Berkeley died), and is being printed by the University at the Clarendon Press, which facts invest the forthcoming volumes with that national character with which the splendid metaphysical doctrine that they are to exhibit is already itself invested.

On the other hand, I have mentioned Mr. Atkinson, Mr. Lewes, and Mr. Herbert Spencer as the only three living writers of any note among us who publicly insist upon the existence of Occult Matter in material things. Mr. Atkinson simply assumes it without assigning any grounds. Mr. Lewes infers it from the mere circumstance that most people, he thinks, believe it. Mr. Herbert Spencer says that whether it is believed or not, it is an irresistible belief, and that, for his part, "he is obliged to think it." It is of great import-

ance, for the foreigner as well as for ourselves, to bear in mind that we have no opposition to Berkeley nowadays in our islands more substantial than this.

The numberless misconceptions even among some of our ablest metaphysicians respecting the details of the demonstration by which Hegel sought to establish the truth of Schelling's doctrine (that Thought and Being are inseparable)—a doctrine which always includes Berkeley's—has led to a recent animated work by Mr. Stirling, called "*The Secret of Hegel*," being an explanation of Hegel for the British public. The author does not declare himself a Hegelian, but Hegel has never found a more enthusiastic admirer of his method and his talent. The great peculiarity of Hegel's doctrine, however, is here again brought forward, although apparently without Mr. Stirling's being aware of its existence, viz., that Hegel returns to Hume's proposition, asserting that all is Thought,—that Thought thinks, or at least is the only Thinker that exists,—that the Material Universe, combined with all the rest of Thought, is itself the Supreme Cause, and that there is no individual being, either human or superhuman, which the changes of this Thought do not dissolve. The value of such a work in Britain now is very great. Its effect is naturally to bring men back to a scrutiny of Hume's theory (that if Matter is a Phenomenon, there is nothing capable of perceiving things or causing things); for what was previously only vaguely asserted, or known only to the German scholars among us, respecting Hegel's theory (that Matter, Thought, and the Supreme Cause are all one and the same thing, and that there is nothing that can think but Thought) is now pretty manifest to everybody, even to those who can still make nothing of the Demonstration. We have in this way Hegel and Berkeley now face to face in England as we had formerly Hume and Berkeley.

The discussions to which Hamilton's and Ferrier's doctrines have given rise, combined with this recent German result, however unsatisfactory, of metaphysical investigations, have had some important effects in Britain. These discussions have not only given an immense impulse to the recognition among us of the Berkeleyian tenet (that Matter is a Phenomenon), but have also compelled the two classes of the Occult-Matter Theorists to re-investigate the grounds of their respective conclusions, and to adopt an entirely new system of terms for the expression of these conclusions. Beneath this new terminology also the Immaterialists (or Lockists) have already almost completely disappeared as a distinct class; while, under cover of the same new phrases, the Materialists (or Hobbists) have developed into Hegelians. The Materialists attain to this by recognising Berkeley's tenet, as Hegel did, and by, over and above this, analyzing, as they call it, the Agent into mere Action, and the

Thinker into mere Thought, as Hegel also did,—a self-contradictory adjunct which, of course, denies Spirit as completely as the original Materialism had denied it (asserting that Matter can think), and was for this express purpose devised also and adopted by Hume himself. Although the more metaphysical portion of this class are Hegelians, and know they are so, nevertheless a very large portion of it, occupied in physical studies, and conscious in themselves of the alleged incapacity of some people or of all people for Metaphysics, do not profess to inquire even whether there are Percipients or not, but confine their researches either generally to the physical Phenomena and their Laws, or specially to what they call Psychology, or the complete correspondence that subsists between the thought-phenomena and the physical phenomena of the human body, without inquiring whether anything discerns anything, or originates anything. These latter writers (the Psychologists) agree, however, with the rest of the Materialists and with the great bulk of thinking men nowadays in all departments, that whatever may be said of Percipients in nature, there assuredly is nothing in Matter but phenomena and their laws. And this is Berkeleianism, or Material Phenomenalism, notwithstanding the self-contradictory adjunct (of there being pain without a Percipient, or of pain being its own Percipient), which a few of these writers add, or affect to add, to this doctrine.

Thus we see that all our writers, with very few exceptions, recognise the great fact that the Material Universe is but a dream that we are all having in common—that it is a Phenomenon—that there is nothing that can be more real than a phenomenon is, and that there does not exist at all in nature the supposed Occult Matter, or Substance, or Substratum of which Locke writes. It is felt now by all the most advanced thinkers in this country that it is from this proposition, arrived at as it has been from the most opposite sides and assented to by the most opposite parties, that metaphysical research must henceforth proceed to any future conquests that it has to make—to the solution, for instance, of her present problems as to what perceives things, and as to what originates things—which two questions are already being discussed among us, the great majority of our metaphysicians holding that there cannot be phenomena without distinct Percipients, while a minority—a very small minority, it is true—are, on the contrary, Hegelians (many of them unconsciously so), and hold accordingly that there can be phenomena without any other Percipients except the phenomena themselves.

Among the ablest and most eminent of our writers upon other subjects who have expressed themselves more or less in favour of the Berkeleian tenet, apart from Hume's and Hegel's error respecting Causes and Percipients, may be mentioned such men as Hallam, the

historian, Dr. Whewell, Faraday, Whately, Dr. Mansel, who is the acutest writer upon Metaphysics that we have had in England since Berkeley's time, Dr. Thomson, Archbishop of York, Sir John Herschel, the Duke of Argyll, in his beautiful work on "The Reign of Law," Mr. Carlyle, Sir David Brewster, Lord Brougham, and Mr. Buckle.

Of those less known or less partial to metaphysical research, we may mention also as Phenomenalists (or Berkeleians), but with less certainty as to their anti-Hegelian characteristics, Mr. Bray, who has written on "Philosophical Necessity," Mr. Hodgson on "Time and Space," Mr. Bain on various Psychological questions, Mr. Mill on the use of Logic, and on some political questions, Mr. Darwin, Professor Huxley, Mr. Grote, and several other equally popular writers on Physics, Logic, Politics, Divinity, History, and the minor points in Metaphysics.

The Berkeleian doctrine (that Matter is a Phenomenon) being thus at length radically established among us, the whole present metaphysical interest in these islands is centred in the question propounded to us originally by Hume as a jest, but now again seriously by Schelling and Hegel, although by them as by Hume only dogmatically answered, viz., Can there be phenomena without Percipients, and thought without a Thinker—phenomena and thought, without any other Percipient or Thinker at least than the thought and the phenomena? Can the Percipient be so analyzed into the Perception that these two things shall be but one, and the same thing instead of two? Are we warranted in holding that there can be such phenomena as pain, sound, or colour without any other Percipient except this pain itself, or this sound itself, or this colour itself? and this, moreover, because these phenomena cannot subsist except combined with the action of a Percipient! Are we warranted in holding, in short, that thinking of any kind can go on without that personal thing which we call "Spirit?" This is really the present problem of British Metaphysics, and is already, as I have said, being solved in both ways. All the rest of Hume and Hegel is but what Berkeley had taught us, what Hamilton and Ferrier have explained, and what all deep-thinking men in these islands, whether metaphysicians or not, now accept.

T. COLLYNS SIMON.



THE MANUFACTURE OF SERMONS.

1. *Sacred Oratory*. A Collection of Sermons by Various Authors. With an Introduction by ARCHDEACON SINCLAIR. 1855.
2. *Some Account of the most celebrated Post-Medieval Preachers*. By S. B. GOULD, M.A. 1865.
3. *Preachers and Preaching*. By the Rev. H. CHRISTMAS, F.R.S. 1859.
4. *Sermons*. By the Rev. SYDNEY SMITH. 1801.
5. *Papers on Preaching*. By a WYKEHAMIST, 1861.
6. *How to Speak to the People*. 1860.

WHEN Father Thomas Conecte preached in the great towns and cities of Artois, the churches were so filled that he used to be hoisted in the middle of the congregation by a cord, in order to be heard: "On fut obligé," says Helyot, "de le suspendre au milieu de l'église avec une corde, afin qu'il peut être entendu de tout le monde."* Few of our modern English divines run the risk of any such painful popularity; and the witty canon's remark, that the word "*sermon*" had come to signify any writing of a long, dull, and uninviting kind,† is as true now as it was fifty years ago. There can be no doubt that English preaching, taken as a whole, is just now below the mark; though there is no need to exclaim with Swift, "When will our churches cease to be public dormitories?"‡ nor to agree with Mr. Gould's estimate when he omits "English divines from his examples of famous preachers because they are so hopelessly dull." Taking the English clergy to amount in round numbers to some twenty

* Southey's "Omniana," p. 15.

† Sydney Smith's "Life," p. 43. And Preface to Sermons.

‡ Miscellanies.

thousand, and making full allowance for the aged and infirm who are unfit for active duty, and for the large number engaged in the work of tuition, there must still remain some twelve or thirteen thousand who at least have to preach once or twice every Sunday. That is to say, each one of them has to produce from fifty to a hundred essays, in the course of each year, finished and profitable for public delivery. These essays treat of the grandest and greatest of all themes, which for the most part the young deacon, when he takes orders, has not long begun to study for himself. He is expected to treat any or all of them with clearness, learning, and fluency; while the chances are that he has never written half-a-dozen sermons in his life. Possibly, he may have tried his hand at one or two when an undergraduate at college, and he had one to write for the bishop's examination.* This is his utmost experience.

He joins the army of the church militant as a mere raw recruit. No wonder, therefore, that, in the majority of cases, he fails, for many a long year, if not altogether, of any real success as a preacher; no wonder that the Melvills, Liddons, Wilberforces, and Rowsells are so few and so far between. Every one of the other great professions demands years of special preparation and special qualifications, if not special aptitudes and tastes; but in this, the highest and noblest profession that can engage the human heart and intellect, aptitude and special preparation seem too often disregarded. Whether a man can read intelligently and intelligibly or not, whether he has little or no voice, whether he stammers or has an impediment in his speech, write and preach a sermon or two he must every week of his life. This, then, we take to be one cause of the partial failure of English preaching, as a whole. If a man set up to cure the diseases of men's bodies, he must for years go through a special course of practical experience at a hospital, seeing almost every form of bodily ailment, in every successive stage towards recovery or death, under exact and careful treatment. But if he merely set up to cure spiritual disease, to restore health to the wounded soul, or bring back vitality to the dying conscience—so far as one great portion of his work is concerned, he may begin, without practical experience and without training, as he can, and as he likes. If the English clergy, therefore, at all fail as preachers, the reason is obvious. They fail not for want of sufficient learning, of noble self-devotion to their work, of the highest motives in undertaking it, and the most unwearied diligence in carrying it out; but simply because all alike, whether gifted with natural ability to write and

* The men trained at theological colleges are, as yet, so few as to be the mere exceptions which strengthen the rule.

speak in public, or not, are set to do a great and difficult work without anything like due preparation for it.

Our object in making this broad assertion is not in any way to enter on the discussion of any of the theological questions which now distract the Church, and embitter the several domains of high, low, and broad preaching, but simply to point out some of the plain, obvious faults which too often disfigure a sermon, and make it a synonym for what is dull, wearisome, and dry; to show what a sermon ought to and should be; and to expose some of the mysteries of the wholesale traffic in so-called lithographed MS. discourses, now going on to an almost incredible extent, to the vital injury, we believe, of the Church at large.

One of the commonest mistakes of the young preacher is in his choice of subjects. The chief aim of all preaching, taken broadly, is to teach men the great and central points of Christian belief, and to show how these are to be put into practice in the daily work of life; to remind men, says a wise writer, of what they are constantly forgetting; not so much to supply the defect of human intelligence, as to strengthen all resolutions for good; to recall men from the by-paths of error into the way of life and safety; in a word, to make them, or show how they may become, better fathers, sons, brothers, husbands, and citizens both in the sight of God and of man. Too often this is forgotten. The preacher picks out some one single point of doctrine, a pet of his own, or a favourite with his own special party or congregation, and on that spends his whole power of expatiation for the one purpose of showing how true he is to the view of his party, or to the exact line prescribed by the noisiest or strongest of his parishioners. To this one topic his sermon, on whatever text, is sure sooner or later to recur, to the utter weariness of all who listen. Or he selects, as the main subject of his discourses to a mixed congregation, the high and great mysteries of religion—the very points of which the Great Teacher and His apostles have told us least, and on which they never preached. He talks long and learnedly of the Trinity, predestination, eternity, and free-will to crowds of listeners, young, ignorant, or vicious, who need to learn the very elements of the gospel. “Cursed are all such preachers,” says plain-spoken old Luther,* “as are always aiming at high and hard things.” And the effect of such preaching too often is like that described in the life of one of the best and ablest of English prelates.† He was a young man, and having just entered on his first curacy in the country, expended much time and labour on the text, “The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God.” When finished, the logic and power of his discourse seemed to himself unanswerable, and he preached it with great fervour to some half-

* “Table Talk.”

† Blomfield, Bishop of London.

dozen farmers and a score of labouring men and their wives. Walking home after church with one of the most intelligent of the farmers, the curate quietly led the way to the subject of the sermon, and asked his parishioner what he thought of it. Rusticus was unwilling to say more than it was a "fine discoorse," "a powerful sarmon," but, being pressed, at last with much reluctance added, "Why you see, sir, for my part, until now I always thought there *was* a God."

The mistake of the preacher in this case lay not so much in the choice of a subject as in his manner of treating it. There was not in the congregation a single hearer who denied the existence of a God, though there were perhaps many who never owned Him in their daily life. The business of the preacher should have been to show how men who know that there is a God, yet deny Him in their lives, and practically live without Him to the very last. But there is a class of busy sermonisers who preach, not a mere single unprofitable sermon, but whole sets of sermons, on topics which, to ninety-nine out of every hundred hearers, are utterly useless. Within a stone's throw of each other, in one of the gayest suburbs of London, are two churches which precisely illustrate this fact—St. Boniface and St. Theodore. Go into St. Boniface when you may, and you will find yourself in the midst of a regular "Course of Lectures on Romanism—Transubstantiation, Auricular Confession, Purgatory, and the blasphemies of the Mass." Go into St. Theodore's, and you will as certainly hear an equally lengthy course on "The Iniquities of Jews, Ancient and Modern; the stubbornness and unbelief of Israel of old; the horrible unbelief of their faithless descendants." And this sort of thing goes on with few variations from one end of the year to the other. There is in neither congregation either a Romanist or an Israelite; not a soul likely to be snared by the one, or tempted by the other. Both churches are in densely populated, poor districts; and both congregations, though chiefly made up of the poorest and lowest classes, ignorant of the commonest truths of their religion, are treated to long-winded arguments from "Burnet on the Thirty-nine Articles," of which they have not the faintest comprehension, or attacks on the Jews, in which they take not a spark of interest.

Not that a man should always preach down to the comprehension of his lowest hearers. "The feast," says Dean Alford, "need not be all crumbs." But still it is wise to keep the main body of hearers in view, and not to mystify or weary by the exposition of high doctrines or difficult prophecies, about which no two commentators are agreed. Whatever puzzles or distracts the mind is to be avoided; it may wear the garb of deep research and acumen and extensive learning, but it is nothing to the mass of mankind.* An ordinary

* "Cecil's Remains," p. 74.

mixed congregation needs no critical explanations or learned dissertations on points of doctrine or controversy; they only want the *results* in the shortest, clearest, and compactest form, not minced up into scraps of disjointed reasoning, for

"Some preachers cut the bread so small,
The greater part does through the basket fall;"

but clear, concise, well-applied argument, of the plainest and most practical kind, which the poor man may understand as well as the rich, and from which each may draw his own lesson. If "reasons are the pillars of a good sermon," and similitudes the windows that give it light, care must be taken that they do not absorb the time and thought due to the whole building. Pillars were meant to support the roof, not to be instead of it; and though light be vitally necessary, yet a structure all windows is open to many objections. Bishop Jeremy Taylor was in his day a master in the art of inventing and using similitudes; and, used sparingly, nothing can be better than a well-pointed figure, such as the following:—*

"For so I have known a luxuriant vine swell into irregular twigs, and spend itself in leaves and little rings, and give but few clusters to the wine-press, and a faint return to his heart which longed to be refreshed with a full vintage; but when the lord of the vineyard had caused the dressers to cut the wilder plant, and make it bleed, it grew temperate in its vain expense of useless leaves, and knotted into juicy and fair branches, and made account of that loss of blood by the return of fruit."

Or, take again, this beautiful illustration of Manning's, in which he "sets spiritual truth on the scaffolding of a material fact:"—

"The unity of the Church on earth with the Church unseen is the closest bond of all; hell has no power over it; sin cannot blight it; schism cannot rend it; death itself can but knit it more strongly. Nothing is changed but the relation of sight; like as when the head of a far-stretching procession, winding through a broken hollow, hides itself in some bending vale; *it is still all one*: all advancing together: they that are farthest on their way are conscious of their lengthened following; they that linger with the last are drawn forward as it were by the attraction of the advancing multitude."

But one such figure, well explained and expanded, is enough for a whole sermon; and nothing can be more wearisome or more profitless than the habit some modern preachers have of indulging in continual similes and illustrations instead of resolutely keeping before their hearers the one main point at which the sermon is aimed. For, however learned the preacher may be, however dexterous in the use of language, however well read in the Scripture, his chances of success are lessened tenfold by not keeping steadily in view the one single central topic to be sent home to the listeners' hearts and

* Christmas, p. 64.

intellects.* If he relies on the number and variety of his topics to attract attention, he will inevitably become diffuse, vague, and superficial. He will talk of many things, but say nothing on any of them. "Many a sermon one hears," says Whately, "in which the preacher aims at nothing, and hits it." *Non multa sed multum* is here of most vital importance; and this leads us to the absolute need of caution in the choice of texts. A text should be the peg on which hangs the exact point which the preacher wishes to illustrate and explain; but not the mere watchword of a party, not a mere catchword, every now and then brought in to recall the hearer's wandering attention. The sermon should grow out of it, as the plant springs from the seed; first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear.

Not long since, in a country town, some hundreds of good Christians had the misfortune to sit under a so-called popular preacher; and it was a hot summer evening. He had a great deal to say, and much glib fluency in saying it; and his text was "Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin." The discourse lasted fifty minutes, and was divided into about fifteen or sixteen short paragraphs, at the end of each of which the text was repeated with much emphasis and volubility—though, in reality, it had nothing to do with the subjects under discussion. The reverend divine's own special doings and opinions about some very small points of parochial theology were expounded, set forth, and defended in a flood of glib vociferation; but as to Jeroboam, his treatment was absolutely scurvy, though every three minutes we were reminded that he was the son of Nebat, and a great sinner. Sunday after Sunday, it was said, the preacher poured forth torrents of this kind, as much like each other as bullets out of the same mould. The people had in some sense got used to such windy talk, and begun to like it; it served to pass away the evening, at all events, in a decent and respectable manner. But how many went out of his church, at the year's end, humbler, wiser, or better men, was a question about which the preacher never seems to have troubled himself.

Some preachers fall into the mistake of using a formal round of technical phraseology simply because it happens to be scriptural; just as some secular writers insist on using certain words because they happen to be learned—*volition* for will, and *caloric* for heat. Thus they constantly use such phrases as "putting off the old man," "putting on the new," "the Lord hath set up His candlestick," not

* "A discourse without a parent idea is a stream without a fountain, a plant without a root, a body without a soul, sounds which beat the air. The hearer will not cling to a speaker who, undertaking to guide him, seems to be ignorant whither he is going."—*M. Bainton*, p. 111.

only without any regard to their real fitness to the matter in hand, but in speaking to persons who no more understand what such phraseology means, than if quoted to them in the original language.

Other preachers, again, rely on the use of startling texts or startling openings to the sermon, after the fashion of Sterne, who, having given out the text, "It is better to go to the house of mourning than the house of feasting," began with, "That I deny;" or of Whitfield, who commenced a sermon by shouting out, "Fire, fire, fire!" and then went on to talk of eternal torment. And some, with equally bad taste, and equal lack of success, attempt to be witty in the pulpit, as when Paley, preaching before prime minister Pitt, chose for his text, "There is a lad here who hath five barley loaves and a few small fishes;" or another divine, preaching an assize sermon on the text, "Woe unto you, *lawyers*," began with, "We read elsewhere that one lawyer came unto Him—one did come, but that *two* came seems almost incredible." All such arts, however, savour of claptrap and vulgarity, and while they degrade the office of the preacher, tend to throw contempt on the message which he brings. Cowper's words are still true:—

" 'Tis pitiful

To court a grin, when you should woo a soul."

It may be that, before the Reformation, the sermons of many of our old standard divines were full of anecdotes, jokes, and puns of the liveliest and freest kind. Many of Latimer's, for example, abound in "little jests," in tales about Robin Hood, and stories of the Goodwin Sands; one tells of an execution at Oxford, and another of an old woman who always went to church at St. Thomas of Acres, because she could not get a wink of sleep elsewhere. But the whole circumstances of the case are now entirely changed; and what was tolerated, or even looked for, in the coarseness and freedom of that age, is altogether unseemly and out of place in this.* Wherever a really earnest and able man now stands up to preach in a church, gifted with the true power of reaching men's hearts and minds, hundreds soon crowd to hear him. He will have no need to be facetious in order to attract attention; while all vulgar joking, all risk of profanity of style, all cool, glib familiarity in speaking of the works or ways of God in dealing with men, will be counted as false and unworthy of the season and the place. He has an infinite range of topics before him, and among them the greatest, noblest, and

* Only a hundred and fifty years ago Burgess, the witty Independent, preaching on "The Robe of Righteousness," said, "If any of you would have a good and cheap suit, you will go to Monmouth Street; if a suit for life, to the Court of Chancery; but if for a suit that will last to eternity, you must go to the Lord Jesus Christ, and put on his robe of righteousness." One Bradbury succeeded him—a buffoon who used to say, "Let us sing one of Watts's Whims." He hated Watts.

grandest that can engage human attention. In dealing with them, he may bring into play all the powers and resources of a refined intellect and a well-stored mind. For, as South wittily said, "Even if the Almighty has no *need* of human learning, still less has He need of human ignorance." A man of true eloquence, even in the compass of a single sermon, may find fit place for pathos, irony, and invective; for the play of imagination, and the force of logic; for the grace of poetry, for grandeur and simplicity; and yet never soar above the hearts of his hearers. Nothing can be simpler or clearer than true pathos, or true poetry, when in a master's hand.

Thus St. Bernard, preaching on the death of his brother Gerard, says:—

"I grieve over thee, Gerard, not because thy lot is matter of grief, but because thou art snatched away from me, who drink the cup of bitterness alone, and share it not with thee. I alone suffer what lovers suffer between them, when divided. God grant that I may not have lost thee, but that I may be with thee where thou art! Thou hast joined those whom, in that thy last night below, thou didst invite to praise God in saying: 'Praise Him, all His angels.'" At that moment, O my brother, the day was dawning on thee, although it was midnight; thy night was all brightness as the day, so glorious were thy joys. 'O Grave, where is thy victory? O Death! where is thy sting?' Thou wast no sting to *him*, but a triumph. He dies singing, and sings dying."

Contrast the tender pathos of this passage with the masculine good sense and cogent reasoning of Robert Hall, in speaking of the state of England after the desolating campaign of 1815:—

"Peace has come at last. But with what result? We have retired from the combat successful, indeed, beyond our utmost expectations; but bleeding, breathless, and exhausted; with signs of decay and weakness from which, if we ever recover, it must be when the present generation has disappeared from the earth. When was it ever known before that peace was more destructive than war? that a nation was made poorer by victory than by defeat? and that the time of their glory was the time of their suffering? Peace, instead of being the nurse of industry and the herald of plenty, as the experience of ages has taught us to expect, has brought poverty, discontent, and distress, inflicting all the privations of hostility without its hopes, and all the miseries of war without its splendour."

This is true eloquence, and of a high order, but it is eloquence which almost all may understand; and it helped, no doubt, to bring home to the hearts of his hearers the message of the preacher that they should "turn to Him that smote them." And it is eloquence, mainly by the use of common, well-known words arranged in the best and most pointed order. So, also, with all the other powers and endowments of the mind. The preacher may be as full of pathos as Bishop Hall, of grandeur as Chalmers, and of deep, passionate fervour as Wilberforce; he may be as pungent as Sydney Smith or South,

as close a reasoner as Melvill, or as brilliant as Robertson; as sarcastic, as racy old Latimer, or as full of poetry as Wilmot; and *yet* not fail to lead his hearers willing captives. For all these—irony, wit, poetry, grandeur, pathos, and persuasion—are lawful weapons in the preacher's armoury, and from them he may draw his choicest shafts. But in whatever respects the preacher may be safely deficient, or however high his other qualifications, there is one point where deficiency is fatal; all he has to say must come out of his own heart, or he will never reach the hearts of others. "I preached," says Baxter,—

"As a dying man to dying men."

He felt the message he uttered, and thousands were touched by the fire and fervour of his simple words, whom the most laboured sentences of an artificial sermon would have driven into listless unconcern. Want of heart in the delivery of a sermon, no matter how cleverly put together, produces inevitable dryness, and dryness to a mixed audience is the unpardonable sin. All the more unpardonable, too, because it is so often joined to lengthiness. A long-winded, dry sermon is a great burden; in hot weather, a positive cruelty. There is no excuse for a long sermon; for, if good, it need not be long; and if bad, it ought not to be long.* "If I had my time to go over again," says Luther, "I would make my sermons much shorter,† in plain, unlearned language; leaving out the doctors and magistrates among my people, of whom there may be forty, and looking to the young people, children, and servants, of whom there may be thousands." Nothing can be better than this advice, which Luther gives most heartily, because of his utter freedom from all conceit. For no one is so likely to prose as the man who is vain of his own performance, and loves to hear himself talk when safe from all chance of reply. The preacher who indulges in this gratification is soon swept away by the tide of his own words; and, at last, is tempted to say everything that comes into his mind. Hence come wearisome repetitions of the same truth, weak dilutions of things that have been better said before, and long-winded disquisitions that lead to nothing. "Such an one is like a maid that goes to market, and meeting another maid, makes a stand, and they hold a goose-market."‡ He goes on, and on, and on through the endless divisions of his subject, with cruel iteration, as if his ruling motto were—

"I am a blessed Glendoveer,
'Tis mine to speak, and yours to hear."

* Lamont.

† When royalty complimented Dr. South on a sermon, saying, "I wish you had time to make it longer," the doctor replied, "May it please your Majesty, I wish I had time to make it shorter."

‡ Luther's "Table Talk," p. 183.

But nothing can be more pernicious to the cause for which he is supposed to be speaking, nothing more likely to nullify the force of all he utters, and to ruin his own position. "It is a wonder," says Feltham, "that men can preach so little and so long; so long a time, and so little matter."* "Woe be to the man," says another acute thinker, "who attempts to say about a subject all that can be said;"† and for the best of reasons—he sets about doing what can never be done, and wearies his hearers to no purpose. It may be true that Charles II. called Barrow "the most unfair preacher in England, because he exhausted every subject, and left no room for others to come after him;" but if that famous doctor indeed exhausted any subject, it was by saying not *all*, but *the best* things that could be said of it. There is wisdom as well as wit in Mr. Weller's advice on letter-writing, which applies even to much higher matters. "Don't give 'em too much, Sammy, and they'll wish there was more; pull up sharp." But how many of our readers cannot count on their fingers the few occasions when, at the close of a sermon, they really wished for more?

The art of "pulling up sharp," indeed, is as difficult as it is necessary, unless we take some such rule as that old divine who suddenly closed his sermon with these words: "Now is it time for me to shutt the booke, for I see the Doctors' men coming in, and wiping their beardes, from the alehouse."‡ But this is hardly a safe rule, as every sermon should have a beginning, a middle, and an end: the first clear, emphatic, and to the point; the second well weighed, bright, and full of meaning; the third swiftly gathering up the threads of the previous argument into one sharp condensed appeal of pathos, invective, reasoning, or joyous praise. Not that the preacher need be bound by any one fixed plan of arrangement—always a firstly, secondly, thirdly, and lastly; nor indeed any severe and exact separation of his discourse into formal parts. Some subjects may require this kind of treatment; others are better without it. All mannerism is bad, whether it relates to the broad divisions of the sermon or its more special style of phraseology. To seize and engage the attention, the style should be as varied and full of rapid changes as possible. After a simple statement of doctrine or fact, neatly and tersely expressed, may come in rapid succession a set of brief, pointed questions, bringing out into bold relief the exact practical lesson which the sermon is meant to teach. Here and there may come a sentence or two of tender, passionate pleading; a voice of mercy and warning, or of fierce invective, in plain, manly, loving words. Then may follow a few pithy sentences in the shape of pro-

* Feltham's "Resolves," p. 152.

† Voltaire.

‡ Sermons by Rev. R. Kettle, President of Trin. Coll., Oxon. 1575.

verbs. "It is well to clench a nail so that it cannot slip back after it be driven home, and this every good workman takes care to do."* A sermon had better have too much salt than too little. Thus, speaking of sin destroying happiness in this world and in the world to come, Tauler sums up his whole moral into one brief sentence: "The sinner drags the *harrow* in this life, and the *waggon* in the next." Equally pungent and equally good are such as these:—"Sin *forsaken* is the surest sign of sin *forgiven*;" "Never be afraid to doubt if you wish to believe;" "Never mind how you die, but be sure you live well;" "What we weave in time we must wear in eternity;" "A ripe Christian is always a humble one—the ears of barley which bear most fruit always hang the lowest;" "Did Christ *die*, and shall sin *live*?" "The world says, 'Seeing is believing;' the Gospel says, 'Believing is seeing;'" "When every one sweeps his own door, the street is soon clean." A sermon seasoned with salt of this kind is the best antidote against drowsiness either in the parson or his hearers.

Among the most fatally soporific of sermons are those which flow on in one dead, level groove, without a check, and yet seem to say nothing, and if listened to for ever would do no more; which teach the hearers nothing that should be done, and nothing to be left undone, to make them wiser or better, or to help them to fight the great battle of life; but only to agree with some special views of the preacher's on a disputed text. Others, again, fail because written as if the whole congregation were all open, notorious sinners, or all securely safe among the elect; as if the race of men were divided into but two sections of unspeakably good and irretrievably bad; in which case, says an old divine, "where be the men of neutral tint, neither good nor bad?" What becomes of all the varied grades and conditions of men, answering to the snares, and follies, and ignorance, and carelessness, and mistakes about us in the world? What becomes of the stony ground where the seed could take no root for want of depth to grow in—of the seed snatched away by evil birds before it could put forth a leaf, or trampled under foot by the way-side? What is to be done for the seed which is slowly dying for want of air and light and dew, and yet has in it the germs of life eternal?

These, and many other such causes, all help to make preaching the dull, profitless, barren labour it so often is; but the most fruitful of all evils, the true *fons et origo mali*, is that traffic in MS. sermons now carried on among the clergy to an almost incredible extent. We speak of the traffic as most enormous because every religious newspaper teems with advertisements, and every bookseller's catalogue

* "Papers on Preaching," p. 99. A most pointed and brilliant essay on a most difficult subject; and as full of good feeling as good sense.

with special announcements, of ready-made discourses of every possible shade of orthodoxy, and at every variety of price ranging from sixpence to thirty shillings, and in rare cases to two guineas. The writers of these things are, as we shall see, for the most part clergymen; but the demand has of late so greatly increased, and trade become so brisk, that many unauthorized hands have entered on the speculation, and with apparent success. Out of a host of advertisements now before us we can but select a few, so as to give our readers some idea of the scale on which operations are carried on. The usual style of advertisement is of this kind:—

“LITHOGRAPHED SERMONS.—Original, Plain, Practical Sermons. Edited by Rev. ——. See extract of Review from ‘The Literary Churchman,’ in ‘The Ecclesiastical Gazette.’”

or occasionally varied—by the same editor—as follows:—

“ORIGINAL, PLAIN, PRACTICAL SERMONS.—Circulation exclusively confined to the Clergy. For Private Circular, apply by letter.

“Specimen Sermons are lent, on the conditions therein named, without any charge but that of postage. Quarterly subscription, 13s. 6d. Address, &c. &c.”

in which the reverend divine offers, not only to sell but to lend, sermons to those who are too lazy, or unable, to write for themselves. Or, in a third form, which only varies from the other two by demanding of the purchaser his name, and giving a different address:—

“ORIGINAL, PLAIN, PRACTICAL SERMONS.—The circulation of this Lithographic Periodical is exclusively confined to the Clergy.

“Quarterly subscription, for Thirteen Sermons, 13s. 6d.

“For Private Circular, containing full particulars, apply by letter to the Editor. Name required and given. Address, &c. &c.”

This gentleman tells us the exact price of his goods, so that the purchaser knows what he is about, and if the thirteen bought discourses turn out as dry and useless as his own compositions, he can but lose his dozen shillings. But, in the case of “Fritz,” the next comer, he may risk half-a-guinea on a single venture, and after all get nothing preachable.

“SERMONS.—A Clergyman will be glad to write an original one every week. Strictly confidential. Address Fritz, &c. &c.”

The next—“an M.A. of Oxford”—is rather bolder; and though the price of his wares is not stated, he refers his customer, though in a mysterious fashion, to the *John Bull* for a character:—

“PAROCHIAL SERMONS, edited by an M.A. of Oxford.—This Periodical is strictly confined to the Clergy. Sermons for S.P.G., and the season, now ready. See ‘Ecclesiastical Gazette’ for a review in the ‘John Bull;’”

with the additional information that none but the clergy need apply, as if any other human being in his senses but a parson, hard up for next Sunday's duty, was likely to buy a lithographed sermon!

All these, and a score of other such compilers, date from London, and can but refer to the newspapers as vouchers for their ability; but "X. Y. Z.," who speaks from the wilds of the country, somewhere down in Wales, is of a far more ambitious turn, and claps on an additional five shillings on the round dozen:—

"ORIGINAL SERMONS, solely for Clerical use.—In clear MS. lithography. Edited by a beneficed Clergyman, late Travelling Fellow and Chancellor's Medallist of his University. For Private Circular and Sermon, enclose eighteen stamps to Rev. ——. Sermons for Missions, &c. &c.":

and considering the honour of preaching the sermons of a "Travelling Fellow and Chancellor's Medallist"—to say nothing of a "beneficed clergyman"—three shillings per Sunday is not dear. Or, if the intending purchaser prefers a discourse that, like an old violin, has acquired tone from frequent use—or, like good wine, grown mellow with age—there are five hundred such to be had at about threepence each, among—

"MSS. SERMONS.—500 Sermons, Manuscript, Lithographed, and Printed, the property of a deceased Clergyman, and suited for a village congregation, to be sold for £5. Specimens sent on enclosing four stamps. Address, &c. &c."

Here the property is still vested in a "deceased clergyman;" but how negotiations for the sale are to be carried on with the proprietor is not so clear.

If these don't suit him, and he is inclined to speculate as high as ninepence a discourse, he can at once buy stock to the extent of eight hundred:—

"MS. SERMONS (800), suited for a town or country congregation, and beautifully written. Tone, moderate High Church. Arranged for all Sundays and Saints' Days, and on general subjects. Price £35:"

with this additional security, that the goods are beautifully written, and warranted as equally good for town and country wear. But if still unsatisfied, and he only be a sound, evangelical Churchman, willing, however, to rise to the extravagance of one shilling and sixpence a sermon, a friend is waiting to accommodate him; thus:—

"SOUND EVANGELICAL CHURCHMEN are offered the use of the Sermons of an Incumbent of known ability, clearly lithographed, and confidentially supplied on very reasonable terms. Specimen Sermon and circular for eighteen stamps. Address (allowing time for reply), &c. &c."

But he must not be impatient of a reply, nor must he fail to give his

name in full when applying, as initials are declined in transactions of this kind. A "sound evangelical Churchman" need not be afraid to mention his name—of course in confidence.

But if *lithographed* discourses will not serve his purpose (and sharp eyes in the gallery are sometimes apt to be suspicious), there is still hope for him. A reverend and rural divine offers—

"MSS., not LITHOGRAPHS.—Sole copies, if wished. Name given and required. Address Rev. M.A."

Some ninety years ago Cowper described this gentleman's business to the very life, as pertaining not only to the MSS., but—

"To accent, tone, and emphasis in score."

Nor is even this all :—

"He grinds divinity of other days
Down into modern use ; transforms old print
To zig-zag manuscript, and cheats the eyes
Of gallery critics by a thousand arts." *

If in search of discourses of a still more original kind, the preacher may select from some hundreds, which would seem, at the first glance, to be the joint composition of a "deceased rector" and his "executors :"—

"FIVE HUNDRED to SIX HUNDRED ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT SERMONS, by a deceased Rector in Berks, an M.A. of Oxford, very legibly written, for sale, by the executors. To be seen at the office of —."

The price of these unique discourses is not mentioned ; but the joint efforts of a deceased rector, and, say, a living churchwarden or two, must produce fruit of the rarest kind.

The next purveyor on our list can boast neither of rectorial nor collegiate honours. Neither Cambridge nor Oxford derives lustre from his labours, which, nevertheless, may be illustrious at St. —, and a single blast from his own trumpet will show what an accomplished musician he is on that noble instrument :—

"MS. SERMONS, original, striking, and eloquent, supplied to Clergymen. Terms 10s. per quarter. Apply to E. M. H., Post-office, St. —, &c. &c."

To become "original, striking, and eloquent" for ten shillings a quarter is as cheap and useful an immortality as the heart even of the most ambitious curate can desire—unless, indeed, he wishes to emulate the fame of the late Canon Stowell in his popular discourses at Manchester. Even then his case is not hopeless. By writing to "X. Y. Z.," he may possibly secure some of that lively divine's effusions, though they are mainly offered to the trade :—

"THE LATE CANON STOWELL'S SERMONS.—To PUBLISHERS.—The Advertiser has the exclusive possession of MS. REPORTS, from the Notes of a

* Cowper's "Time-piece."

Verbatim Shorthand Writer, of nearly 100 of the latest Sermons, on the leading Theological Subjects of the day, preached by the late Rev. CANON STOWELL, M.A. Address, &c. &c."

Such are a few, out of some scores of similar advertisements, cut from the public papers, which may serve to illustrate the more open and notorious channels through which the traffic in sermons is carried on. But we have yet to notice a much quieter, though not less extensive, branch of the system, of which few but its ingenious authors, and their victims among the country clergy, are at all aware. The plan is to send by post to the vicar a clear, neatly lithographed sermon, with a polite note from the editor, mentioning the cost of the article—say fifteen stamps—but begging the receiver not to trouble himself to send it back to its parent—even if not required.* In a few cases the vicar tosses the thing into his waste-paper basket, and forgets all about it. More frequently he takes the bait at once—and sends back the fifteen stamps; but still more often it happens that the spurious discourse is rather indignantly thrust aside into the sermon drawer, neither frankly condemned nor fully approved. There it lies, perhaps for months, unused, until at last, on some hapless rainy day, when the vicarial hand has lost its cunning for the hour, just in the nick of time that smooth, respectable lithograph turns up once more. It really seems not so badly written, after all, and with a little correction will do admirably. So says the vicar; and so do *not* say his sleepy congregation on the next Sunday morning. Within a month or two from that date comes a polite note from the *reverend the lithographer*, "hoping that his bread has not been cast upon the waters in vain, but has been found useful," &c. &c. In reply, the next day, he receives his fifteen stamps.

A third branch of the trade is carried on in a still more quiet but not less systematic way, by means of private circulars and prospectuses, which are distributed in considerable numbers through the country, and are sent in shoals to any one in want of a special sermon. Out of a string of such things we select a few of the most salient, which tell their own story. We copy them *verbatim*.

A., a young person, not likely ever to preach, has written some excellent Sermons, and offers them at 5s. each.

B., a gentleman, offers to write on subjects of deep interest at two guineas and a half each; "the lowest sum to compensate for his labours."

* A note on the cover of the sermon begs the receiver, if he preach it in any one of a certain range of parishes, to use Text A; if in any of a certain other list, to use Text B.

- C. offers brilliant Sermons on all subjects, at 5s. each; "promises strict secrecy."
- D. will be happy to write Sermons, in doctrine and style fit for any congregation; from 25 to 30 minutes long; at £1 10s. for Four. Specimen sheet enclosed.
- E. offers any number of Sermons at three guineas a dozen.
- F. offers Discourses, "eloquent or simple, High or Low," at a guinea each.
- G. is ready to write on any given Texts at the rate of four or five guineas.
- H. is prepared to write any number of Discourses, "of a high order of composition, and legible;" but early application is necessary; price one guinea each.
- I. offers a Sermon of a satisfactory kind, legibly written, for 5s.
- J. has been "in the habit of taking notes of deceased Sermons," and offers for a crown "two Discourses worth £2."
- K. and L. both offer "as many Sermons as are wanted for 2s. 6d. each, legibly written."
- M., long used to the work, is ready to write on any text at 10s. a Sermon, or 15s. for two.

Examples of this kind might easily be multiplied a hundredfold, but enough have, we think, been cited to show the nature and extent of the traffic which we regard as the main root of the whole evil, of dull preaching and sleepy congregations. To reach the hearts of his people, a man must preach out of his own heart. On this depend the whole life, fire, spirit, and unction of what he has to say. Into the tame words of a hack it is all but impossible that he can ever breathe true life, especially when conscious, as he must be, that he is passing them off for his own, and so far deceiving the people whom he professes to be leading into the ways of truth. Tameness and insipidity inevitably befall him; he finds himself reading when he ought to be preaching; and unreality follows him from the giving out of the text to the closing benediction. "How is it," once said a learned divine to Garrick, "that in expounding truth we produce so little effect, while you touch the deepest feelings of your audience by the representation of fiction?" "Because," was the answer, "I recite fiction as if it were truth, while you deal with truths as if they were fictions." "Such a man preaches because he wants to say something, not because he has something to say." * Dealing with thoughts which have never issued bright and new-born from his own brain, clothed in words never coined in his own mint, he is far more their slave than their master, and rejoices over

* Whately.

his *final* paragraph with a satisfaction only exceeded by that of his hearers. Cowper, who had a keen eye for the detection of all shams, even in things religious, describes the performances of one class of such men with bitter but just irony. He calls such preachers "*things* :"—

"The things that mount the pulpit with a skip,
And then skip down again; pronounce a text,
Cry Hem! and reading what they never wrote
Just twenty minutes, huddle up their work,
And with a well-bred whisper close the scene." *

"True eloquence," says Blunt,† "must be the voice of one earnestly endeavouring to deliver his own soul, the outpouring of ideas rushing for a vent." But how is a man to grow earnest in delivering the soul of an eighteen-penny lithograph? How is the heart of such a one to grow hot within him, till the fire kindles, and at the last he speaks with his tongue?

"When you preach," says a great modern master of oratory,‡ "be real: say to yourself, 'Now I must get into these hearts some truth from God;—strike as one that would make a dint upon their shield of hardness, yea, and smite through it to their heart of hearts, speak straight home to them, as you would beg your life, or counsel your son, or call your dearest friend from a burning house, in plain, strong, earnest words.'"

But who can smite heartily with a sword that he has never proved, or rise to a noble energy of passion when fettered by the cold propriety of words that he never wrote?

Beyond all doubt, if "freedom, fire, and force" are three indispensable qualities in a man who is to speak with effect, those words must be his own; otherwise he is in danger of freezing before his work is done; and if he freezes, every hearer is in peril of the same icy chill.

"Flet si flere jubes, gaudet gaudere coactus,"

is a truth which, as it applies to all oratory, applies with double force to the preacher of sermons. As he is, so while he speaks will be his people. If he be cold, and dull, and dreary, and long-winded, and pointless, over the hearts and faces of his people will steal the inevitable echo of his own dulness and vacuity, in drooping eyelids, uneasy snatches of sleep, and unutterable weariness. If he rises to life and animation, and grows great with the greatness and joy of the truth he has to deliver, they will rise with him; they will be flushed with the rapture of the same divine hopes, share in his burning faith, and with his eyes see the things eternal and unseen. But, to achieve this, he must not only speak his own words, but deliver

* "The Time-piece."

† "Papers on Preaching," p. 221.

‡ Wilberforce.

them with living energy of speech and gesture. "Why are we natural everywhere but in the pulpit?"* Elsewhere a man utters his warmest feelings, "not with his mouth alone, but his whole body; he articulates with every limb, and talks from head to foot with a thousand voices." But, too often the preacher "clings to his velvet cushion with either hand, keeps his eye riveted on his book, speaks of the ecstasies of joy and fear with a voice and with a face which indicate neither, and pinions his body and soul into one attitude of limb and thought, for fear of being called theatrical and affected." What can come of such preaching as this but slumber or empty benches?

As to sturdy old Sam Johnson's vehement *dictum*, "That no corporal action has anything to do with theological truth,"† it is little more than a sounding fallacy. No outward connection may be traced between a theological truth and the gesture that enforces it, more than between action and the utterance of any other truth not theological; yet tone, and modulation of voice, and gesture may all unite in one living energy, and give wings to words which otherwise would fall lifeless to the ground. A single look may speak, and one action of the outstretched hand attain living eloquence where speech fails. The hands speak for themselves. "By them we ask, we promise, we invoke, we dismiss, we threaten, we entreat, we express fear, joy, grief, our doubts, our assent, our penitence."‡ Hand, voice, tone, look, and gesture, therefore, must all unite in the preaching of the sermon; that the whole man may appeal to the hearts and intellects of his hearers with the fullest tide of power, dignity, and passion that he can command.

If the preacher has neither ability nor time to write his own sermons, if he has no strength to dig for materials in his own quarry, or, worse still, has no quarry of his own to dig in, let him at least turn to, and dig heartily, in that of some other man. The conscience that forbids him to steal, imperatively urges him to provide the best possible nourishment for his flock. Let him take some short, pointed, practical sermon by a well-known standard writer, read it carefully, digest, and rewrite it in his own words. Nothing can be a better exercise, nothing so well set off his own scanty ability, while nothing is so likely to sharpen it into future activity. For the busy, over-worked man no other plan will absorb so small an amount of time, with so good a result. For the absolutely lazy man, who buys a nine-penny lithograph rather than undergo the toil of writing, there is no remedy. Far better for him to quit a profession for which he is wholly unfitted, and which he would have done well never to have

* Sydney Smith.

† "Essay on Preaching."

‡ Bell's "Bridgewater Treatise."

entered; rather than continue to rely on the labours of some anonymous scribbler for the discharge of a duty which is a burden to himself, or the attainment of honour and credit to which he has no right.

Whether a sermon had better be written or extempore, is far too wide a question to be discussed within our present limits. There is much to be said on both sides. Study and careful preparation are necessary in either case. If an extemporary style claim for itself a fresher, brighter, and more flowing life, a written sermon has the better chance of being accurate, correct, and clearly arranged; it has the advantage of revision as well as of previous study, and there is no reason why, if well written, and well delivered, it should not have all the vigour and freshness of an extempore discourse. Good sense will keep both within proper limits, and good feeling will exclude from the one all that is inadmissible into the other. All that we now contend for is that in either case the preacher should have made the sermon absolutely his own, and abjure ready-made goods as resolutely as he would second-hand clothing.* To some men the utterance of a dozen extempore sentences, on any subject, is a burden or an impossibility; to others, an easy task or a pleasure. Bad extempore preaching is marked by intolerable sameness and repetition; but the very same evil may befall a written discourse, and make both equally soporific. Every man must decide on that style for which he feels and knows himself to be best suited, and which is best suited for his subject and for his people. Some of our greatest masters have been extempore preachers; but, on the other hand,—to take a trio at random,—Tillotson, Saunderson, and South utterly failed.

The language of modern sermons savours too much of the pulpit; too much of the set, or section, or party to which the preacher and his people belong; too much of Sunday phrases, too little of common life, and sometimes too much of well-trimmed proprieties, and too little of the plain, old Saxon Bible. Words thus used soon lose what little edge or sharpness they once had, and cease to tell; instead of coins, they become mere counters, having but a nominal value, and worthless when outside their own narrow circle. Well-chosen, plain, common, pointed words are those that go home swiftest to the heart. Novelty in the subject-matter is scarcely to be aimed at; yet the preacher has before him a boundless range of topics, and he will do well who, "by new combinations or by a happier style of illustra-

* A hundred years ago, when Osborne, the bookseller, took Toplady mysteriously to the end of his shop, it was to say to him, "Sir, you will soon be ordained, and have not yet laid in a stock of sermons. I can supply you with as many sets as you please, original and excellent, for a trifle." "Sir," was the answer, "the man who cannot, or will not, make his own, is unfit for a gown. I would sooner buy ready-made clothes." "Don't be offended," said Osborne: "I have sold to many a bishop in my time."

tion," by heartiness, simplicity, or tender grace, "shall cause men to look upon old truths with new interest."*

"Dixeris egregie, notum si callida verbum
Reddiderit junctura novum."

To do this, let him study sermons and commentaries less, but life more. Let him aim at showing how men and women are tried and tempted by poverty and by wealth, by ignorance and by learning, and all the other varied conditions of human life; how they are misled by over-confidence, doubt, and fear; blinded by darkness of their own making, as well as excess of light; how they sin, and suffer, and are led to ruin. These are higher, greater, and truer topics than the restoration of the Jews to Palestine, the exact date of the millennium, or the rise of the Little Horn. They will teach men to live as becomes believers in another and a better world, and to die in the sure and certain hope of the resurrection unto eternal life.

B. G. JOHNS.

* "Papers on Preaching."



NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—THEOLOGICAL.

A Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist. By DANIEL WATERLAND, D.D.
With a Preface by the Lord Bishop of LINCOLN. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press.

THE delegates of the University Press at Oxford have done well in republishing in a separate and cheap form the most exhaustive treatise on the Eucharistic controversy of which the Church of England can boast. Whatever we may think of Waterland (and at times, especially in his writings against the Arians of his time, there is a hardness and want of sympathy with his opponents which tend to repel us), we must at least acknowledge, with the Bishop of Lincoln, that few writers of his own age or ours can be compared with him in his "wide and intimate acquaintance, not only with the Christian Fathers, but with the Romish theologians and the writings of the foreign Reformers," and that his work is always done honestly and thoroughly.

It is seasonable, at a time when men's minds are bewildered with the old disputes, entangled in the old cobwebs, led back by devout and good men to old superstitions, that we should hear the testimony of one upon whose orthodoxy there has never rested the faintest shadow of suspicion—whom not even Mr. R. H. Froude could have called an "irreverent Dissenter." And that testimony is clear, precise, unshrinking. All the notions which Dr. Pusey and Archdeacon Denison and their followers thrust upon us, "local presence and oral manducation of the *res sacramenti*, not less than consubstantiation and transubstantiation," he holds to be the aftergrowth of the change which passed over the Church's doctrine in the seventh century, "all issuing from the same source, all springing from the same root; namely, from the *servilis infirmitas* which St. Austin speaks of, the mistaking sign for things and figure for verity" (p. 514).

So, too, he bears his witness against the more subtle modifications of Romish doctrines as well as the more reckless assertions which we find in the journals and pamphlets of the extreme ritualists, with no less distinctness. The Eucharist is a *sacramentum*, not a *sacrificium*. If called a "sacrifice" by the early Fathers, it was "by a metonymy of the sign for the thing signified." Their language was guarded, carefully guarded, by "the whole tenor of their doctrine concerning spiritual sacrifices, for six whole centuries together" (p. 605). Even

the more cautious phraseology which describes it as a "commemorative sacrifice," expresses no more than that it is a "commemoration of the grand sacrifice" (p. 611). The only true sacrifice is not that of the elements, but "the prayers, praises, and Eucharistical actions" (p. 614), the "living sacrifice," the offering of which in our present Liturgy follows on the act of participation.

We commend this volume to the study of all who wish their knowledge on so grave a matter to be thorough, and are not satisfied to depend upon the iteration of a few phrases in pamphlets and declarations. The result of such a study will, we are sure, lead them to wish that Mr. Keble had never been persuaded to alter the negative in the line, "Not in the hands, but in the heart," so as to build up the things which he seemed to have destroyed, and to see that if vestments, and lights, and incense, are more than æsthetic accessories of worship—if they are, as they are said to be, symbols of a higher localized presence, calling for that special adoration which Waterland is not afraid to stigmatize as "bread-worship," there are good reasons for discouraging them, even though we may hesitate to adopt the policy of "restraining" them. There is a "real presence," for "the body and the blood of Christ are verily and indeed received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper;" but a word which has been so perverted needs defining and explaining. The "real presence," to repeat a word used in a former number, is *dynamic*, not *substantial*, conditioned by the faith and love of the recipient, a special instance of that wider "presence" which Christ has promised in the words, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."

An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament—Critical, Exegetical, and Theological. By SAMUEL DAVIDSON, D.D., LL.D. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1868.

THE first characteristic of Dr. Davidson's new work is its usefulness. It is a readable book, overflowing with knowledge, which is made intelligible to the unlearned as well as the learned. The New Testament writings are treated of in their chronological order, beginning with the second epistle to the Thessalonians, and ending with the second epistle of Peter. All questions connected with the canonical books—such as their origin, genuineness, and doctrinal peculiarities—are discussed freely, and according to the best intentions of the author, fairly, in the light of the most recent criticism. We might describe Dr. Davidson's position as about equally removed from the un pitying destructiveness of the Tübingen school and the bibliolatry of the orthodox English preacher. He rarely agrees with Baur, yet he does not hesitate to say that St. Paul's eschatology was shaped by the floating belief of his day. Inspiration did not lift men above error. He rejects the accounts of the resurrection of Jesus, because it is impossible to reconcile the evangelists with each other. Yet he maintains that Christianity does not fall with the denial of this. It rests on His stainless conscience, His life of love and purity, His words of truth, His embodiment of the Father to mankind.

We cannot be too thankful for the progress which the criticism of the Bible has made in our day, but Bible critics have their weaknesses as well as other people. If the orthodox have claimed for the Bible exemption from the rules that are applicable to other books, it is no less true that some critics have been unwilling to treat it with even the fairness which is due to every book. If Christianity should ever be proved false, it will be found on inquiry that one cause of its existing so long was the extravagances of those who assailed it; and so with the Bible. Of the first epistle of John, Eichhorn says that its character is rhapsodical, and attributes its want of order to the failure of John's memory. Baur speaks of its childish and weak repetitions. Hilgenfeld, on the other hand, pronounces it rich and original in what relates to the subjective intensive life of Christianity; and Dr. Davidson speaks of its tender attractiveness. There was a London rector who used to say that it was of no use for a man to trouble himself about his curates, for one curate was just as good as another. On reading the infinitely ingenious criticisms of learned men on the Bible, ordinary people would say as the London rector did of his curates—no man need trouble himself about them, for one Bible critic is just as good as another. The reasons which Dr. Davidson gives for the un-Pauline character

of the pastoral epistles are so thoroughly beyond our capacity, that we have no alternative but to lament the obtuseness of our own understanding. "Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil; the Lord reward him according to his works,"—this savours, says Dr. Davidson, of another than the apostle. If St. Paul had been writing under an inspiration which made him perfect, this criticism would have been just; but on the critic's own theory the writer's subjectivity mingled with his inspiration. Now Paul, though by the grace of God one of the best of men, was by nature of a fiery character, and some of the old Adam may have rushed up to wish that the coppersmith might yet be rewarded according to his works. Again, "I obtained mercy, because I did it ignorantly in unbelief." Did any one ever suppose that the writer meant that his ignorance was either the efficient or the instrumental cause of his salvation? Is not the meaning as clear as the daylight, that sins done in ignorance are not so grievous as sins against light? Dr. Davidson thinks St. Paul could not have pronounced such a harsh judgment on the Cretans as to say they were always liars. Voltaire says that "in this passage there is neither politeness, ability, nor even truth;" but, begging Voltaire's pardon, the Apostle and the prophet whom he quoted were not likely to be mistaken as to the character of the Cretans. That they were notorious for lying is indicated by an ironical passage in Ovid—

"Cretes erunt testes, nec fingunt omnia Cretes."

Was it a harsh judgment of St. Paul to remind Titus of their besetting sin, that he might rebuke them more sharply? We notice these three arguments for the un-Paulinism of these epistles, but all the others brought forward by Dr. Davidson appear to us as equally wanting in validity and substance.

The great and absorbing subject of Bible criticism is the four Gospels. Here Dr. Davidson is unusually moderate. He neither seeks, like the bibliolater, to build up the walls of Jerusalem with untempered mortar, nor, like the destructionist, does he pull down for the mere love of destruction. He dwells on the obvious difficulties, and makes the most of them. The very fact that such difficulties do exist is proof sufficient that we have not an infallible Bible, for so long as these difficulties are thus insoluble by any ingenuity, it is not infallible to us. Yet there are many considerations which lead us to believe that historically the four Gospels are more accurate than Dr. Davidson supposes them to be. He remarks truly that the evangelists were only writers of memoirs or fragmentary notices of the chief events in the life of Jesus. If so, it is only to be expected that in different fragmentary notices there will be many things which we cannot reconcile with each other, just because we have not the complete accounts, which would give us, as it were, the connecting or explanatory links. This we have always felt must be the case as to the birth at Bethlehem, and the return to Nazareth, as well as with the genealogies given by Matthew and Luke. We often find in daily life the stories of two witnesses perfectly irreconcilable, and a third witness brings out some new facts which reconcile the statements of the first two. It is incredible that Luke, living so near the time, could have made a mistake as to anything so public as a general taxation or enrolment of the people. It is remarkable that other historians do not agree as to the date, or that the one to which he refers should not be mentioned in profane histories. Yet it is not always conclusive to reason from omissions. There is no subject on which we have more knowledge from Latin authors than Roman mythology, and yet there are Latin deities, or at any rate names of Latin deities, in St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, which are not found in any Roman poet or historian. If we gave the evangelists the same credit for general knowledge, discretion, and good sense which we claim for ourselves, a thousand Gospel difficulties would disappear. Does Dr. Davidson really believe that St. Matthew had such a supreme love of the ludicrous as to represent Jesus entering Jerusalem riding both upon an ass and its colt in order to fulfil a misinterpreted prophecy in Zechariah. Jesus's first disciples were certainly very slow in understanding many things; but do let us suppose that they were something better than fools.

We should like to follow Dr. Davidson to St. John's Gospel, where we differ from him very materially; but we have no space for more. The great question at issue is not the truth of Christianity, but on what foundation does Christianity

rest—on miracles, or on its internal excellence witnessing of itself to the hearts and consciences of men? That it has always rested on the latter evidence is not to be questioned; but if there was nothing special about the mission of Jesus, the mind, which reasons, is not satisfied, because it wants some fact outside of its own subjectivity. If Jesus did not rise from the dead, we may still believe in the resurrection of the dead, but we want that assurance of the harvest which the *first-fruits* give us. True it is that this assurance depends on testimony, and is therefore not the same as if we saw the living Christ before us. In neither case have we any certainty beyond that internal conviction which is the substance of things not seen. It is the will of the Divine Being that we should reach the knowledge of the spiritual and the eternal by an inward elevation—by a conscience void of offence. We walk by faith. Let us then walk honestly, casting ourselves trustfully on the great bosom of God.

The Hallowing of our Common Life. Sermons preached mainly at St. Gabriel's Mission Church, Bromley. By Rev. W. BAIRD. London: Mozley. 12mo. Pp. 92.

THESE twelve sermons—preached, the author tells us, from notes—show signs of having been delivered with earnestness, and the style, if sometimes inflated, is, on the whole, vigorous. The repeated praise of the hearers for listening so earnestly might have been omitted in the publication. Mr. Baird has given us a few critical notes, but he should have taken a little more pains with his scholarship in the sermons themselves. For example, he has a sermon on the text, "It is naught, it is naught, saith the buyer," of which his explanation is, "It is *no harm*, says the Sunday purchaser." If he could not study either Hebrew or LXX. he ought to have known the difference between *naught* and *naught*. This is one case of several that we have marked.

Everlasting Punishment not Everlasting Pain. By ROBERT REYNOLDSON, for nearly forty years Minister of Upper Hill Street Chapel, Wisbeach. London: Elliot Stock. 1867. 8vo. Pp. 76.

THE author, being in bad health, gave the MSS. of these five sermons to a friend, on being asked to publish them. We take leave to object to the editor's praise of the author. With friends, of course, this will have its weight, but it has, and ought to have, none on the general public. The view of Mr. Reynoldson is that of Annihilation. It would be out of the question to discuss here this most tremendous of all subjects. We can only say that the author maintains his views with moderation, thoughtfulness, and reverence; and his exegesis of the texts of Scripture which bear upon the subject is remarkable for its carefulness and (as far as we can judge) for its scholarship.

The Word made Flesh. Short Family Readings on the Gospels for the Sundays. London: W. Hunt. 8vo. Pp. 463.

THESE readings, we are told, were written for a family residing a long distance from the church, by a member of it confined to the bed by illness. Under any circumstances it would therefore be unkind to criticise it severely. But the book requires no forbearance; it is the production of much zealous and judicious study, and is marked by an unobtrusive piety which the sick-bed is so well calculated to call forth.

Home Sundays. By the Rev. G. EVERARD. London: W. Hunt. 12mo. Pp. 294.

THIS is a volume of readings which, we suppose, were once sermons. If not quite up to the average standard, they are very near it. Each one is ended with some poetry, mostly original. We know of no other remark which seems required, except that the anecdotes, of which there are many, seem wanting in point.

Fellowship: Letters addressed to my Sister Mourners. London: Macmillan & Co. 1868.

THIS is a very touching, and at the same time a very sensible little book. It is written by a mourner, and in the earnest desire to grapple with the realities, not the mere conventionalities, of the sorrow of a life-bereavement. It breathes throughout the truest Christian spirit, while it deprecates and repudiates nine-

tenths of what is commonly proffered as Christian comfort. Solitude in a crowd is not so dreary, as the greater part of the heartless commonplaces which are uttered and written by religious friends to one stricken with the loss of a beloved object. But those who are thus stricken will find none of these in the work before us. One specimen only we will give, serving to illustrate what we have said :—

"People tell you very seriously that you must put God into the place of him who has been taken from you—and thus add another to the many high-sounding fallacies with which the mourner is tantalised. For if it be a sin to put the creature into the place of the Creator, it is surely worse still to attempt the converse. Christ has taught us that we must love the Lord our God with every higher faculty of our being—and our neighbour as *ourselves*. These are, therefore, two different kinds of love, or they would not have been so stringently and separately described, and an attempt to put either for the other is as senseless as it is profane. Leave, therefore, all straining at such uncompassable abstractions. Thanks be to God, our hearts are elastic, or we could never fulfill His great law of love to those made in His image. Yet even this love,—philanthropy,—though expanded to the utmost, will never fill the vacant niche. No one being, or number of beings, ever really takes the place of another."—(Pp. 93—95.)

II.—HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL.

The History of France. By EYRE EVANS CROWE. In Five Volumes. Vol. V. London : Longmans. 1868.

THE concluding volume of this work, which the author just lived to complete, commences at the establishment of the Convention in 1795 and closes with the Imperial accession of Napoleon III. in 1852. The portentous events that crowded this half century could have been treated only in a most summary way in the space allotted to them, and it would be simply unfair to expect within this compass a military narrative conducted with the animation of Napier or Alison or such portraiture as those of Macaulay or Motley. "To give a clear yet succinct, a well studied and digested history" was the writer's object. Nor will any detailed exhibition of authorities be looked for by the readers for whom the work is intended. Whether the space has been mapped out in due proportions to the subjects may be doubted ; as all the Napoleonic wars occupy not many more pages than the reigns of Louis XVIII. and Charles X., and fewer than the reign of Louis-Philippe and the succeeding republic. When therefore the English reader turns to the story of the grand contest of these modern times, in which his interest ought to be perpetually kept alive, and inquires about Bonaparte's Egyptian campaign, the Peninsular struggle, and the Battle of Waterloo, he finds a few facts put together for him and a recommendation to consult the annals of his own country. And indeed we must allow that no more than a brief summary of such times would be possible in a work like this. We are however constrained to think that the historian might have been in this department of his work a little more instructive sometimes, and we certainly do miss the master's hand that, in however brief a space it acts, improves whatever it touches. Let us take, for instance, the battle of Waterloo, to which we find two pages allotted. Even in this brief space a skilful narrator who had carefully studied the subject would have contrived to convey the salient points to his reader's mind. But the circumstances selected for the description are wholly ineffective. No explanation of the ground is attempted, and yet the contests at "the Château of Rougemont" and "the farm of La-Haye-Sainte" are talked of, while "the hill," "its crest," and "the vale below" are all taken for granted. The repulse of the Imperial Guard, forming the crisis of the battle, would only be recognised in the narrative by a reader that brought to it a previous knowledge of the engagement. The space allowed moreover would have been sufficient to afford an explanation of Wellington's tactics in acting on the defensive. In the preliminary movements too, why is not the student informed of a matter of such interest as Wellington's plan of the campaign, and

how his strategy was anticipated and defeated by his antagonist,—in other words, how and why it was that a battle came to be fought between Brussels and the French frontier? How was it, again, that that action, in which the numbers on each side were so moderate, decided the fortunes of that long and eventful war? These are just the points that a Compendium should aim at establishing, rigorously excluding all such details as are unintelligible without maps and plans, and which the student will then feel a double interest in seeking in the more special narrative. Indeed a Compendium drawn by the hand of genius has some considerable advantage of its own, as enabling the reader to see his way clearly through the multiplicity of detail which in minute descriptions not unfrequently embarrass him. But while we cannot avoid this criticism, it is but fair to remark that in the bulk of the volume, which is occupied with political and civil events, Mr. Crowe, who was a politician, is far more at home, and the reader will be better satisfied. We can promise him that he will understand the fall of Charles X. in 1831 and the fall of Louis-Philippe in 1848, as well as the rise of the present Emperor. The scenes amid which the first of these revolutions took place are vividly described, as the historian was in Paris at the time; and the reign of the Orleans king he carefully studied, regarding it as more especially instructive to the English politicians of the present day. We should add that the volume contains an elaborate Index to the entire work.

Memorials of Canterbury. By MACKENZIE E. O. WALCOTT, B.D. Canterbury. 1868.

THIS is a little work of seventy-four pages, containing dates, measures, architectural minutiae, compressed guide-book lore in general, and forming, as its preface states, "a portion of a collective 'History of English Cathedrals,' published separately for the convenience of purchasers, as regard (*sic*) portability and price." Two abstract ideas, portability and price, having thus most poetically regarded it as convenient, it may be worth our while to examine whether such plain concrete beings as travellers and general readers can so regard it also. Mr. Walcott, who is precentor and prebendary of Chichester, has come forward as universal *cicerone* for his own and all other English Cathedrals; and since he has before written on Canterbury and its monastic buildings, (giving, by the way, a ridiculously incorrect map;—"Papers of the R.I.B.A., 1862-3," part i. p. 58), and since his Preface further assures us that in this, "the metropolitan and primordial city," "every spot has been personally visited, no source of information has been neglected, and" (laudably but somewhat contradictorily) "standard and original authorities only have been consulted," we cannot take a better specimen of his claims as a guide, or apply more favourably to the author the principle *ab uno disce omnes*.

The Cathedral naturally occupies the greater part of his work, but the few first pages are given to the City, commencing thus:—

"The Saxon Cantara-byrig, 'the City of the Men of Kent,' and the British Durgwern, 'the Marshy River,' was called by the Romans Durovernum."

Here, "Cantara" is, of course, for "Cant-wara" (Kent-men), and "Durgwern" is merely a conjectural name lately suggested as a derivation for the Latin form Durovernum; so that our guide's exordium is not encouraging in point of accuracy. But let us go on with him to the city walls, which are fine features at Canterbury, and of which, he tells us, "in Broad Street, remains, with round bastions and watch-turrets, may be seen, of the fourteenth century. There are other remains near St. Mildred's, the Cathedral, and St. Peter's Street." In Broad Street, however, we see square bastions in a proportion of two to one of round; near the Cathedral we find no part but that already seen from Broad Street; and we are left to discover for ourselves, what fortunately is very palpable, that the best surviving portion of the wall runs for a quarter of a mile along the garden of the Dane-John, far from any point which he names. To read further of *Earl Tentorden* as a native; of St. Martin's Church, "built *mainly* of Roman brick;" of the Gate-house at Harbledown Hospital—timber, and of the fifteenth century—as built in the *eleventh*; and to find in his list no mention of the Grey Friars' Refectory, perhaps the most curious relic in the old city,—is to hope that Mr. Walcott is reserving himself for the Cathedral and its precincts.

This Cathedral and the various episodes of its history have been fortunate in meeting with more than usually able illustration at the hands of Dean Stanley, Canon Robertson, Professor Willis, and others. All give copious references, and the "standard and original authorities," which alone Mr. Walcott consults, are abundant to his hand. Let us see how he uses them.

We naturally inquire first of our guide upon the two features of greatest interest in the church—the relics of the murder and worship of Becket, and the monument of the Black Prince. For the former, we will enter with him the "Transept of the Martyrdom," and read his description at length. It is a scene of almost thrilling interest, and accuracy of detail is all-important.

"A low wall, removed in 1734, cut off this arm from the rest of the church westward and southward, and had a door for the monks' entrance opposite that from the cloisters, by which A'Becket entered December 29, 1170, whilst the monks were singing vespers, and left open the door, saying, 'the Church must not be made a castle.' The Caen pavement by the wall at the south-east angle, on which he fell, remains, as well as the flat wall itself; for the fifteenth century masonry, which overlies the rest of the building, is cut off here many feet above the floor. The Primate was ascending the stairs to the choir aisle, now removed, to seat himself in his patriarchal chair, when the knights, Tracy, Le Bret, Fitzurse, and Moreville, brutally seized him, calling out, 'Where is the rebel?' He clung to the central pillar of the arm, but soon fell under their swords on a spot in the pavement, still marked by a hollow in the stone, before St. Benedict's altar. This arm was formerly hung with arras in his honour. At the wooden altar of St. Mary, on which was laid the point of the sword with which he received his death blow, and was (*sic*) erected on the site of St. Benedict's, Edward I. was married to Queen Margaret on September 9, 1299."

Not one sentence of this description is free from the most glaring errors. The confused grammar of the first seems to mean that Becket (why the vulgarism 'A'Becket'?) left the door open. Now, the monks had shut and barricaded the door after him, and Becket re-opened it, details of which these words give a quite incorrect impression. Whatever may be true of "the flat wall" (are not most walls flat?), the Caen pavement on which he fell does *not* remain, nor does it even seem to have been a Caen pavement. Benedict and Garnier both speak of it as marble, and the former should know, for he carried it all off to Peterborough. The knights did *not* seize Becket as he was ascending the stairs, nor did they call out "Where is the rebel?" as they seized him, which were absurd; he returned from the stairs at their call, and they seized him by the central pillar. To this pillar he did *not* cling—a defence strangely out of harmony with the recorded dignity of his death—he placed his back against it, the better to face his assailants. "S'esteit apuiez al piler," are Garnier's words ("Vie de S. Thomas," ed. Hippeau, p. 193), nor does any account go further. That the spot of his fall is still marked by a hollow, or by any other mark, in the pavement, we have just disproved. Mr. Walcott should have known that the legend which points to such a mark is of no authority whatever, and apparently a fabrication of the present century. And lastly, that the fall was before St. Benedict's altar, and that the wooden altar was erected on the site of St. Benedict's (as we again interpret, through perplexing faults of language), are mistakes which show entire ignorance of the site.

Nor is he a better guide to the Black Prince's tomb and its armorial accessories. He introduces us to "the helmet *once* covered with the leopard crest,"—but the crest is there to this day; to "the scabbard worn in three great battles,"—adopting as ascertained fact one of Dean Stanley's pictorial suggestions, of which the Dean's own Appendix shows that he would be the first to admit the improbability. He tells us that "Cromwell stole the sword"—again asserting positively what is but the vaguest tradition, on a par with many another nursery tale of the Protector; and that the Prince's motto, "*houmont*" (lego "Houmont") is "attached to the plume of ostrich feathers" on the tomb,—in which position it does not once occur, being invariably found with the lions and lilies. The other motto, "*Ich diene*," is with the feathers, an arrangement at variance with the directions of the Prince's will. Perhaps Mr. Walcott has seen these directions, and takes it for granted that they were carried out.

It is the same everywhere. That he has been to the standard authorities of which he boasts seems clear enough, for he has borrowed their very words with-

out acknowledgment; but whether from want of wit, grotesque opposition, or utter carelessness, he has, literally as often as not, wrested their words into something quite at variance with their facts, just as a certain person is said to use Scripture.

Gostling, who gossiped so pleasantly of this Cathedral about a century ago, tells an amusing story of one Richard Culmer, *alias* Blue Dick, a Puritan and an Iconoclast, at whom, while he was on a ladder breaking the large north window with a pike, "a townsman threw a stone with so good a will that if the saint had not ducked, he might have laid his own bones among the rubbish he was making." From this Mr. Walcott deduces the following account of the window:—

"Whilst Culmer, a fanatic, nicknamed *Blue Jack*, in 1642, was breaking it down with a whole pike on a long ladder, and urging the bystanders to hurl stones at it, one of them fortunately *struck him on the head, and preserved the glass from total destruction.*"

Again, more inaccurately still, he describes the screen between nave and choir:—

"Under the east arches the choir screen, erected by Prior D'Estria (Eastry)"—(*sic*, but query, what language is "D'Estria?")—"c. 1304, at a cost of £839, is exceedingly beautiful. On each side of the doorway are three canopied niches," &c.,—he gives its details,—"The later archway is higher than the original arch of D'Estria still remaining, and the tympanum between them has been filled up with perpendicular tracery."

Now these words are closely quoted from Professor Willis ("Arch. Hist. of Cant. Cath.," p. 97); but, laughable to state, the Professor is taking pains to shew, and does shew most clearly, that this screen was *not* built by De Estria, but much later. The cost, £839, is there cited from De Estria's Register as including the many works of the year 1304, of which the screen most certainly did not even form one.

Once more, in his remarks on the Archbishop's chair in the south transept, he says, "the earlier one consisted of three slabs of marble." The truth at which he is aiming is that the *present* chair consists of three slabs, and that one reason for believing it not to be the original throne of the Saxon Archbishops is, that the older chair is chronicled to have been made of one stone only.

He is no happier in his deeper researches into history. He thinks Archbishop Anselm's (Ernulph's) crypt may date from 1074, just at which time his predecessor Lanfranc was building what Anselm destroyed some twenty-five years later. To complete this theory he places Ernulph, Anselm's prior and architect, twenty-two years too early in his priorate. He dates (p. 67) the great fire after Becket's murder as 1184 instead of 1174. All these dates are of great importance in fixing change of style, and have long been landmarks of architectural history. Concerning Anselm there is another *morceau*. The Pope once paid him a high compliment as "*Alterius orbis Papa*," which Mr. Walcott renders "the pope of the other *orb*," apparently thinking the compliment to lie in an imputation of supremacy in the moon.

We have also a list of notable names of "monks and capitulars," semi-coloned into groups, ranging wildly and indiscriminately between Saxon days and present memory. Thus, in one group run consecutively, "C. Elstob, the Anglo-Saxonist, Lord Nelson, Eadmer, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, the historian." Perhaps no such fortuitous concourse has been seen since "Great Neptune, Vanus, and Nicodamus" stood grouped together in the famous Blarney Grove.

His history being naught, let us try him in the mere indicative capacity of a pew-opener, and go the round of the monuments with him. Here, he tells us, lies "Odo Coligny, Cardinal Chastillon;"—it is the grave of Cardinal Odet de Chatillon; Coligny was his brother's, the Admiral Gaspard's, name, apparently a proprietary addition (Haag, *La France Protestante*, Art. *Chatillon*). Here is "Archdeacon Battely, the historian of Canterbury;" but Nicholas Battely, vicar of Bekebourne (where he is buried), not John Battely the Archdeacon, was the historian and editor of Somner. Here Archbishop Langton—but his death is wrongly dated, and the peculiar position of the tomb, partly inside and partly outside, with the chapel-wall arched over it (it was once entirely outside),

is quite wrongly accounted for. At King Henry IV.'s monument, he says, "on the two pillars near the head was painted the martyrdom of Becket;" the painting was on a large panel, and panel and frame, with traces of the picture, still remain *in situ*.

Proceed we with him outside the Cathedral. He says that "the east end (of the Corona) was restored by Mr. G. G. Scott 1860;" but it has not been touched, nor has Mr. Scott ever restored an inch of the Cathedral; he shows us the brick Alms-gateway as "circa 1645," when it bears the date 1545 upon it; tells us that part of a cloister was "converted into the Prior's chapel," whereas the chapel was built over it; that its north side was next the church, which is on its south; sends us to the Library as accessible on Fridays,—advice upon which we recommend no one to act, on pain of certain disappointment; and, to pass over by tens other blunders longer to explain, finally loses his head altogether in the "Green Court," laying the lesser dormitory along its north end (p. 63)—it lay due south and not very near the court; and pointing to the Deanery as its west boundary, and there it stands before our eyes on its east.

We would not have cared to expose this book, but that it pretends to be part of a "History of English Cathedrals," and that its author is himself a Cathedral dignitary, writing moreover half an alphabet of abbreviated degrees and titles after his name, and perpetually, we believe, coming before the world as an authority, not only on church architecture, but on all sorts of matters connected with archaeology and with ecclesiology, past and present. Literally, in our experience, so few pages never before held so many blunders. The work amounts to a parody or travesty of history. On this score, at least, it claims originality, and its "standard authorities" will exclaim with Martial—

"Quem recitas meus est, o Fidentane, libellus;
Sed male cum recitas, incipit esse turis."

We wonder if any unwary purchaser has been caught by the author's titles; if confiding Canterbury pilgrims have been disposed, like ourselves, to listen to his voice. Let such dismiss Mr. Walcott to—Chichester, and prefer to perform their pilgrimage under the superior guidance of the virger.

The Story of the Irish before the Conquest. From the Mythical Period to the Invasion under Strongbow. By M. C. FERGUSON. London: Bell and Daldy. 1868.

Mrs. FERGUSON has here done her best to promote popular interest in the earlier portion of her country's history, which during the last thirty years has been greatly elucidated by the explorations of archaeologists and their study of the native Irish tongue. Her plan has been to exhibit a popular digest of the labours of the learned, giving her authorities at the end in the shape of a list of sources both manuscript and printed; and the entertainment of the reader consists in a narrative of the deeds, alliances, rivalries, and romantic personal adventures of traditional foreign invaders, primitive chiefs and petty kings, told in an anecdotal style, with frequent and copious extracts interspersed from some modern poets who have versified those stirring scenes, principally Aubrey De Vere, Samuel Ferguson, and T. D. M'Ghee. The incidents indeed are full of ballad material for the poet to work up, and we hope will often instruct as well as entertain; but we are compelled to give it as our opinion that the reader will be apt to be tried with a sense of weariness, unless he has a large appetite for this sort of reading, from which the volume enjoys hardly any repose, even in the chapters dedicated to St. Patrick, St. Columba, and the state of learning. Indeed we doubt whether there may not be even some degree of actual danger to a reader in this sea of legend, when the writer herself cannot always preserve her equilibrium. Good St. Brendan in the fifth century launches his coracle on the Atlantic wave in quest of a mysterious island located somewhere in the west; the discovery is duly made, and the saint finds himself in a charming land watered by a great river. It is a pretty legend poetically told, but our Irish historian must needs rationalise, and suggest that the western shore might have been New England, and the river the Ohio, and that the voyager might have been carried thither by the current of the Gulf Stream. Mrs. Ferguson's pages show Ireland to have been conquered over and

over again, long before Strongbow. What country, in fact, England not excepted, has not experienced the same fortune in the distant past? We are pleased therefore to see that she has the good sense to avoid dating the "wrongs of Ireland" from that great Anglo-Norman piracy which seven centuries ago united two conquests under one sceptre. Having had to chronicle successive inroads of distant adventurers—Partholan and his Greeks, Fomorians from Africa, Firbolgs from Thrace, Tuath de Danaans, Milesian Scoti from Spain, and Danes, issuing only in the paltry politics of the clan, we are not surprised that she can write as follows of the memorable event which first linked together, rudely albeit, the fortunes of two adjacent noble islands ever intended by nature to run the career of sisters together:—

"The historian of the Conquest, and of the ages which have since elapsed, may have to regret the rough and tedious process of transition through which the country was now destined to begin its passage; but it will always be a satisfactory reflection that amongst its results has been our admission to a larger sphere of civilisation, to a share in many peaceful as well as warlike glories, and to the general use of that noble language in which all the gains of science and all the highest utterances of modern poetry and philosophy have found a worthy expression."—(P. 293.)

Recollections from 1803 to 1837. With a Conclusion in 1868. By the Hon. AMELIA MURRAY. London: Longmans. 1868.

THE writer of these few leaves, the daughter of Lord George Murray, a former Bishop of St. David's, whose widow became Lady in Waiting to the Princesses Augusta and Elizabeth from 1808 to 1813, recollects some pleasing anecdotes of the court of George III. As the stream of time passes away for ever, how shall portraits of character, and those minor situations of persons and things which historians cannot condescend to touch, be depicted for those who come after, unless genial spectators at good posts of observation here and there will employ their pens to jot down what they see, preserve old letters, and amuse their later age in reviewing them and taking the younger generation into confidence? Miss Murray is one of these, and writes her recollections in an artless, natural manner, without cynicism or ill-nature, with none of those deeper observations and running comment either which have recommended some other recent similar works, but leaving a final impression which the best of us are ever glad to cherish. Perhaps the reader will find the most interesting pages those which place before him the kind monarch and his consort at Weymouth and their love of children, letters of the Queen to Lady George about the dying Princess Amelia, and certainly not inferior to anything for the reader of "Childe Harold," some pathetic letters of Lady Noel Byron, a bosom friend of the authoress. But as Miss Murray's reminiscences are chiefly of the royal family of the last generation, we shall extract a passage which we think is as charitable as it is sensible and worthy of being remembered on the subject to which it refers:—

"As usual with the gossiping world, many unkind and cruel things were said of the daughters of George III. As young Princesses, when marriages in their own rank of life were almost out of the question (the Continent being sealed up, as far as England was concerned, by the will of the first Napoleon), they were unceasingly thrown into attractive and agreeable society, and of course were exposed to the risk of forming attachments which could not (after the Marriage Act) be legalised. It is supposed that had the poor Princess Amelia lived, she would have confessed to a private marriage with General Fitzroy, and she certainly left him all the property she could call her own."—(P. 71.)

Recollections of Massimo d'Azeglio. Translated, with Notes and Introduction, by Count MAFFEI. In Two Volumes. London: Chapman & Hall. 1868.

IN the year 1845, while Italy was still only the name of a peninsula, Pope Gregory XVI. was breaking up, and impatient Italians were plotting another of those mad outbreaks which had so often fed the scaffold with their best blood and tightened the chains of despotism. It was then given to a native of Piedmont, Massimo d'Azeglio, painter, novelist, and adventurer, to discern a new path and a better hope for the national aspirations. That a young man of D'Azeglio's noble lineage should leave his patrician prospects and take to wandering with brush and palette, a suitor to nature, to achieve his own success in the world, is not so extraordinary an event. The strange thing is how

he came after such a training to place his name among the leading statesmen of Italy in an eventful era like the present. He confesses to a dissipated early manhood, and to having up to thirty-two "only painted and made love." Even at forty-seven the political calling seized him from without and not from within, and after a few days' reflection on a sudden proposition of his friends D'Azeglio started a diplomatist full grown. His own description of the crisis is too good to be omitted.

"At last I made up my mind to accept, for several reasons. The first was the wish—I ought to say the sense of duty—which commanded me to leave no stone unturned to prevent the disorders which would undoubtedly have taken place at the death of the Pope, to the damage of Italy and Italians, and for the benefit of Austria. Next came the other reason, of having a means of chasing away my melancholy: and finally my taste for a life of adventure and action."—(Vol. ii. p. 446.)

! Perhaps we may set down the jaunty air of this sentence to the *sang froid* of an old man telling the story of his middle age, indulging a little innocent vanity on the versatility of a genius ready to adopt any given career at a moment's notice. But the anecdote is strictly illustrative of those constitutionless days, when official life there might be, but public men could not be trained and had to be extemporized. Forth from Rome starts our adventurer to encounter the underground politics of the Papal States—chiefly those—finding his way by a sort of invisible thread which he describes, and above all things avoiding suspicion, his painting tackle here doing him yeoman's service. The mission was really a momentous affair in its results, and yet he keeps us pacing along with him and laughing at his travelling stories all the way. He makes us, however, sufficiently informed of the *business* in hand, which possesses the interest of being nothing less than the secret movements which issued in the Kingdom of Italy and are now first committed to history. D'Azeglio urged upon his auditors the cruel wastefulness of all their previous measures, arguing that if their object was to drive away the Austrians and convert the priestly into a lay government, their only chance of success stood in putting themselves under some patron who had at his disposal an army and a purse,—and why not Charles Albert of Sardinia? This king's antecedents had not been, certainly, such as to win their confidence; but then neither had their own antecedents been such as to give them any great assurance; and with the question thus balanced his logic usually prevailed. The programme was that they must pledge themselves to rally round the king at a given signal, and that this signal must be some European complication, for which accordingly, and not for a change of Popes, they were to wait in patience. When he had fairly convinced them of the soundness of this advice, and not till then, he ventured to explore Charles Albert himself. The place and time of the audience, the character of the prince whom D'Azeglio was about to let into the confidence of the Italians, his own misgivings, are all admirably told, and then the joyful amazement with which finally his ears drank in the royal reply:—"Tell those gentlemen to remain quiet and avoid a rising, as nothing can be done at present; but let them be certain that when the time comes, my life, the lives of my sons, my sword, my exchequer, my army, shall be expended for the Italian cause." The next step in the piloting of this movement was to deliver it from the dangerous manipulation of the secret societies, and to gain for it both respectability and power by fearlessly fronting the public eye instead of wearing any longer the conspirator's mask. Forthwith therefore D'Azeglio issued a pamphlet, avowing the authorship, and boldly sketching the Italian claims. How these courageous measures bore their fruit, first under the guidance of D'Azeglio and Charles Albert, and then under Cavour, Victor Emmanuel, and Garibaldi, is known to most reading people and may be learned from these pages. But in saying this we must explain. D'Azeglio's "Recollections," though written after the triumph of his policy, begin chronologically from his earliest days. The old man's pen loved to linger at every stage, and when death took it out of his hand (Jan. 15, 1866) it had only arrived at the eventful year 1845. The translator however in a long preface carries the political portion of the narrative forwards. The bulk of the two volumes is therefore an autobiography of private life and personal adventure; and it would have been enough to say that they rank with most other books of a similar subject, were

it not for the genius that tells the tale, and that the writer avows the high purpose of improving the country that he dearly loved and ungrudgingly served by the recommendation of sound principles to the younger generation of Italians. We can safely promise any reader of a reflecting turn of mind, fond of a style in which vivacity is controlled by good taste, and able to appreciate instructive thoughts and ingenious remarks planted at every turn, willing to be a critic too and a censor as well as a learner, that he will find his entertainment in these "Reflections." But the Kingdom of Italy is too striking a phenomenon of recent years not to challenge our deepest interest, as we watch it in the presence of the grand question of the Christian Religion, which in its bearing upon national life is rapidly becoming the question of questions. D'Azeglio is by no means indifferent to the divine sentiment conveyed in the quotation *colum novum et terram novam*; admitting that the obstacle to national regeneration is the innate corruption of human nature (vol. i. p. 66), that "a nation without faith cannot be either disciplined or strong," and that "Italy will never be really a nation till she is based on a religious principle" (pp. 33, 34). But religious faith has, he says, been made well-nigh impossible by the priests. And indeed he appears himself to have suffered some loss here; for though he employs the term Christianity in framing his finest sentiments, we cannot gather that it signifies to him any more than a well understood synonym for honesty, integrity, &c., virtues which he insists upon above everything in urging Italians to adopt that moral discipline without which they can never be great or prosperous as a nation even when the foreigner is expelled and Rome is gained from the priest. Appealing to "Christianity" in this sense, D'Azeglio speaks with the energy and decision of a cataract; but when that august word stands for revealed truth he can only quote Pilate. In his last testament religious feeling stands foremost and is very touching, but the name of Christ does not occur. It is a truly hideous fact to be assured of by a serious Italian, as we are by D'Azeglio, that Christian belief in Italy, "a nation of priests," is more difficult and rare than anywhere else,—

"Italy is the old land of *doubt*. The Reformation had little hold upon her; not so much because the Roman Inquisition kept it in check, but because Italy cared little for Rome and still less for Wittenberg. It is not in our natures to believe more than the priests themselves, and facts have always shown that the priests of Rome believe very little. The Italians therefore have never considered dogmatic questions very seriously, and the *Chi sa se è vero?* 'Who knows if it be true?' (a mournful question for humanity) has always prevailed among us since the days of Guido Cavalcanti."—(Vol. i. p. 30.)

The Pupils of St. John the Divine. By the Author of "The Heir of Redclyffe." London: Macmillan & Co.

THE "Sunday Library," which opens with this volume, starts well. Miss Yonge has told the story of the Apostle and his disciples, if at times in a style approximating too closely (as in the narrative of his interview with the young robber in ch. vii.) to that of a sensational novel, yet with considerable power and in a manner likely to interest many readers. A tolerably free use of the privilege of associating with the main theme many of its accessories enables her to gather round it much of the Church history of the first two centuries, the Apologies of Justin and Melito, the history of the seven churches of Asia, the sufferings of the martyrs of Lyons, even to the persecutions in Parthia under Sapor, and the history of the Council of Nicæa, and the apostasy of Julian. One almost wonders, indeed, when the law of expansion was held to include these subjects legitimately, by what new law the line of demarcation was ultimately drawn.

It may be worth while to note, for correction in a future edition, that the Greek for those who bear witness to the truth is not *martyroi*, but *martyres* (p. 65), that the received word in the New Testament for the messenger of good tidings is not *Evangelos*, but *Evangelistes* (p. 8), and that the edict of Marcus Aurelius to the commonwealth of Asia, quoted (with a slight reserve, "if it be genuine") in p. 209, is now generally rejected as spurious. We are disposed, too, to question the etymology which derives Ignatius from "ignis," as meaning the "fiery one." It is surely much more likely to have been a Græcised form of the name of the old *Egnatian* gens of the Samnite leaders, some of whom we

know to have followed Crassus to the East in B.C. 53, and who may have left traces of their name in Syria.

We must enter a protest, however, against the portraiture of St. John, which disfigures the otherwise attractive title-page. Of all the representations of the apostle which we have seen, it is the least satisfying, neither fiery nor tender, neither realistic nor ideal, neither Jewish nor Greek, but a face of coarse, sensuous features, conveying the impression of a bewildered muzziness rather than of a fiery mysticism.

III.—PHILOSOPHICAL AND SCIENTIFIC.

Mental and Moral Science: a Compendium of Psychology and Ethics. By ALEXANDER BAIN, M.A., Professor of Logic in the University of Aberdeen. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1868.

A PROFESSOR in a university has unusual facilities for writing a book—we mean *one* book—not any one. Every year—sometimes more frequently—he reads a course of lectures on a given subject; that subject chiefly occupies his mind, and all his other studies necessarily become tributary to it. If he is following the original bent of his mind, which is generally the case with a professor, the subject is always fresh to him. He studies it in its relation to others that are correlate or cognate, and he collects his illustrations from a wide field. The author of this work has had all these advantages. The subject is his own subject. He treats it thoroughly. He gives freshness to some of the ideas with which we are most familiar. The style is exact and finished; neither obscure by the brevity of the sentences nor redundant by the superfluity of words. And as for the illustrations, they are as remarkable for their felicity as they are charming for their beauty. Whether it be Watt or Davy making their scientific discoveries while following similarity in diversity, Goethe finding homology in plants, Oken discovering the identities in the vertebrate skeleton, or the child fed by its mother making its first efforts at volition—

“Ridentem et parvum Learchum
Brachia tendentem”—

we feel that the author is always happy both in illustration and adornment.

The first part of the work is an exposition of mind,—a treatise on Mental Science or Psychology, as the title-page expresses it. This part is preparatory to the Ethics. Before the question of motives can be discussed, it is necessary to know something of the mind itself. And before the discussion of mind, Professor Bain has wisely judged it necessary to discourse of the physical organs with which our thoughts and sensations are connected. This is not only to begin with the beginning, but it has the advantage of embracing the whole man considered as a being organized, and having, in connection with this organization, thought, feeling, and will.

The two great questions in mental and moral science open to controversy are those which concern innate ideas and conscience. The Professor, more than any author we know, has narrowed both these questions. He gives the arguments on both sides fairly, but his own leanings all through the book are manifestly with nominalism, experience, and utilitarianism, as opposed to realism in the sense of idealism, intuition, and moral sense. On the general doctrine of innate ideas, we almost wonder at the repetition of some of the objections urged against it. The maintainers of the doctrine never meant that a child just born had an idea of God, or eternity, or justice, any more than it had a knowledge of language. All they meant was, that a child has ideas in embryo, waiting development from experience and education, just as it has the capacity of language. We deny that language arises from experience and education. The power to learn to speak must be innate in the child, otherwise no education could put it there. The Professor endeavours to deprive the doctrine of the argument

derived from the existence of truths necessary and universal; but the very fact that these truths are, by common agreement, necessary and universal, shows that, in some way, they are connected with the constitution of our minds, and are not acquired by education. We can no more put these ideas into our minds than we can make our minds; for, independently of these, we do not know that we have a mental constitution.

The question, we repeat, is not to be decided by the negative evidence derived from observation of the minds of children, idiots, or persons who have not reached the ordinary standard of humanity. Here we differ from the Professor in the very outset of the inquiry. He says that with children imitation is not instinctive, for a new-born infant has not the ability to imitate. We say the general fact that all children begin to imitate as soon as their natural powers begin to develop, is the certain proof that imitation is an instinct, something as much inborn in them as the capacity of their heads to grow larger, or the muscles of their legs to grow stronger. In the second part of this work—that on Ethics—Professor Bain, so far as we can gather his own views, leans to the doctrine of consequences. He admits, however, that, in some parts, morality is eternal and immutable. The test by which anything is to be tried, whether or not it is right, is to be found in utility. Does it conduce to happiness—not the present happiness of an individual, but the well-being of mankind? All the arguments of the utilitarians may be admitted by the independent moralist; yea, he may adopt them as a help to a fuller exposition of his own belief. That which is right must be best for man. If, in the complex phases of human life, cases arise that are difficult of determination, it is to experience he must look for the confirmation of what he believes to be right. Experience is, after all, but the judgment of the universal reason or conscience of man. No advocate of the moral sense ever said that that sense was perfect. It is a capacity to be cultivated, like all our other capacities; and to know whether or not man possesses it, we are not to go, as the Professor maintains, to the rude savage. He is but an imperfect man, no more the representative of the race than a newly-born child. Humanity and its natural capacities are only represented by the universal mind as we find it in its most developed forms.

Though we differ from Professor Bain on these points, his work is not, in our judgment, of less utility than if we had agreed with him in everything. The ethical part is almost entirely historical. The expositions of the different systems are concise, yet clear and accurate. This feature alone would secure for the work a permanent place among works on mental and moral science. As particularly illustrating the Professor's facility of analysing systems, and exhibiting clearly the leading points to be laid hold of, we have noted specially the accounts of the doctrines of Berkeley and Hume, with their relations to each other. On p. 430 we had marked an inaccuracy in what was said of Mandeville. He did not make "self-interest the test of moral rightness," for the reason that he did not believe in the existence of "moral rightness." The happiness and welfare of man were, he said, in vice. It was an indispensable condition of the well-being of society. "Private vices" were reckoned "public benefits." A hive of bees representing the community, complained of the prevailing injustice. Jupiter heard the complaint and restored honesty; but with the restoration of honesty came poverty and the cessation of industry.

"Bare virtue can't make nations live"
In splendour; they that would revive,"
A golden age, must be as free
For acorns as for honesty."

In the longer account, however, beginning on p. 593, the Professor admits that Mandeville made no distinction between virtue and vice.

Rambles of a Naturalist on the Shores and Waters of the China Sea. By CUTHBERT COLLINGWOOD, M.A., M.B., Oxon. London: Murray. 1868.

DR. COLLINGWOOD'S book is precisely what its title implies, but even more rambling than a naturalist's journal is wont to be. In fact, he seems to have given us here, day by day, the jottings of his journal with scarcely the semblance of arrangement. Topics wide apart as Mandarin examinations and "wide-awakes" come tripping over each other in bewildering succession. Each day

tells its own tale. We are taken from island to continent, from sea to mountain, and back again to sea, till without a sketch map, which would have been a useful appendage to the volume, we scarcely know whether we are in China or Singapore, or back again in China. Still, Dr. Collingwood's journal is most pleasant reading, always cheerful, easy, gentlemanly, and clear; the ordinary reader will be beguiled pleasantly to the end, and before he closes the volume may have begun to inquire what are "nudibranchiate mollusca," whose beauties are so often extolled, while the naturalist or the traveller will most certainly not lay it down. To the scientific student many interesting points of geographical distribution or natural habits of animals are elucidated by the volume; the general reader will only acquire vaguely some idea of the varied products of nature in China, Borneo, Manilla, and other eastern regions. But the searcher after scientific accuracy will be disappointed; the want of plates or illustrations, and the deficiency of the index, render the work of little use for scientific reference; and this was exactly that which we had hoped to find. Without asking Dr. Collingwood to turn it into a scientific catalogue, we trust the index may be enlarged for a second edition. The author is a polyglot naturalist, but his natural predilections are evidently for the sea slugs, the very fairies of slugdom, whose existence was first revealed to most ordinary Englishmen by Mr. Albany Hancock's "Nudibranchiate Mollusca." Only one plate is given to these curious creatures, and to describe them without figures is hopeless. It is also very tantalizing to have descriptions of birds, of their habits and nesting, given time after time, without the scientific appellation. Thus twice in the book we have descriptions of the "wide-awake" bird, yet in describing it near Formosa or on Ascension Island, there is no hint by which a reader, ignorant of sailors' slang, could identify the species. Dr. Collingwood is very fairly at home in all branches of marine zoology, and on shore is a true lover of nature, from the "foraminifera" up to the jungle tiger. His description of the aborigines of Formosa, of whom he caught a glimpse for two days in a village on the east side of the island, is a contribution to our knowledge of a race scarcely known but by Mr. Swinhoe's communications; which, however, it would have been well for Dr. Collingwood to have studied before he wrote. Indeed, he appears to be unacquainted with Mr. Swinhoe's various papers on all topics connected with that island where he has resided for so many years.

There are many interesting topics treated of, by the way, in these pages. The description of the glowing beauties of a coral-reef by sunlight (p. 147), of the birds of Borneo (p. 167), of the pile dwellings of the Malays (p. 244), of the appearance of the constellations of the south (p. 306), are all good examples of this. We have a curious story given, but not absolutely vouched for, of a snake in Labuan with the properties of the electric eel (p. 173). There does not seem any *a priori* objection to receiving testimony in favour of such forces existing in a serpent as well as in a fish. In the conclusion of his book, Dr. Collingwood observes:—

"Who can say that the physical forces are not organic forces also? One of them, which long since would have been regarded as eminently inorganic, is now fully recognised as an organic force, produced by vital organs, and regulated by the will of the animal exhibiting it. I allude, of course, to electricity, an agent which is possessed by several fishes, and we know not by what other animal,—a force which is produced directly through the agency of nervous power, for the regulation of which a special cerebral lobe is recognised. If this nerve force or vitality can display itself in the form of electricity, why should it not do so also in the form of light?"—(P. 407.)

There is a curious instance of "*moon blindness*" mentioned with full details in p. 309. The account of the Labuan and Formosa coal-fields is interesting, especially the fact that these deep deposits are as recent as the oolite, and that in Labuan some of the fossils are identical with living trees; in fact, that it is mere lignite. We would also draw attention to the description of the formation of the Danmar gum, or resin; of the nutmeg plantations of Singapore; of the causes of the little prospects there are for the trade of demagoguery in China; of the prospects of Christian missions there, and of many other miscellaneous topics. We can cordially recommend the book as a valuable contribution to our knowledge, though it be too much of the naturalist to be a book of voyages and travels, and too much of the voyages to be a book of Natural History.

Practical Water-Farming. By WILLIAM PEARD, M.D., LL.B. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1868.

IF that man be a benefactor to his country who makes two blades of grass grow where only one grew before, what shall be said of the man who enables us to raise illimitable supplies of food from that which has been absolutely a barren waste? With all the skill and scientific agriculture of England, we are probably even now far behind any other civilized community in two points which have an immeasurable effect on the supply of the food of the people—the utilization of our sewerage, and of our inland fisheries. In fact, we have applied all our engineering skill to the waste of the one and the destruction of the other. Fertilizing matter is annually poured by thousands of tons into all our rivers, not only wasted itself, and prejudicial to human health, but poisoning all the inhabitants of the waters, and destroying one of the most productive of our food harvests. Any ichthyologist can tell us that the produce of an acre of fresh water, properly managed, is actually equal in weight of human food to the produce of ten acres of ordinary land. At length we have begun to bestir ourselves, after a fashion. But we are only at the threshold of what may be. Our legislature is at length awake to the fact that our fresh-water fisheries have been almost annihilated. But the remedy has scarcely yet gone beyond Lord Melbourne's celebrated maxim, "Can't you let it alone?" It will do very well, if you will only let it alone;" and we are beginning to send out Commissions, with the view of compelling manufacturers and Boards of Sewerage to let our rivers alone. This is, no doubt, a great step in advance. It is equivalent to clearing the wilderness. But the farm must next be stocked, and Dr. Peard comes forth with this admirable handbook to tell us how the farm should be stocked. But it may be said, "Have not the Salmon Fishery Acts done a great deal? Is not salmon now abundant in rivers, as, for instance, in the Tees, where three years ago it was extinct?" True; but what we have now may be compared to the spontaneous herbage springing up where a clearing has been made. The fact is that with a very little care, and with honest co-operation among all the riparian proprietors, it is difficult to set any limit to the productiveness of our rivers.

Dr. Peard, after glancing at the classical and mediæval history of pisciculture, an art which has been lost among ourselves for three hundred years, plunges at once into the subject, and urges that union is strength—that it is impossible duly to stock our rivers without combination and system. No landlord can improve water property single-handed. If he is on the upper waters and expends capital in artificial hatching, he sows, but others reap the harvest. If he removes obstructions lower down, it may only be to enable greedy proprietors higher up to destroy all the fish before spawning. A joint-stock company is indispensable. Eight chapters are devoted by Dr. Peard to the salmon, the king of fresh-water fishes; and the importance of artificial breeding is clearly set forth. We stand amazed at the result. The fatuity and incredulity which has been exhibited by the owners of our inland waters seem truly wonderful. The experiment has been tried, in a greater or less degree, in many places, has failed in none, and has succeeded uniformly in the ratio of the scale on which it was conducted. Yet men still talk of requiring further evidence. We have statistics given which show that the rental of many of our salmon rivers now absolutely unproductive might average £1,000 per mile on a capital for breeding expenses almost infinitesimal. The increase in the production of salmon within the last three years has been, in England, many hundreds of tons weight, and the experience of the Galway fishery shows that artificial breeding has increased the take of a single fishery, by a steady annual progression, from 1,600 to 20,500 salmon per annum in ten years.

From salmon we are led on to trout, and it is shown that there is not a clear rill in England of a yard wide which might not largely increase the rentroll of its proprietor by proper nurture of trout. Those streams which are unsuited to trout will nourish pike, perch, carp, or tench. For the latter, artificial ponds of a few acres, dug five feet deep, in waste land, ought to yield a gross return, under proper culture, of £50 an acre annually, after the first four years, on an outlay for excavating of £180 per acre. But the author shows that if eels are also cultivated in the same ponds, as they may be, the returns will be £100 per acre. The statistics of the productiveness of the eel-farms of Italy, which have

existed for many centuries, and of some parts of Ireland, are startling. Let us imagine, if we can, forty tons of eels taken in one night in the river Bann, in the north of Ireland!

The author next proceeds to the scientific culture of oysters, mussels, lobsters, crabs, and shrimps, on our foreshores, another important resource for our hungry millions; and gives most valuable tabulated statistics on the results of oyster-pares under our recent legislation. His knowledge of French pisciculture adds additional interest and gives yet more authority to his little book. It should be read and studied by every man who owns or holds a field which is touched by water, fresh or salt. May we soon see public attention turned to this subject, of far more vital interest to the nation's life than half the schemes which absorb the time of our legislature, and may Dr. Peard live to see every brook and pond in England a life-giving stream, and a storehouse of precious food.

The Ocean World. By LOUIS FIGUIER. Translated. London: Chapman and Hall. 1868.

THE title-page of this lavishly-illustrated volume informs us that it is "*chiefly* translated from '*La vie et les mœurs des animaux*' of L. Figuier." Monsieur Figuier is well known as a popular compiler, holding about the same position, as a French writer of natural history, which the Rev. J. G. Wood does on this side of the Channel. But in this volume it is difficult to ascertain for what M. Figuier is to be held responsible. We are told that "the History of the Ocean is to a large extent, but *not wholly*, compiled" from one of M. Figuier's volumes, but that "the larger portion of the work is a free translation of that author's latest work," and that "other chapters are compiled from various sources; they will not be found in either of M. Figuier's volumes." After these naïve admissions, we may well ask what is the book? Truly a very patchwork of compilation, utterly without authority as a work of reference! We must admit that the various compilers who have had a share in the volume, have frequently avoided mis-statements, while they have popularised the history of the inhabitants of the sea from the zoophyte to the vertebrate fish. Yet we meet with random writing and vague exaggeration more frequently than we expect, even in a *French* compilation. Thus we are told that the little *Janthina* shells inhabit the deep sea, and often form banks of many leagues in extent! Another marvellous story is that of a cuttle-fish 50 feet long, not counting its arms, which are represented as about 40 feet more, and weighing 4,000 pounds, which encountered a French corvette. The fish, according to the illustration taken on the spot and given here, should have been more than a match for the ship. The editor, however, suggests (in, we presume, "compilation" Latin) that this should be taken *cum grano salis*.

The best portions of the book are those on the Acephala and the Echinoderms, which are very fairly illustrated. Some of the plates are spirited, and all of them accurate in this portion of the volume. The latter portion is less complete, the plates rather sensational, and some interesting facts, such as the existence of water-snakes, altogether omitted. Yet the book, with all its faults, and they are many, may be useful in leading children to inquire into the nature of the creatures they find by the sea-shore. It ought to be taken by school-boys to the sea-side, and its pictures may afford much home amusement besides. These, excepting in the lower forms of life, have scarcely been chosen with judgment. Every common shell of our coasts, even our black garden slug, the common cowrie, and shells seen on every cottage chimney-piece, are figured elaborately, while the world of shells was before the artist from which to choose. We fully appreciate the value and the necessity of popularising technical knowledge, but we do trust that when M. Figuier's translators produce their next volume of science for the million, in the forthcoming "*Insect World*," they will give us engravings not more, nor better executed, but better selected.

Exotic Ornithology. By P. L. SCLATER, M.A., F.R.S., and OSBERT SALVIN, M.A., F.Z.S. London: Quaritch, 1868.

THIS sumptuous work, the first series of which is to be completed in twelve parts, is a continuation of the costly work of Temminck, "*Planches Coloriées*,"

which in turn was a supplement to Buffon's "Planches Enluminées," commenced nearly a century ago. It has been undertaken by two of the most accomplished ornithologists in England, and who, especially in all that relates to the New World, are acknowledged to be our first living authorities. The plan of the undertaking is to select various groups of birds of which the authors are able to describe one or more new species, and with a full and accurate description and beautifully-coloured figures of the new species, to give a careful enumeration of all the previously-known species of the genus. This feature of the work appears to us most useful and important. The birds are beautifully and most carefully drawn and coloured, and the care taken in the delineation of the important parts, as the beak and feet, are unsurpassed in any illustrated work on ornithology. The accuracy of detail in these points almost reconciles us to the absence of the pencil of Mr. Wolf. Not one of the feathered gems introduced to us on the plates has been figured before. Of the letter-press we cannot, as naturalists, speak too highly, and the illustrations will render the work welcome beyond the circle of ornithologists.

IV.—POETRY, FICTION, AND ESSAY.

The Man of Birth and the Woman of the People. By MARIA SOPHIA SCHWARTZ. Three vols. London: Strahan & Co. 1868.

SWEDISH literature is very imperfectly represented by translations in English, but the name of Maria Sophia Schwartz is not entirely new to readers in this country. We believe that this is the first book of hers which has been presented in an English dress, but we are not quite sure even of that. At all events the story before us is welcome. It is really a very curious novel; it can scarcely be called entertaining, though it is an interesting story, written by a high-minded woman, who conceives character and situation vividly, writes with transparent clearness, and presents the reader with plenty of generous, womanly criticism of life and human nature. The mere English reader has, of course, to take on trust the truthfulness of the book, considered as representing the higher morality as well as the mere conventions of Swedish society; but it is all so naturally told that one has no doubt of its being a faithful picture of some things that are pleasant, and many things that are stiff and stupid. One thing the reader quickly discovers, namely, that honour, in Sweden, as in England and most other places, is a word which has more to do with other people's opinions of oneself than with self-respect. But the issues raised in the book before us appear to us to be of rather a confused kind.

The story is the story of "All's Well that Ends Well," only with a difference. An elderly plebeian, Captain Martenson, marries a handsome young wife, Zelma, who gives him reason to be jealous of her. Martenson has a daughter, Elin, whose personal appearance is described by the author in terms which have some unintentional humour in them; indeed, the author's humour, when she has any, appears to be always unintentional. Elin, at sixteen, was "tall and thin, without vigour, grace, or harmony," with no soul in her eyes, with a nose that looked as if it some day intended to be a beak, with a forehead too high, temples too bare, and hair of no colour at all. "If," says the author, quite gravely, "we add hereto a sallow complexion and a perfect incapacity to master and harmonize the movements, then it must be admitted that Elin Martenson was not a blooming, graceful, attractive maiden." To these enter—of course there is a Count or two—the young and handsome Count Hermann Romarhjerta. He falls in love with Zelma. "The Count had opened a book which lay on a little table near Zelma. 'Do you read, esteemed lady, this master-piece of Milton?' he asked, with the same ardent glance as when saluting her at first. 'I have read it,' answered she, raising her eyes to him." The end of it is that Zelma makes appointments with the Count. Elin, without playing the spy, finds it all out, and, as we are told in the chapter entitled "The Heroic Victim,"

goes to meet the young Count one night instead of her stepmother, whom he expects to see. She had previously threatened to denounce this Zelma unless she relinquished all intimacy with Hermann, and she now appeals to the latter to withdraw and forget the lady. Just as he is giving Elin the promise she demands, the old Captain appears upon the scene, and demands to know whether it is his wife or his daughter that the Count has been pursuing. Upon the two men coming to high words, Elin declares that she is "the guilty person." Just as she has for the second time done a very wrong thing (for she was wrong in going to meet the Count, and very wrong indeed in taking the blame upon herself) the old Count appears upon the scene. "'My dear Hermann,' answered a beautiful and melodious voice behind the Captain, 'when we so far degrade ourselves as to, &c., &c., we have only one means of atoning for our fault—namely, conferring on her our name. This is a step which honour commands, and which my son cannot and must not fail to take.'" Now Elin was secretly in love with the Count, but after the description we have had of her personal appearance we cannot feel any surprise that the Count does not *immediately* fall in love with her. However, another false step is now taken. The young Count marries Elin and immediately disappears—having thus fulfilled the bond to the letter, and given the young lady "his name." A great many years pass over, during which the Count and Elin see the world. At last Hermann is presented to us in love with the beautiful Stephana, Stephana being in love with him too. But Stephana insists upon his going and making Elin happy. This seems a little inconsistent with the lecture on marriage delivered by Jacobo in Chapter xxxviii., in which we are told that "the absence of moral elevation which distinguishes the present age" is the result of "indifference" in marriage, "which reacts on the race growing up." But that is not all. The acute reader, from the hint we gave him at the beginning, has already guessed that Stephana is in reality Elin, who from a gawky girl has grown a beautiful woman. Now, of course, the very essence of the situation is that the Count does not know this. We need not pursue the subject; but it is surely impossible to work out this problem satisfactorily? How the story ends must be discovered from the book itself, which is beautifully got up, and is in many respects one of the most peculiar novels we ever read. We fancy many people will be more interested about Jacobo and Lady Helfrid than about the ostensible hero and heroine. :

The great fault of the narrative unquestionably is that what is represented to us as the triumph of virtue, is really, on the author's own showing, a triumph of luck. Since Stephana and Elin are the same person, and since the Count has fallen in love with Stephana, the solution is easy; but otherwise it would have been impossible to get a pleasant ending out of such a jumble of wrongdoing as the story begins with. But it is not only well worth reading as a literary curiosity; it has in a high degree the ordinary good qualities of some of the best of current novels; and it has also a simplicity, purity, and straightforwardness which are peculiar to the stories of the north of Europe. There is much piquancy in the contrast between the simplicity of this author's manner and the ingenuity of her plot, to say nothing of the clearness with which she makes us read the characters of her personages.

The New Landlord. Translated from the original Hungarian of MAURICE JOKAI, by ARTHUR J. PATTERSON. London: Macmillan & Co.

THIS is a novel much above the average in interest and value, and one suited to all ages. It has story and variety enough for the young, and character and humour enough for the old; and if, as we may fairly conclude, it is a genuine picture of Hungarian life, it has real value of another kind.

The scene is laid in Hungary, a few years after the great national struggle with Austria, and the hero—or one of the heroes, for there are two, both old men, and both truly loveable heroes—is an old Hungarian country squire, who has been for twenty-four years governor of his county, a wealthy, respected, influential landowner, who has had his property devastated by the war, and his favourite nephew and next heir, thrown into prison, and now finds his personal liberty curtailed on every side by the new Austrian laws, yet opposes a sturdy, uncomplaining resistance to his fate.

The whole story illustrates the mismanagement of Austrian rule, and the

hardship of having a conquering race in authority over their vanquished opponents, yet there is a gentleness and absence of bitterness in the author's tone of speaking of the Austrians which argues well for the hope of union between Hungary and Austria. The second old hero is an Austrian major who has served in the war, but had formerly lived several years in the "Alfold," or Hungarian plain, and was therefore well prepared to return to it as a home, when he purchases an estate near Mr. Garanyölgyi, and sets up, as it were, as a colonist in Hungary. His character is painted with a thorough appreciation of the chivalrous character of the higher Austrian officers, and gives great relief to the more painful part of the story. He is represented as a sturdy, honest soldier, thoroughly disgusted with the informing practices by which the Government allows itself to be assisted, and ready to join hands with his former opponents, and live in peace and friendship with all that is honest.

The adventures of the Knight Ankerschmidt in his new home, his sufferings from the efforts of the Austrian police (a very chapter of How not to do it), his difficulties in getting his new scientific agricultural plans carried out, the way in which he gradually forms acquaintance with his injured neighbours, are told in a lively, graphic manner, full of amusing episodes of national manners. One of the best scenes is when Ankerschmidt's Austrian land-steward, well furnished with model machines and labourers imported from a distance, contemptuously refuses the offer of a peasant, the head of a gang of native labourers who come to tender their services to mow his rape, after the fashion of the country, because, having come from a distance to "house" two crops at a considerable interval for Mr. Garanyölgyi, they naturally wish to avoid "picking their teeth," i.e., doing nothing, for a week between times.

Another time the Knight Ankerschmidt, lamenting over the loss of some special Yorkshire pigs that had been stolen from him by the Hungarian "poor lads," *alias* thieves, consults his neighbour's swineherd as to his chance of saving the rest now the police have sent for all their keepers to give evidence in a court of justice:—

"Heigh, my younger brother, hast thou heard whether they have stolen *all* my pigs while the swineherds have been called away?"

At this Swineherd shook his head very much, and giving his long felt mantle a jerk so as to throw it on one shoulder, he began, in a tone of expostulation, to give the new landed proprietor truer views about the customs of the country. "What is your lordship thinking about? Why, that would be a shocking ugly piece of robbery if any one were to steal from another's drove while the swineherd was "called to the country." It is not allowed to take one single pigling of the whole lot of 'em as long as the swineherd is down yonder with the *vass sagter** gentlemen. That is a matter of honour, sir. God bless you!"

"The deuce! I had no notion of such a *point d'honneur*," said Ankerschmidt to himself, beginning every day to see more clearly that there was, after all, a great deal that is new under the sun."

The old Hungarian bailiff on Mr. Garanyölgyi's estate, the "poor lad" who really stole the pigs, are also capital sketches of nationality. Everywhere the Hungarian character comes out as solid, honest, proud, with a great sense of humour, a little like our north countrymen, but with more of southern flow of speech and heat, and much more politeness of expression, though perhaps more essential barbarism of manners. The difference of this character from the vague, unprincipled, poetical being, whom we have come to regard as the type of the Slovak or Russian, which the clever novelist Ivan Tourguenieff delights to paint, is very remarkable.

The translator appears to have done his work admirably: in this respect he is a model to the numerous faulty translators who have lately bestowed their wares upon us. His style is everywhere flowing and readable, but as much as possible the Hungarian peculiarities of address and phrase are preserved, so as to keep the foreign flavour of the book. We heartily hope that Mr. Jokai, who, as we learn, is the editor of a first-class newspaper, a well-known literary man, and a member of the present Diet, will become better known in England by more of such worthy translations.

* *Was sagt er*. "What does he say?" A nickname given to the German-speaking officials who were ignorant of the Hungarian language.

The Disciple and Other Poems. By GEORGE MACDONALD. London: Strahan & Co. 1868.

It is scarcely possible to read the better poems of Mr. George MacDonald without feeling deep regret that any circumstances whatever should have diverted a man of so fine a spirit, with so choice a gift of expression, from poetry as the main, if not the sole, pursuit of his life. But it is useless to complain of what is done (even if it had not been inevitable); and the probability now seems to be that while Mr. MacDonald will leave to his generation a large quantity of writing which is deeply poetic, he will leave but few finished poems. Nothing appears, at first sight, more capricious than the fortunes of that kind of poetry which falls short of the highest; but, as far as we can make out the law, it seems to be that minor poetry is remembered in proportion to the concentration with which it is conceived, and the perfection with which the conception is run down into form. First, unity of idea; then, finished workmanship. Some of the poems of Mr. MacDonald, short and perfect, will stand a chance of being remembered as long as any poetry of our own day; but the number of such poems is small. Apart from a certain indefinable laxity of grasp which belongs to all Mr. MacDonald writes, two things contribute to this result, namely, a love of simplicity in execution, which seems to make rapid elaboration at white heat almost impossible to him; and, secondly, a tendency which may be roughly called an excessive regard to edification. Great as is Mr. MacDonald's delight in nature and life, it is rarely great enough to express itself with unreflecting motiveless intensity—in other words, he seldom gives us pure song. He appears to be incapable of writing poetry in which there is not a certain amount of moral truth, at least, assumed. To those who think the poet is, above all things, "a seer," as the phrase is, this will be no objection; but those who think the primary function of the poet is to put emotion into music, do not like propositions in verse, however beautiful the propositions themselves may be. As to the simplicity, it lies at the basis of Mr. MacDonald's mind; and it is one of the highest qualities a poetic writer can possibly have. Mr. MacDonald has been compared, in the usual lax phrases of reviewers, to Tennyson and George Herbert among others; but he resembles neither. The essential simplicity of his genius affiliates him to the school of Wordsworth, though he has a more delicate fancy than Wordsworth, and in his power of setting to music that kind of spiritual longing which almost rises to spiritual passion, and yet falls short of it, he is unlike any other writer that one can readily call to mind. Henry Vaughan's is, perhaps, the only name that could be bracketed with Mr. MacDonald's; but, after all, his ethereal delicacy is entirely his own. In "David Elginbrod" he half apologizes for speaking of the "skin" of Margaret; and, whatever his subject may be, his delicacy is always the first thing which strikes the reader; a delicacy which is indeed another name for purity, but which has, nevertheless, a light and music in it which are very far from being always a part of that purity which is only spiritual cleanliness. The manner in which Mr. MacDonald's genius walks through the most difficult paths of expression without taking up any of the straws or burrs which almost certainly cling to the skirts of inferior spirits, is nothing short of marvellous.

The present collection contains two long poems—one of them entitled "The Disciple," and one entitled "Somnium Mystici," of which it is sufficient description for a short notice to say that they present, in the form of very beautiful poetry, certain themes of frequent recurrence in Mr. MacDonald's prose. Then there are some songs of the seasons, organ songs, violin songs, poems for children, and a few ballads. The ballad-parable and the lyric of innocence are, to our thinking, the kind of poem in which Mr. MacDonald is most successful; though he attains a high degree of excellence in "The Disciple." That poem exhibits manifest gaps in the argument; but it is one of the most transparently good bits of subjective story we ever read, the expression in numerous instances being as clear and sharp as a French epigram, and yet as polished as porcelain and as tender as an infant's eyelid.

We do not know how many readers will be induced to buy this volume of poems on our recommendation; but we will answer for this, that no one who buys it and reads it will fail to put it among his choice books and to take it up in the hours when only the highest and sweetest can help him.

V.—MISCELLANEOUS.

The Law of Creeds in Scotland. By ALEXANDER TAYLOR INNES, M.A. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1867.

WE might describe this book as a lawyer's effort to answer the question—What is a State Church? And necessarily connected with this there is a consideration of the further question—How far, and in what sense, all Churches are State Churches? Relations of some kind must subsist between the governing powers of a nation and every corporate body in the nation. What are these relations? and, in the event of any sect having to change its creed, can it do so and yet retain its property? These are the questions which Mr. Innes considers and endeavours to answer from the actual history of the Church and of Church cases in Scotland. The conclusions at which the book points are much the same as those entertained by the Dean of Westminster, and, indeed, by all earnest men who have considered the subject calmly and comprehensively without the bias of party or prejudice. The Church of Scotland has always been more independent of the State than the Church of England, that is to say, it has more frequently put forth its claim of independence, and has had altogether a much freer church-life. But recent legal decisions have shown that if John Knox's disciples have long indulged in the imagination that their Church was both national and independent, the illusion is now vanished. The Kirk was established in 1567. In the same year jurisdiction was given to it by statute. It had exercised jurisdiction for seven years before, and now it claimed it as "justly appertaining to the true Church." The enactment defined the jurisdiction as limited to preaching, correction of manners, and administration of sacraments. This was scarcely satisfactory; but the Church managed to insert into the coronation oath a promise that the king would root out all heretics convicted of crime "by the true Kirk of God." And the Kirk *did* rule, the State annexing civil penalties to ecclesiastical judgments. In 1647, the old Scottish Confession of Faith was exchanged for that of Westminster, the Estates of Parliament confirming the new symbol. Then followed the troubled times of Charles and James. At the Revolution the Kirk was restored, and in 1690 it received its present legislative constitution. Between the Church and the civil power there was a struggle for supremacy. The General Assembly wished to exclude all who had conformed to Episcopacy in the previous reigns, but William demanded that they be admitted on condition of their signing the Confession of Faith. The Kirk strongly asserted its independence, but the king was equally firm. How the strife turned on the patronage question, and ended in the disruption of 1843, is known to all who are familiar with the history of the Church of Scotland. When the modern anti-State Churchman asks for the separation between Church and State, he proposes the easy solution which suggests itself only to very concrete minds. A devout millenarian once said to Emerson that the world was very near its end. Emerson answered that he was glad to hear it, for men would get on much better without it. But the world persists in its continuance, notwithstanding our complaints that its wretchedness and weariness are the causes of all our troubles. And something of this kind Mr. Innes shows is the connection between Church and State—however bad it may be, we cannot entirely get rid of it. In one of the first cases tried in Scotland, that of the seceding meeting-house at Bristol, the lawyers found that it "was no legal congregation," and therefore the trustees could neither sue nor be sued. In another, that of a meeting-house in Perth, some of the most eminent members of the bar were of opinion that they could not recognise the existence of the sect to which the building was said to belong. But obviously Dissenters required justice to be administered to them as much as other people, and the civil courts had to settle the differences of even non-established Churches. The Free Church Assembly was fairly in the way of having its jurisdiction over-ruled in the case of Macmillan; and in the Aberdeen case of the Bishop against Sir William Dunbar it came out in the clearest way that no Church unconnected with the State has any proper jurisdiction. Dissenting Churches, which at first sight seemed to have nothing to do with the law, are found in some respects to be nearly as much under it as the State Churches. And here Mr. Innes comes to

the great question of the present day—In which, an established or a merely voluntary Church, can we have more freedom? Though there is much to be said on both sides, and though everything like progress has been but too successfully resisted by both, yet, from a large view of the whole case, the balance seems in favour of the State Church principle. The argument, if put in few words, is that a State Church cannot itself modify its creed and therefore must be moderate in its administration unless the manner of its administration, also, is prescribed by statute; but a Church not established is bound more or less to its confession, and loudly as it may boast its power to change, as the Free Church is doing, the law will not allow it (unless satisfied that this power of change is one of the fundamental principles of the particular Church), except on condition of its resigning its temporalities to those who do not renounce the articles of the original confession. In like manner, if the voluntary Church has kept the administration of creed in its own hands, it will have complete freedom of using it, strictly or indulgently, as it pleases; but if it has made any regulation as to this matter in the basis of its organization, the law will tie it to this regulation just as it does the Established Church. Indeed, as the law was interpreted in the Kirkintilloch case, a Dissenting congregation is not at liberty to unite with another body, if there be one member protesting against the union. We cannot follow Mr. Innes further. It is enough if we have been able in this brief space to give an intelligible summary of his meaning. His book is a work of rare ability, and of singular interest at the present time.

Reorganization of the University of Oxford. By GOLDWIN SMITH. Oxford and London: James Parker & Co. 1868.

Plea for a Fifth Final School. By the Rev. JOHN W. BURGON, M.A., Fellow of Oriel, &c., &c. Oxford: James Parker & Co.

Few living men have a stronger claim to speak with authority on the subject of University reform than Mr. Goldwin Smith. The masterly letters to the *Times*, in which, under the signature of "Oxonienensis," he laid bare the most crying abuses of the system that then prevailed, prepared public opinion in the University, and yet more in the country at large, for the action of the Commission. When the Commission was appointed he was chosen to act as its assistant secretary, and, like most assistant secretaries, had, we may well believe, the lion's share of work. His career as an undergraduate, as a college tutor, as a professor, has brought out powers of the highest order, sympathy with the noblest types of culture, an equal antagonism to the dull routine of a blind conservatism, and the fantastic schemes of scientific or educational charlatans. Intercourse with men of different churches and ranks and political convictions, in our own country and in America, has enabled him to look on the questions which now agitate the University at once with the reverence of a son whose love and loyalty have not been shaken, and with the clearness and impartiality of one who can put himself into the position of a spectator *ab extra*.

The little book in which he records, as a parting gift to Oxford, the results of his own experience, has for these reasons a special interest. It will also, we believe, command respect from its thoroughly practical, we had almost said (at the risk of wounding Mr. Goldwin Smith's feelings by an epithet which he looks upon as irretrievably opprobrious), its *conservative* character. Compare it, for example, with Mr. Pattison's book on the same subject, noticed in a recent number, and one would almost believe, though there is no direct reference to it, that it had been written by way of protest against the theories which are there developed with so much ability. Mr. Pattison holds that the primary idea of a University is not that of educating, but of being a place in which men who choose can attain the highest culture. Mr. Goldwin Smith maintains, on the contrary, that "its direct function in the present day is education, and that educational duties ought to be attached to our emoluments," and that "the expenditure of public money in sinecures for the benefit of persons professedly devoted to learning and science has been decisively condemned by experience" (p. 1). Better service, he concludes, is done "by increasing the general intelligence through the effective discharge of educational duties" than by any single book, however able and elaborate. Mr. Pattison would, as far as possible, merge the Colleges

in the University, give up some Colleges at once as residences for the professors and assistants in the several faculties, admit men *ad libitum*, independently of any connection with a College. Mr. Smith believes that "as this is a University of Colleges, a University of Colleges it will remain;" that "no attempt to restore the old uncollegiate University can be successful on the ground occupied by these great foundations" (p. 13); that "the question whether particular Colleges shall devote themselves, wholly or principally, to particular studies, must be settled by the course of events;" that "to canton the Colleges out at present among the different studies would be chimerical: it would imply a knowledge of the future of science and learning to which nobody, especially at a moment of critical transition, can pretend" (pp. 23, 24). Mr. Pattison sneers at the Law and History Schools as having for its "outcome" the "able editor" who can write on any thing with a surface knowledge. Mr. Goldwin Smith meets the sneer without flinching.

"I can only say of the Philosophy Schools that it has produced many men able in the estimation not only of philosophers, but of statesmen; and if a portion of the talent which it has trained has been taken up by the public journals, this is deplorable and discreditable to the University only on the theory that we are a community of intellectual monks, to whom it is degrading and contaminating to do anything for the world without."—P. 27.

So, as against Mr. Lowe, Mr. Goldwin Smith tells us "that my experience of historical education leaves me finally under the impression that ancient history, besides the still unequalled excellence of the writers, is the best instrument for cultivating the historical sense" (p. 32). He treats the anecdotes which are so often told of the ignorance of University men on common things as "apocryphal or irrelevant:"—

"The nation, and not least, that part of the nation which is supposed to be most utilitarian, will thank her (the University) for exercising in a right spirit the authority put into her hands. It is our duty to recognise frankly and heartily the tendencies of the age; but of this age, too, the tendencies have their just limits. Education never can be complete without a knowledge of humanity as well as of physical nature, without a cultivation of the feelings and tastes as well as of the powers of observation and reasoning. The results of a training exclusively literary have long been manifest; the results of a training exclusively scientific are already beginning to appear. . . . While we recognise diversities of aptitudes, we must not forget that it is partly the business of general education to correct one-sidedness of mind."—P. 32.

We have hitherto been giving prominence to the points in which Mr. Goldwin Smith presents a contrast to the Laputan castle-builders who multiply their "paper schemes of University reform." It is time that we should indicate how far he is from acquiescing in the evils which the Commission, and the ordinances that have grown out of it, have failed to remove. He, too, holds with Mr. Pattison, that Oxford is overdone with examinations to an extent "fatal to any methodical and continuous plan of instruction." He concurs in the opinion that the "Pass" examinations should cease; in other words, that the present *minimum* for honours should also be the *minimum* for a degree. He differs in insisting, with some urgency, that there should be a University, as distinct from a College, Entrance Examination; so as to have one uniform standard at the commencement, as there is one uniform standard at the close, of the University course; and thus avoid the discreditable acceptance by a "bad College" of those that have been rejected by a good one, and their consequent failure when they are brought to the test of a public examination. The great hindrance in the way of all University improvement he finds in the authority of Convocation. The ultimate vote on all matters affecting the educational life of the University—in some cases the elections to its professorships—are determined by a large body of non-residents, knowing for the most part nothing of education, incapable of any real deliberation, whipped up by political or ecclesiastical wire-pullers to serve a party purpose. Even in the more limited constituency of the Congregation of resident Masters of Art, he complains that the franchise is given to those whose residence in Oxford is not that of persons connected with its academic life, but just as accidental as if they were living in any other country town, who have, therefore, "no better claim to votes in the councils of the University than

the Eton soldiers quartered in Windsor barracks have to votes in the councils of Eton College."

He objects also, and we think with reason, to the arrangement which places most Colleges under the visitatorial authority of a bishop or archbishop, and so gives to an ecclesiastic who may have no interest in, or knowledge of, education—may not even have belonged to the University—an absolute *veto* on schemes for College improvement, and so runs the risk of a conflict between public opinion and an episcopal *non possumus*" (p. 58). As might be expected from what he has previously written on the subject, he is strongly opposed to the retention of religious tests, both in the University, as affecting professorships, and in Colleges as affecting fellowships and tutorships. The Colleges should be left free, he thinks, to open themselves. He believes that there is little risk of their doing anything to outrage or alarm the religious feelings of those on whom their revenues and popularity as places of education so largely depend (p. 59). He believes also that the free adoption of a "conscience clause," as regards attendance at chapel and theological lectures, would strengthen rather than weaken the religious character of the colleges themselves (p. 60). He advocates, i.e., the adoption for undergraduates at Oxford of the plan which has long been in operation for students at King's College, London, and not a few other places of education connected with the Church of England. The principle that education is incomplete without religious training, as part of what is essential to the development of a true humanity, is recognised by him and by such Colleges in its completeness. Worship, as an integral part of that training, is set before all as a duty; teaching, with no attempt to mutilate or tone down what the teacher holds to be at once true and important as part of the doctrine of the Church of England, is placed within the reach of all; but there is also in the Colleges we have referred to, as Mr. Goldwin Smith proposes there should be at Oxford, an absence of compulsion. As regards the admission of fellows and tutors, however, Mr. Goldwin Smith hardly seems to us to meet all the difficulties of the case. Every College, it is true, is free to retain its Church of England character; but if, in the exercise of its freedom, it gradually passes into the hands of Nonconformists or Positivists, what security would there be that the service of the Church of England would continue, as he assures us, to be performed in the College chapels? In such a College there might not be a single fellow in orders to read the service, perhaps not a single fellow or undergraduate Christian enough to attend. If the chapel in such a case were retained at all for its proper use, the picture of a hired chaplain reading prayers to a solitary Abdiel presents itself as at least a possible conclusion. It may be that it is too remote to have much weight, that the risk is worth facing for the sake of advantages that more than counterbalance it, for the sake, some might say, of abstract right; but it undoubtedly must be met and not ignored. On the main question we agree with Mr. Goldwin Smith in thinking (1) that there is little ground for the alarm expressed in the late address from members of the University of Oxford to the Archbishop of Canterbury, unless, indeed, that University be so "honey-combed" with unbelief already as to show that tests are worthless as preserving the reality of a religious life; and (2) that if the reality be gone there is little gained by keeping up a hollow simulacrum of artificial and cynical profession of it. It would be the wisdom of a College, it would be even its policy, to elect as "teaching fellows" those only whose minds were in harmony with the religious system which the National Church sanctions or permits. But the Universities are national institutions in the first place, ecclesiastical only in the second, and so long as the Church of England retains its hold on the mind and conscience of the nation, so long it will not fail to exercise its legitimate influence on the Universities. When that hold is gone, it will no longer have any claim to monopolise the Colleges or the Universities as its private seminaries.

Mr. Burgon's pamphlet comes in to fill up the one gap which Mr. Goldwin Smith regretfully leaves unfilled. "In all plans of religious emancipation for the University," the latter says, "the case of the Theological Faculty is abandoned as hopeless." It would be unjust and offensive, perhaps, to Mr. Burgon to describe his scheme as one which has "religious emancipation" for its object, but the plan he advocates, with characteristic vigour and quaintness, would at least tend to give to the studies of that faculty greater life, and where there is life there must

he, in the truest and best sense of the word, freedom also. Theology, he pleads, is neglected because we have degraded it. All that we require is a miserable *modicum*; we offer no inducements such as we apply to other studies to thorough and systematic study. He urges, therefore, the establishment of a theological Final School as an alternative to those in classics, mathematics, law, and history, and the like, with class-lists on the same model as in them. He does not mean or wish the examinations to be the "measure of a man's orthodoxy," still less of his inner religious life. He sees in the range of studies required of candidates for holy orders (not, of course, that he would limit the schools in question to them) as wide a field for the activity of the intellect as is presented by other regions of study; and he asks why there alone we should be afraid to let the intellect do its work, and test its strength and its acquirements. The cause of religion suffers, he reminds us, by the advocacy of ill-trained defenders. The present system leaves the study of theology to the feeble and the indolent, and exposes young men with active minds and honourable ambition to the attractions of other studies which, as they are now pursued, tend to be more and more alien from, and antagonistic to, the faith of Christendom. We heartily agree with Mr. Burgon in the main outlines of the scheme which he proposes, and echo his vehement protest against the assumption that such a scheme would foster unbelief, as a suggestion which "postulates treachery, baseness, supineness in the highest quarters," and represents Oxford as "an organized imposture" (p. 22). We feel with him that it is a false reverence to "wrap divinity up in a napkin lest it should get soiled," and that at such a time "timid counsels," and "vague prognostications of evil," and "shrinking despondency," are far more perilous than the courageous hope in "the Future of Oxford and of the English Church," of which, in this instance, he is the spokesman. Seldom has there been a more vigorous attack on *laissez-faire* than in the words which we quote in conclusion:—

"No blessing from God's right hand ever did, or ever will attend such timid policy. It is an unmanly thing thus to skulk behind one another; and to shelve a fruitful difficulty with a barren truism; and to ignore the approach of danger until danger comes and finds us out."

An Address on the Connection of Church and State. Delivered at Sion College on February 15th, 1868. By ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D.D., Dean of Westminster. London: Macmillan & Co. §

AMID the clamour and passion of parties and partizans, it is refreshing to go back with the Dean of Westminster to the consideration of first principles. The connection between Church and State, what is it? What is it actually, and what is it abstractedly? The answer involves many other questions—some essentially, and some only by accident. The essential features of the Church and State connection the Dean reduces to these two;—that the State should recognize and support some religious expression of the community, and that this religious expression should be controlled and guided by the State. The Anti-State Churchman is opposed to both of these principles. The Scotch Free Churchman and the Anglican High Churchman are opposed only to the second. The fundamental objection of all these parties is, that there is in the nature of ecclesiastical affairs something which makes it unlawful for lay or secular persons to approach them. They all believe in a visible kingdom of God, which is not only not of this world, but is necessarily antagonistic to it. With the humble English Dissenter it is probably little more than a belief that he belongs to an elect community far too holy to be in connection with anything so secular as the State. With the High Anglican it is a claim for the clergy to have control over the consciences of the laity, and for the bishops to be princes of the Church, vested with the power of supreme judges in all cases ecclesiastical. With the Church of Rome it is the claim of the right of the Pope to depose kings and to bind and loose nations. The Dean's answer to them all is, that the State is holier than any of their confederations. The State is divine, whatever else may be divine. The Presbyterian may plead the divine right of his Presbytery, and the Baptist of his Baptistry; the Episcopalian may boast of his Apostolical succession, and the Romanist of the keys of St. Peter; but there is one institution of whose divine origin we are certain, and that is the State.

Even the Roman empire was regarded by an apostle as the "minister of God," "ordained of God," "the ordinance of God." "No stronger expression," say Dean Stanley, "can be found in the New Testament for any outward office or officer inside the Christian community." When we want an unbiassed judgment we look to public opinion; it is the best expression of Catholic reason. We prefer the daylight honesty of the secular press to anything we can find in the "religious" newspaper. When we want an impartial judgment, we go to the Privy Council rather than to my Lord of Salisbury or the Bishop of Cape Town; and in this we are followers of St. Paul, "who appealed to the judgment-seat of Pilate, the Roman magistrate, as the one opening of escape from the dark and iniquitous judgment of the High Priest Caiaphas."

The Dean's theory is very beautiful, and as an abstract doctrine its truth is as apparent as its beauty. It is admitted that the State is imperfect, and does not by any means reach the Dean's lofty ideal; and here he is only able to maintain his ground by showing in every case the equal or greater imperfections that are outside the State Church. The question, however, is rather practical than abstract. The principle of government may be divine, yet it is certain that politics are more frequently mere policy or statecraft than any love for justice in itself. As a practical question, practical men look at it, and turn away from the corruptions of States and State Churches to hear in the streets or the conventicle the voice of that wisdom by which kings *ought* to rule, and princes decree justice. The strongest argument against the State Church principle is its actual history. That the Church of England should have existed to this hour after the kind of government to which the State for more than a century has subjected it, is one of the greatest marvels of Providence. Whether it is due to the old life of Puritanism, to the revived zeal of Anglicanism, or to the loving and forbearing hands of John Wesley and his followers, or to all of them together, it is difficult to say; but it does not appear that the Church of England owes much to the State. The beginning of the last century is a long way to go back for illustrations; but all men who know history know something of the contempt in which the State clergy were then held by the nation. The livings, as a rule, were given away for political services. The incumbents were not expected to reside on their benefices. The very names rector and curate, by a silent satire, remind us of the evil days. The rector was to rule and receive tithes. The curate was to *care* for the parish. The industrious Thomas Stackhouse was then a hard-working curate in London. From a garret he addressed his Right Reverend Father in God, *John Robinson* (?), of whom nobody ever heard anything, on "The Miseries and Hardships of the Inferior Clergy in and about London." A curate could be had for not less than £20, and not more than £50 per annum. A needy clergyman—of which class there were plenty—would read prayers for twopence and a cup of coffee, or preach a sermon for a shilling and his Sunday's dinner. It may be answered that the low estate of religion, and the unworthiness of the clergy, may have been the cause of the contempt in which they were held. But for every effect there are several causes; and we cannot help thinking that, in the present case, the chief cause was the State neglecting to remedy the evils of the Church, if not actually promoting those evils, for ends which we dare not attempt to justify. We do not require to go to the last century for the evils which the Church of England has had to endure from its connection with the State. The Dean speaks of something "which no covetousness can appropriate, and no folly waste" being saved out of the general scramble, for the moral and religious well-being of the people. Beautiful in theory!—would that it were as true as it seems! Will any man be at the trouble to calculate how many of the benefices of the Church are bought and sold simply as money speculations? And who can tell how often that which seems to be "saved" is appropriated by covetousness, and wasted by folly? The revenues of the Church are a delusion. It does not possess them. The patrons may convert them into ready money when they like, and put the money into their pockets. To enable a man to profit by buying, he or a friend must be in orders; and how many qualify themselves to hold a benefice who are never qualified for the duties of their office, it would be invidious to say. Let any man examine any diocese in England and find how the livings have been disposed of; how many the Bishop has given to his relations and friends; how many have been bought in the market; how many are family inheritances, to

possess which the "greatest fool in the family has been made a parson;" how many, even of recently erected churches have been money arrangements, the clergyman giving of his own or his wife's property to secure the first presentation. Let any man, we say, make such an inquiry, and after it is made he will not wonder that the best men in the universities rarely take orders, and that the clerical intellect is of that kind which readily takes up with ritualism or any other foolery that may be the fashion for the hour.

The Dean is not blind to the evils of the State Church, but he does not feel them keenly. He must often have seen how the Church has been deprived of the services of many who would have been able and devoted teachers, had the road to success been through any other avenue than that of money or influence. In the beginning of the paper he dismisses endowments as only one of the accidents of a State Church. In theory he is right again; but the whole State Church controversy centres in the endowments, and the most serious evil in the Church of England is the maladministration of these endowments. The great question to be settled is that which rent asunder the Church of Scotland—the question of patronage. Are the people always to be regarded as catechumens to whom the Bishop and *patron* are to send a teacher, or are they ever to be considered as Christians of full stature, and capable of having a voice in the choice of their teacher? A national Church in which this is practicable is the only Church that will ever embrace the Christianity of this nation.

On the abstract question of the connection between Church and State, we see no alternative but to agree with Dean Stanley. The principle is endeared to us at the present hour because it has secured to us within the Establishment that freedom of speech and thought which is necessary for the crisis in the history of theology which is near at hand—a freedom which, as the Dean shows, cannot be found in any of the sectarian communions, excepting, as the Bishop of London remarked when the paper was read, among the Unitarians. We are, in the end, practically driven to the State Church theory. The safety of a commonwealth demands that the representative of the commonwealth be the head of all bodies civil and ecclesiastical. It is dangerous for Pope, Prelate, or Presbyter to have any dominion in this realm of England but what is delegated by the civil power. And the same necessity emerges with the question of endowment. The duty of the State is not to give the Church money, but to see that it does not get too much. Church-rates and everything like taxation for religion are, as a principle, indefensible. The first establishment of Christianity did not begin by Constantine endowing the Church. It began by the Roman empire permitting the Church as a corporate body to hold property. At the Reformation, the Church of England was not endowed by the State. The State only permitted it to retain a small remnant of the property which had accumulated during previous centuries for the uses of religion. The State had a right to take possession of the Church's property, because the Church's great possessions were not expended for the public good. Individuals die, and families die; but corporations live through centuries and become rich. At some future day the State may be called upon to deal with the property of some of the English sectaries, as it had to do with the Church property at the Reformation. On the same principle must be solved the question of the immense charities in England, which, in most people's judgment, are doing more harm than good. All property is state property, held conjointly with the present owners, and when it accumulates or is injurious to the common good, the State must interfere. So far, then, as endowment constitutes a State Church, so far every sect in the nation is established. We cannot escape State interference in religion; and thence it is not only, as Dean Stanley says, the duty of the State both to uphold and control the religious expression of the community, but it is a duty forced upon it—an inevitable duty, which it cannot neglect with impunity.

Apology for Sinking Funds. By WILLIAM LUCAS SARGANT, Author of "Social Innovators," &c. London: Williams and Norgate. 1868.

THE title of Mr. Sargent's book tells its nature. He believes that sinking funds have been unjustly decried; that that of 1786 was "established at first on a solid basis," but that "in trying to carry it on during a long war too much was attempted, and that if in 1793 the sinking fund had been entirely suspended,

it might have come into operation again soon after the peace of 1815, and might since that time have performed good service." While conceding "that reduction is not wanted in order to correct the evils from which our forefathers suffered, that we have no need to facilitate future loans, which can already be obtained with readiness enough; that we are not under the necessity of artificially enhancing the price of Consols, that we cannot complain of suffering an intolerable load of taxation, and that if we could make such a complaint, we should not be relieved from the grievance by a regular sinking-fund, the establishment of which must begin with an increase of taxation," he is nevertheless of opinion "that an organized fund ought to be established." To do this he would resort to the income-tax,—to what figure in the £ he seems nowhere precisely to state. He "would have the fund established once for all, and free from the dangers of an annual parliamentary vote," and invested in the same class of securities as a great insurance company would select, *i.e.*, at a rate of interest exceeding $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. He deems that "it would probably be better the first year to begin with a million," afterwards increasing the annual sum, so as to complete, if possible, 30 millions in seven or ten years. This amount at only $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. compound interest would amount in 101 years to 960 millions, or over 160 millions more than the present figure of the debt. And he puts forward a scheme which he protests is purely utopian, but which evidently possesses singular fascination in his eyes, of investing money in Indian irrigation works, and Indian and Australian improvements, which "an enthusiast might regard as a new era in colonization a means of binding colonies to the mother-country with a golden chain," and by means of which more than half as much again as our national debt might be accumulated in eighty-four years.

Mr. Sargant's volume, though heavy and sometimes cumbrously discursive, contains much that is valuable and instructive, especially in the chapters on the "History of British Sinking-funds," and on the "Progress of Debt and Repayment, British and Foreign." Up to a certain point, his argument, drawn from the every-day experience of private life, is likely to carry the reader along with it, and it would probably be strengthened by a more exhaustive examination than he has supplied of foreign sinking-funds, and of the effect which the existence of such produces on the credit of the country which keeps them up. One fact which he usefully dwells on is the example of Holland, which "has reduced its debt steadily at the rate of a million and a half sterling a year, while we, with something like equal opulence and ten times the population, have not reduced ours at all since 1855." In respect to specific proposals, he is far from dealing comprehensively with the various schemes which have been suggested for extinguishing the debt, and beyond setting forth his own, scarcely discusses any seriously but that of converting Consols into terminable annuities, to which he strongly objects.

The Arch of Titus and the Spoils of the Temple. An Historical and Critical Lecture, with Authentic Illustrations. By WILLIAM KNIGHT, M.A. Pp. 141. London: Longmans. 1867.

AMONG all the existing monuments of ancient Rome, none certainly possesses a higher interest than the Arch of Titus. We may regard it as the testimony of the unconscious heathen to the fulfilment of a most remarkable prediction of our Lord. We find in its bas-reliefs the only veritable copies that remain of any of the treasures of the Jewish Temple. It deserves the special attention of the antiquary as the most beautiful specimen of the triumphal arch, and perhaps the oldest example of the composite order of architecture. It enables the scholar in some measure to realise the barbaric magnificence of a Roman triumph. The time-worn sculpture still shows the peculiar circular shape of the triumphal car, with the Emperor standing in it, *bâton* in hand, the winged figure of Victory from behind holding a crown over his head; the four horses of the chariot decorated with the sacred crescent, and led by the figure, armed with casque and spear, by which the city of Rome was commonly personified; the twelve lictors carrying their rods without axes (as being within the walls of the city); the spoils of the war borne aloft on the shoulders of the soldiery; over each of the spoils a placard or title-board describing it—such a title-board,

probably, as that which was affixed to the Cross at Calvary; the common soldiers crowned with laurel, carrying in their hands the *hasta pura*, the short pointless spear, which, as Propertius tells us, was commonly used at a triumph; bulls adorned as for sacrifice with cloths and fillets, led by sacrificing priests, and followed by attendants bearing wine and perfumes, and by soldiers in tunics and senators in festive robes; and, lastly, the figure of a bearded old man reclining on an urn, representing, most probably, the river Jordan, though Mr. Knight seems inclined to follow another opinion, which takes it to represent the lake of Gennesareth. Such and so varied are the objects, most of which may still be traced in the bas-reliefs of the Arch of Titus.

Mr. Knight has evidently searched all the literature, ancient and modern, that could illustrate or receive illustration from this venerable monument; and in the essay before us, which is the expansion of a lecture read at Bristol, he has taken an accurate survey of the whole subject, including a brief narrative of the war which ended in the destruction of the holy city, a critical examination of the bas-reliefs, and the subsequent history (if it is to be received as history) of the spoils of the Temple, their transfer by Genseric to Carthage and by Belisarius to Byzantium, and their restoration by Justinian to Jerusalem. The illustrations consist of a view of the Arch in its present state, and carefully reduced copies of the engravings of the sculptures, which are to be found in the works of Reland, Montfaucon, Bartoli, &c. Availing himself of the by no means despicable accessories of good paper and print, Mr. Knight has produced an attractive volume, which cannot fail to commend itself to biblical and classical students.

It is certain that the sacred vessels which were brought to Rome by Titus cannot have been those which had been placed in the Temple by Solomon and carried away to Babylon, nor those which were in the Temple of Zerubbabel, until it was plundered by Antiochus Epiphanes. Without doubt they were the same which were made on the restoration of the Temple by Judas Maccabeus. Yet we are struck with the almost exact conformity of the bas-reliefs on the arch to the original patterns prescribed in the Pentateuch. The table of shew-bread, with its two cups for holding frankincense, is in accordance with the command in Leviticus xxiv. The two long straight trumpets agree with the description in Numbers x. The seven-branched candlestick, so significant, as Josephus observes, of the honour in which the number seven was held among the Jews, follows, in nearly all its details, the minute directions given in Exodus xxv.

Josephus has given a most graphic description of the triumphal procession; and, in his enumeration of the spoils of the Temple, he includes the Book of the Law. No vestige of anything like a book has been traceable in the bas-reliefs—at any rate, as far back as the time of Reland, who made them the subject of a learned dissertation in 1716. But Mr. Knight corroborates the account of Josephus by a passage, apparently overlooked by modern writers, from the work of Biondo, the earliest authority on the antiquities of Rome, who wrote in the first half of the fifteenth century, and who ends his description of the objects carried in the procession and sculptured on the arch, with these words: “*Postea portabatur Lex Judæorum marmorea item extans.*” “After this was carried the Law of the Jews, which also is extant in the marble.” This passage, which appears in the edition of 1511, is omitted in those printed in 1531 and 1559. May we not hence, with some probability, infer that between the years 1511 and 1531, the Book of the Law ceased to be visible in the bas-relief?

To make his account of the Arch of Titus quite complete, the author might have added two or three notices of its mediæval and modern history. In the middle ages, as we learn from the splendid work of Canina, “*Roma Antica*,” vol. iii., it was called “the Arch of the Seven Lamps,” “*l’Arco delle Sette Lucerne.*” It was included in the line of fortifications established by the Frangipani, one of the powerful families who set at defiance the authority of the popes in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Nardini, “*Roma Antica*,” ed. Nibby, 1818, vol. i., p. 307). It was then disfigured by other buildings which were erected upon and contiguous to it, and in process of time it was half-buried in the accumulations of the soil. Some of the masonry with which it had been encumbered was still cleaving to it in 1822, when it was excavated and restored by Pope Pius VII. The restorations, which were made in the common travertine stone (*pietra tiburtina*), are easily distinguished from the original structure, which is

of marble (Burton's "Description of Rome," i. 229). A view of the Arch in its unrestored state may be seen in Rossini's "Vedute di Roma."

When we remember the various mischances, well-described by Pope, to which the antiquities of Rome have been exposed,—

"Some felt the silent stroke of mouldering age,
Some hostile fury, some religious rage:
Barbarian blindness, Christian zeal conspire,
And Papal piety, and Gothic fire,"

we may be thankful that so much remains to us of the exquisite architecture and delicate sculpture of the Arch of Titus.

Annals of the United States' Christian Commission. By Rev. LEMUEL MOSS, Home Secretary to the Commission. Philadelphia: Jappincott & Co. 1868.

This bulky and handsome volume is one of the two which have, not ungracefully, commemorated the exit from the social stage of the two greatest charitable organizations which the late war brought forth in the United States—the "United States' Sanitary Commission," and the "United States' Christian Commission," both of them entirely voluntary agencies, but eventually recognised as useful coadjutors by the Government and the military commanders. The former, the elder of the two by a few months, dates from June 9, 1861; the latter, from Nov. 16 of the same year. Both had in common the field of physical and moral relief to the soldier, the latter superadding measures for his spiritual welfare; but the "Christian Commission" seems never to have entered upon that larger course of action which enabled the Sanitary Commission greatly to modify and improve the sanitary organization of the whole army. In short, while the one was more the tender almoner of the soldier, the other was more his watchful friend and protector. The magnificent liberality with which both were supported would suffice to show how useful each must have proved itself—the United States' Sanitary Commission having received in cash, during the four or five years of its existence, nearly five millions of dollars, the United States' Christian Commission over 2,200,000, whilst the records of both bodies show an amount of self-devotion expended in the service of each—or, rather, in the service of the objects to which it was consecrated—which has not been surpassed in any age of the world.

The United States' Christian Commission comprised men of all denominations, but professedly of the "evangelical" colour. The list of its members includes Baptists, Congregationalists, Lutherans, Moravians, Presbyterians (both "new" and "old school"), Reformed and United, Protestant and Methodist Episcopalians, Methodist Protestants, and members of the German Reformed and Reformed Dutch Churches; the Protestant Episcopalians (whom we are accustomed to consider the Church of America) numbering seven out of fifty-seven—a proportion fairly representing their general standing in the country. Of their "delegates"—volunteers who bound themselves to give at least six weeks' gratuitous service with the army—it is related that "often in a company of delegates there were as many Christian denominations represented as there were men; yet they came together without knowing, or caring to know, their several distinctive names." A curious illustration, to an English reader at least, of a tone of feeling in reference to religious matters very different from that to which he is accustomed, occurs in the account of the baptism of some "converts" who had never received the rite, at Ringgold, with Sherman's army of the Cumberland:—

"Forty-four presented themselves. In the number, several denominations were represented, and were, of course, allowed to select the mode of baptism they preferred. Twenty-four chose immersion, eighteen sprinkling, and two pouring. We marched in solemn procession to the tune and hymn—

'There is a fountain filled with blood'—

down to the Chickamauga creek. The soldiers stood on the banks, joining hands and continuing the hymn, while their comrades went down into the water—some for immersion, some for sprinkling, and some for pouring—but all for baptism in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

Perhaps, on the whole, such an administration of the sacrament as St. Paul

would not have disallowed; nor yet, perhaps, of the celebration of the Holy Communion, which is related to have followed, although "Commissary bread, currant wine, tin plates, and tin cups," were its elements and instruments.

Amidst much of detail which would be barren and wearisome to the ordinary reader, Mr. Moss's volume contains many a striking or pathetic narrative. The self-devoted pride of the true soldier was never better exhibited than in the following account of a colour-sergeant who, during the battle of Chattanooga, had been struck in the storming of Mission Ridge by General Thomas, and was met by one of the delegates of the Commission being carried down by four comrades on a blanket:—

"The men halted when they saw us, and laid down their burden, asking if we would see whether the colour-sergeant was badly wounded. I knelt down by him, and said, 'Serjeant, where did they hit you?'—'Most up the ridge, sir.' 'I mean, where did the ball strike you?'—'Within twenty yards of the top—almost up.' 'No, no, serjeant—think of yourself for a moment—tell me where you are wounded.' And throwing back the blanket, I found his upper arm and shoulder mashed and mangled with a shell. Turning his eye to look for the first time on his wound, the serjeant said: 'That is what did it. I was hugging the standard to my blouse, and making for the top. I was almost up, when that ugly shell knocked me over. If they had let me alone a little longer—two minutes longer—I should have planted the colours on the top. Almost up—almost up.' We could not get the dying colour-bearer's attention to himself. The fight and the flag held all his thoughts; and while his ear was growing heavy in death, with a flushed face and look of ineffable regret, he was repeating, 'almost up—almost up.'"

In immediate sequency and droll contrast with the above is the story of an Ohio soldier wounded in the face, who, whilst water was being brought, sat down on the ground and pulled from his bosom a copy of Andrews's Latin Grammar, "covered thick with his blood," turning to the Fifth Declension. He was at an "academy," in Ohio, preparing for college, when he had left at this point his Latin for the war, and the Grammar he had picked up the same afternoon in an empty house, carrying it with him into the fight, that if he were wounded or taken prisoner he might "go on with his Latin." Then, again, comes the repulsive picture of the indifference to human suffering of a Southern family, the occupants of a house which was used as a hospital after the fight, and was filled with the wounded of both sides, while the Confederate dead lay for fifty feet around:—

"They had remained safe from the shot and shell that had poured around them, and were sitting at the door of their cellar, smoking pipes and eating snuff.* . . . During all the afternoon and night, with their house and yard full of suffering men, many of them rebels dying in their cause, the mother and her sister, and two grown-up daughters, had not so much as offered to tie a bandage, or kindle a fire upon the hearth, or bring a cup of water, or speak a gentle word. I asked if they would not assist in preparing supper for the men. The mother, taking her pipe from her mouth, said, 'You uns brought 'em all here, and you uns mought take care on 'em;' and, putting back her pipe, she swung one foot over the other, and smoked away in the most listless manner. 'But, madam, there are many of them Confederate soldiers, dying away from home. Can't you do something for them?' It was the same answer, this time without removing the pipe: 'You uns all brought 'em here, and you uns mought take care on 'em.' I asked for meal—she had none; for a kettle to make coffee—she had none; for an axe to cut firewood—she had none. As I passed out, a coloured boy, about a dozen years old, whispered to me, 'Missus done hid the axe.' I went back and asked for it; she had none, and the nigger lied. I said, 'The men must have a fire, and if there is no axe, I must take your shingles;' and suiting the action to the word, I laid hold of the roof of the piazza, and had already filled my arms, when she brought out her axe from between the beds."

Thank God, the curse of slavery, which alone can explain the possibility of such a scene, is at last rooted out. On the other hand, it is stated, as the experience of some of the delegates, that the Confederate soldiers were "even more ready to yield to religious influences" than the Federals. But of the essential falsehood of the pro-slavery cause, for which these poor fellows suffered, no stronger evidence can be given than the following record of the Commission's school-work in the "Twenty-fifth Corps (coloured)":—

* A characteristic Southern habit, sometimes termed "dipping."

"The men came in by reliefs, as pickets and fatigue-duty would allow, 3,000 in a week. . . . They showed great eagerness to learn. Some, without any knowledge of the alphabet, learned to read in easy sentences in six days. And for the majority, according to the uniform report of the teachers, the average time required to learn to read in easy sentences, was only four weeks. . . . As soon as they had acquired one letter, they went about at once to teach it to some one more ignorant than themselves; so that one teacher, multiplied in this geometrical ratio, was very soon felt as an educating power in an entire regiment. . . . It was the uniform testimony of the chaplains and the officers of the regiments, that those taught in our schools were more obedient and respectful to their officers, discipline was improved, habits of vice were checked, and, in many cases, genuine religious interest was excited."

Unimprovable demi-brutes!

Ludus Patronymicus; or, The Etymology of Curious Surnames. By RICHARD STEPHEN CHARNOCK, PH. DR., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., &c. London: Trübner & Co. 1868.

THE interest and the value of the etymology of English names, whether local or personal, are chiefly involved in the study of the ethnology of our mixed race. Every element of the nation has in its time left its impress on the names of places or of families; and though many appellations have died out, and more have been corrupted after the mould of the prevailing dialects into which the several districts have settled down, yet there is a record which may be deciphered, like the record of rocks and soils.

To contribute much towards this object does not appear to have lain within Dr. Charnock's purpose, though Latham's "Ethnology of the British Islands" occurs in his list of "works consulted." And what he has done in this direction is of a partial character, inasmuch as enough importance is not attributed to Romance or Celtic roots. His tendency to refer words chiefly to a Teutonic or Scandinavian source may be seen in the following instance, which is one out of many:—

"COLLEGE, COLLEDGE.—These names have no reference to a University. Lower says, in the north of England any court or group of cottages having a common entrance from the street is called a *college*. The last syllable however may be from *ledge*, a ridge of rocks near the surface of the sea. Cf. Cumberledge, Routledge, &c."

Of course they have nothing to do with "a University," and it is mere inaccuracy to imagine any such thing. But the latter of the two names is evidently a corruption of the other. Corruption of names in a Romance direction is confined to the circle of education, or quasi-education. They are much more often vulgarized according to the tone and nature of the people of the district where they are found, like the sailors' well-known rendering of Bellerophon, or the change of Alcides into All-sides. The remark from Lower only proves against the suggested derivation. The various acceptations of the derivatives of *Collegium* throughout the Romance languages as expressing a college, a school, an assembly, besides other less common meanings, might easily give rise to the surname of "College," which would of course be sometimes ignorantly spelt as "knowledge" is, and as "allege" is not.

An instance of Dr. Charnock's failure in discovering the Celtic origin of words may be seen in "Tottle," which is traced first to "Tothill, a parish, co. Lincoln," such being our author's way of saying in what county a place is situated. He adds—"A totehill is an eminence from whence there is a good look-out.—Cheshire, *Archæol. (sic)*, xix. 39." Now the evident root of this name is *Toot*. Toot hills were lofty tumuli, such as Cleeve Toot in Somersetshire, and perhaps Shooter's Hill in Kent. Such was the origin of the name of the place, as well as of the family, as also most likely of Totness, Totteuham, Totham in Essex, and Tottenhill in Norfolk.

Dr. Charnock is indeed much too fond of simply referring to a place as a *ne plus ultra* in tracing the etymology of surnames. He does not appear to be sufficiently aware that, besides the truth that there is as much reason to explain one kind of name as another, there are two other dangerous pitfalls to be avoided. Their resemblance, however close, does not prove that one comes from the other. The relationship may be that of brothers or sisters, not of parent and child. No scholar would now trace Latin up to Greek. Again, places often

received their names from persons, instead of the reverse. For instance, it may be contended, with at least as much probability, that in the early days of Anglo-Saxon occupation the patronymical name was transferred to Twining as the contrary, as indeed was probably the case with Barking, Basing, Bocking, and others.

With these limitations, there is much to praise and to interest one in "Ludus Patronymicus." Dr. Charnock explains the purpose of his work as follows:—

"It struck me that a small work on the subject might be acceptable just now, the more especially as it would enable those burdened with objectionable names, instead of assuming others, to discover the proper orthography of their own names. Thus, few would probably change their name from Buggin or Simper to Smith, if they thought they were justified in writing Bacon and St. Pierre. The same might be said of such names as Death, Dearth, and Diaper, from D'Aeth, D'Arth, and D'Ypres, respectively. Of course some of the suggested derivations are but reasonable guesses; but good guesses are better than none at all, and may often lead to the truth."—(Preface, p. xiv.)

If "Ludus Patronymicus" helps to check such wonderful leaps as that out of Joshua Bugg into Norfolk Howard, it will do some service. If people are not satisfied by being called after their parents and immediate ancestors, they would improve their surnames much better by recurring to their original form than by choosing something entirely new, and thus by so far cutting themselves off from all of their family who have gone before them.

But we are bound to say, in justice to Dr. Charnock, that he has done more than minister to the due regulation of this ephemeral desire. There is considerable research and a great deal of information in his little book. It is still far from complete, even in its list of curious appellations, as the absence from it of such as *Byus* (by-house), *Denovo*, *Dinwiddy*, *Frobisher*, *Cockerbidly*, *Kittermaster*, &c., will show. But Dr. Charnock has collected a large number, and has searched diligently into the history of very many of them.

There is, however, a serious disfigurement of the book, which he had better remove in any new edition. No implied apology for the passage, as if it were an autobiography of his "etymological friend, Aretchid Kooez," in what he calls "Patronymic language," "in which all the words in *italics* are found as surnames," can excuse such arrant nonsense as this:—

"I Wuss Born In Summersett, Hon a Monday, In July, Hat an Early Hour of the Morning, Howlong Back I Forget; Butt Long since the Diet of Worms And the Battle of Waterloo. Thayer Wuss a Comet Hat the Time [Good Hor Bad Omen?]."—(Avant-Courier, p. ix.)

And so on, through even worse rubbish, for more than four pages!

A sensible Preface, explaining the principles involved in the origin and change of surnames, would be better in every way than this specimen of misplaced ingenuity.

Retrospects and Prospects of Indian Policy. By MAJOR EVANS BELL, late of the Madras Staff Corps, Author of "The Empire in India," "The Mysore Reversion," &c. London: Trübner & Co. 1868.

MAJOR EVANS BELL is well known, both in India and among that far too limited portion of the British public which takes an interest in Indian matters, as an experienced official, and as the writer of several valuable works on the politics of India. The main purpose of his present volume, it may be said, is to counteract the doctrines as to the absorptions of native States lately reasserted by a nobleman, of whom Major Bell truly says that his "sympathies, opinions, and active exertions, from the outset of his public career, have generally been found on the side of freedom and humanity,"—the Duke of Argyll,—but whose *Edinburgh Review* articles of January and April, 1863, reprinted, with additions, under the title of "India under Dalhousie and Canning," will continue, Major Bell declares, "to be regarded with terror in India as a manifesto of the Whig leaders," until "distinctly disavowed by some eminent member of his party." Major Bell contends earnestly for the larger and more Christian policy of reforming instead of destroying the native governments, as a practical acknowledgment that "the duty of instruction" is "inherent in that of protection."

Major Bell's work is full of valuable matter for those who will have the courage seriously to consider a great subject. Of the need there still exists for

doing so, perhaps one sentence from Lord Canning's last private letter to Sir Mark Cubbon, Commissioner of Mysore, dated November 24, 1860, may suffice as proof:—

"We have governed the North-western provinces in such a fashion, that the Lieutenant-Governor is with difficulty able to find native gentlemen of such position as to make them useful and influential magistrates; and in ten or fifteen years more, it would be pretty nearly the same with the Panjab."

Thank God, indeed! the tide seems to have turned, and late debates in the House of Commons have apparently shown a serious desire on the part of English Statesmen to enlarge the share taken by the natives in India in the government of their own country. Unfortunately, it is far easier to depress than to elevate, to destroy than to build up. It will be years before the crushing influence of our old Indian system of government upon the vital powers of the native races will have ceased to operate, and, notwithstanding the many cheering evidences of progress in the native communities, such as Miss Carpenter's late work—already noticed in these pages—supplies, it may be doubtful whether some of the most remarkable types of native genius, as they were to be found half a century ago in our own provinces, as they linger still in a few instances in native States, will ever be re-developed.

VI.—GERMAN LITERATURE.

Ludwig Häusser's Geschichte der Französischen Revolution, 1789—1799. Herausgegeben von WILHELM ONCKEN, Professor an der Universität Heidelberg. Berlin: Weidmann'sche Buchhandlung. 1867.

THE origin of this work and the mode in which it has been composed are somewhat singular. It is founded on the lectures of the late Ludwig Häusser. Notes of these lectures had been taken in short-hand by the editor; these have been supplemented by his own readings and also by manuscripts which Häusser left behind him. The task of constructing a history out of these materials seems to have been proposed to the editor by the widow and surviving relations of Häusser.

So far as we have examined the work, the views it takes of the great events of the French Revolution are such as the general verdict would pronounce to be sound and sensible. If Häusser's observations are not new, they yet are put with a force and freshness, which show that they emanate from a thoughtful mind, and are no mere repetitions of preceding writers. Thus his remarks on the peculiar position occupied by literature at the opening of the French Revolution, though not novel, yet place before us an already apprehended truth in a still clearer light. Literature in Germany, he observes, had no pretension to exercise any control over government or over that public opinion from which social reforms spring; literature in England was so far in harmony with the existing state of things, that it could exercise an influence without being revolutionary; literature in France was utterly remote from all practical administration of affairs, and yet was most powerfully influencing the opinions of society. There would have been nothing extravagant in the idea of a Locke, or a disciple of Locke, being called to the head of affairs in England; such a proposition applied to Voltaire or Rousseau would have been the wildest extravagance. The polity and religion of such teachers were altogether ideal. Men of education, even courtiers and clergy, could amuse themselves with their wit or their imagination without a thought of any practical result. But as Häusser remarks, there was a class below these, where this literature, half-understood, was working after a different fashion.

Our author's estimate of Robespierre appears to us very correct. The narrow nature and envious temper of the man are not overlooked, while the credit is given him (if credit it can be called) of being mainly prompted by political fanaticism. The analogy is very conspicuous between this son of the Revolution

and the inquisitor of the Mediæval Church. Both had persuaded themselves of the paramount necessity of *Unity*,—the one in political the other in religious creed,—and both were prepared to commit any amount of massacre, any number of burnings and beheadings, to produce their desired unity. To Robespierre the establishment of the true Republican faith would have seemed cheaply purchased by the slaughter of one-third of the inhabitants of Paris!

Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie. Von KARL MARX. Erster Band. Hamburg: Verlag von Otto Meissner.

WE have here the first part of what bids fair to be an elaborate treatise on Political Economy. The author spares us none of the abstractions or subtleties of the science—such, for instance, as the discussions which have arisen on the definition of value,—but he is very far from forgetting in such abstractions the human interest—the “hunger and thirst interest,” which underlies the science—if science it can be called—of Political Economy. An accusation often foolishly levelled against the student of this branch or phase of our social system, cannot be applied to Herr Marx; he cannot be called a “cold-blooded Economist.” In treating of capital, he has ever before him the human beings whom the capitalist employs and feeds. What direction his sympathies take may be gathered from the dedication of his book to his friend, “the bold, true, noble champion of the workman,” Wilhelm Wolff, who died in exile in Manchester.

There are many subjects on which we learn from the Germans,—some in which we are confessedly their pupils—but in Political Economy, we here in Great Britain have taken the initiative, and still keep the lead. We do not suspect that Karl Marx has much to teach us, whether he discourses abstrusely on those relations which the use of money has brought into society, or in a more animated manner on those social amendments which he thinks our advanced knowledge ought to enable us to make.

Die Revolutionskirchen Englands. Ein Beitrag zur innern Geschichte der Englischen Kirche und der Reformation. Von HERMANN WEINGARTEN, Licentiaten und Privat-Dozenten der Theologie an der Königl. Universität zu Berlin. Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von Breitkopf und Hartel. 1868.

A HISTORY of the Church of England by a German theologian is necessarily a work for which the materials are derived from English sources, and therefore not likely to be new to the English reader. The spirit and manner in which the author treats his subject form the chief interest. The conclusions at which he arrives might have been predicted beforehand by any one familiar with the current of thought in Protestant Germany. Herr Weingarten reckons that the greatest calamity which befell the English Church was the separation of the two great parties in the seventeenth century, the Episcopal and the Puritan. Had Baxter's scheme of comprehension succeeded, it would have been beneficial to both, and the Church of England would have made progress like the Reformed Church in Germany, instead of which it has not moved from the stand-point it had in the time of the Stuarts. Puritanism also has been unprogressive, having never been able to find the balance between the letter and the spirit, the historical and the subjective. Notwithstanding the retrograde movement of Dr. Pusey and his disciples, the author has great hopes of a rich future for the Church of England, through the growing and indestructible strength of what he calls the Broad Church party, which began, he says, with Thomas Arnold, “the highly meritorious rector of Rugby,” and is now represented by the Oxford Essayists, with all who are striving for a full and free development of the religious life.

Leben, Lieben und Thaten des Hans von Schwepinichen eines deutschen Ritters aus dem Sechszehnten Jahrhundert. Nach den Aufzeichnungen des Ritters neu erzählt von A. DIEZMANN. Nebst einem Anhang: Leben und Thaten des Götz von Berlichingen. Von ihm selbst erzählt. Leipzig: Verlag von Otto Wigand. 1868.

THESE two volumes constitute volumes xv. and xvi. of Wigand's Library of the best works of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is a cheap series, and will comprise the works of some of the best English, French, and German authors.

Oesterreichs Kämpfe im Jahre 1866. Nach Feldacten bearbeitet durch das k.k. Generalstabs-Bureau für Kriegsgeschichte. Wien: 1868. Verlag des k.k. Generalstabes. In Commission bei Carl Gerold's Sohn.

THIS is the second edition of the first volume of a detailed history of the Austrian war. Facts and figures are given with the minuteness of a Blue Book. The latter half of the volume is occupied with a full account of the different armies and the order of battle. At the end are two excellent maps—one a general view of the country which was the seat of the war, and the other a plan of the battle of Langensalza.

Die Kunst im Zusammenhang der Culturentwicklung und die Ideale der Menschheit. Von MORITZ CARRIERE. Dritter Band. Das Mittelalter. Erste Abtheilung. Das christliche Alterthum und der Islam. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1868.

THOSE who have read the preceding portions of Moritz Carrière's work will be prepared to receive here all the most curious information and all the latest speculation about art in the middle ages. "Reading makes a full man," says Bacon; and Carrière is replete with knowledge and familiar with all the theories, ancient and modern, to which knowledge has given rise. His work is a storehouse of facts and ideas; a kind of museum in which all that is most curious in the history of the human intellect finds its niche. But Carrière is not himself precisely the philosopher to shape all this information and thought into any one enduring form. Nor have we a right to expect, that the intelligent custodian of a museum should also have the intense, concentrated energy of an original discoverer. We are, however, rather surprised that no enterprising translator has given Moritz Carrière to the English public, so rich are his volumes in what may be described as the newest learning of the times.

Of the arts here treated of, poetry occupies the largest space and the chief peculiarity of the book is the prominence given to Arabian Literature. Islam divides the volume with the Christianity of the middle ages.

Geschichte der Jahre 1860 bis 1867. Von EDUARD ARND. Erster Band. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot. 1868.

THIS volume will be read with interest by all who desire to obtain a connected view of the late events of European history. It is not conspicuously occupied with military affairs; it is a political view of that circle of contemporary incidents in which France, Italy, Austria, and Prussia have mainly been concerned; events which have led to many important changes, both in the internal constitution of kingdoms, and in their relation to each other, which have given us a new Austria, a new Prussia, and a new balance of power, or, in other words, a new statical condition of the European nations. The work embraces just seven years of our own history, and we have before us the first part only; but the second and concluding part is already announced as in the press. As this second portion will treat of the more momentous and exciting facts in this period of seven years, it will be wise to refrain from any further criticism till the whole has appeared.

Genealogie der Malabarischen Götter. Von BARTHOLOMAEUS ZIEGENBALG. Erster, ungeänderter, nothdürftig erweiterter Abdruck besorgt durch Dr. Wilhelm Germann. Erlangen: A. Deichert. 1867.

ZIEGENBALG's Genealogy of the Malabar Deities was written on the coast of Coromandel, in the year 1713. It met only a cold reception in Europe. The Christian people who sent Ziegenbalg to convert the East Indians said that his business was to overturn Paganism in India, and not to propagate it in Europe. In this spirit modern missions to the heathen were undertaken by well-meaning earnest men; but time has at length shown that in this spirit they cannot be successfully carried on. Paganism must be understood before it is conquered, and what elements of truth are in it must be acknowledged. Dr. Germann, a missionary at Madras, has republished the work of Ziegenbalg. He has not found it necessary to make many additions to the original, notwithstanding the

many works that have been written on Indian mythology since 1713. Ziegenbalg's chief divisions and sub-divisions of the Hindu deities are substantially the same as are received by the most recent mythologers:—(1) The supreme or highest Divine Essence, which is considered as Being, immaterial and eternal, from whom all flows and to whom all returns; as the creative deity, neither male nor female; as a Being who is yet more beings than one, and of different sexes—as Siva, the father of all, and Sakti, the mother of all. (2) The three gods, of which Siva is one, supposed by some to be identical with the Supreme Being; these are Isvara (or Siva), with his wives Parvati and Ganga; Vishnu, with his wives and sons, and Brahma, of whose worship but few traces are found. (3) The guardian deities and the demons. (4) The Devas, a kind of *Dii Minores*, whose number is three hundred and thirty millions. Most of the accounts which we have of the Hindu deities are from the north of India, and most of the Indian mythologers have made the ancient mythologies their chief study. Ziegenbalg's work was written from actual observation in the south of India, and is intended to be what Dr. Germann calls it, a *Handbook* of South Indian worship as it now is. From a stray title-page we learn that the work has been translated into English, and that Bartholomæus Ziegenbalg was the first Protestant missionary in India.

Zwei Jahre Preussisch-Deutscher Politik, 1866—1867. Von Dr. LUDWIG HAHN, Königlichem Geheimen Regierungsrath in Ministerium des Innern. Berlin: Verlag von Wilhelm Hertz. 1868.

DR. HAHN has written a long and interesting history of the last two years of Prussian politics. We say *written*, but properly Dr. Hahn is only the editor, for the book consists, as he says in the title-page, of a collection of official documents and half-official expressions, from the Schleswig-Holstein crisis to the establishment of the Zoll-Parliament. The greater portion of these are the compositions of Bismarck.

Grundsteine einer Allgemeinen Culturgeschichte der Neuesten Zeit. Von J. J. HONEGGER. Londres: David Nutt. 1868.

HISTORIES of literature are of two kinds—the mere compilation, and that which tries to give expression to the spirit of different ages or periods. The last kind we owe chiefly to the Germans. They first taught us to see in history the varied manifestations of a spirit. Herr Honegger has undertaken a vast work, which is to consist of five volumes, of which the one before us is the first. The title-page indicates that it is not a universal history of culture, but only “foundation-stones,” or philosophical principles on which such a history should be written. The principles, however, are drawn from extensive acquaintance with the literature, science, and art of all the cultured nations of Europe. This volume embraces the period of the first empire, and treats of politics, social questions, inventions, travels, discoveries, physical science, theology, philosophy, painting, sculpture, architecture, music, the drama, poetry, romance, and general literature. From the accounts here given of Humboldt, Schleiermacher, Kant, Novalis, the great English poets, and other leading minds of that age, we have formed a high estimate of Herr Honegger's ability to construct a philosophical foundation for a universal history of culture.

Theologisches Universal-Lexikon zum Handgebrauche für Geistliche und Gebildete Nichttheologen. Londres: David Nutt.

THIS is the first number of Friderich's “Theological Dictionary,” which is to consist of two large volumes, or thirty numbers like the present one. It really is what it professes to be, “universal,” for it includes not only biblical words and names, but all subjects connected with theology. We cannot say that it is better than the valuable work of Herzog, but it has this recommendation, that it may be had for less than a tenth of the price.

Die Leidensgeschichte des Herrn in Bezug auf die neueste Kritik betrachtet. Von F. L. STEINMEYER. Berlin: Verlag von Wiegandt und Grieben. 1868.

PROFESSOR STEINMEYER is an orthodox theologian. He has already written a book on “the miracles of our Lord in relation to the newest criticism.” He is not opposed to criticism, but he is opposed to such criticism as that of Strauss,

which first determined what conclusions should be reached, and then, by an infinity of conjectures, made everything tend to that conclusion. Christianity, in the judgment of Steinmeyer, does not rest on the resurrection of Jesus, but on the crucifixion. St. Paul, indeed, said, "*If Christ be not risen, your faith is vain,*" but he did not mean that if Christ were not risen the gospel had failed of its object. He only meant that these believers would have wanted an assurance of the truth of the gospel which they then had. *Christ crucified* was the great subject which the Apostles proclaimed. The gospel was the doctrine of reconciliation, and the preaching of it was the ministry of reconciliation. In this Christianity has always found its practical evidence. The human consciousness of guilt is universal, and a Deliverer from guilt is the good news from God to man. It is admitted that there are difficulties in harmonizing the brief records of the four Evangelists, but they are really very few, and therefore, to receive the Gospels as historically true, is far more rational than to suppose them made up of such legends as were imagined by the too ingenious mind of David Strauss.



BY-WAYS OF NEW TESTAMENT REVISION.

THE revision of the Authorized Version of the New Testament is one of the things necessarily borne down upon us by the course of events. It must come, sooner or later. Objections are urged; apprehensions are expressed; terrible articles are written in formidable journals; stronger and stronger become the adverse words; more and more definite the organized opposition; but—and we have seen all this over and over again in our time—the hour will strike, and Providence will find a way, and that which should be done will be done, in spite of man's opposition and man's wrath. Meantime, every contribution towards this end possesses some value. There is only one way of accomplishing the revision itself; viz., by the same authority which has sanctioned the present version. But this end may be facilitated, may be hastened. Individual or combined private attempts to produce a corrected English text never can and never ought to supersede the necessity of such a text drawn up by a combination of men duly commissioned; but such attempts may keep alive public attention to the subject; and, what is more, they may materially aid the work when the time comes.

In the course of such an attempt, conducted partly by combination with competent friends, partly on my own account, it has been my lot to make a few observations on what may be called the minor peculiarities of our present English text, and on some of the postulates of a corrected one; which, as they may be useful to thoughtful minds,

I will venture to present to our readers. It has been principally in the comparison with one another of the three "synoptic" Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, that those observations have been made. The translators were then dealing in great part with common matter, and were compelled to come to some definite action respecting similar or identical phrases. I wish to point out the manner in which this has been done; and, collaterally, to state some of the phenomena, leading to difficulties, or pointing at axioms, which have occurred by the way.

King James's translators, in their address "to the Reader," have disclaimed adherence to "uniformitie of phrasing." They assert their liberty to render "the same Greek word sometimes by *purpose*, sometimes by *intent*; sometimes *journeying*, at other times *travelling*; one where *think*, and another *suppose*;" and so of others. But they themselves acknowledge that they did not consider themselves at liberty to "vary from the sense of that which they had translated before, if the word signified the same thing in both places." Now no more notable examples of this duty of restricting their own liberty can be given, than where the *same words* occur in *parallel places* in the three Gospels. It was especially the vocation of the faithful translator to represent to his readers identity, or variety, in the concurrent sacred narratives. It may surprise the non-observant to hear, that this point has been by our translators entirely neglected: that expressions in parallel places in the Gospels, which are in the Greek absolutely identical, have been diversely rendered; and *vice versa*, that expressions which ought to have been carefully distinguished, are made to be identical. It would seem as if there had been in many cases two or even three contending parties as to a rendering; and as if the present result had been the fruit of a compromise, which gave to A his way in St. Matthew, to B his way in St. Mark, and to C his way in St. Luke. Thus we have the same Greek word, *κατανοῶς*, rendered "*considerest*" in Matthew vii. 3, and "*perceivest*" in the parallel place, Luke vi. 42, the meaning of these two English words being of course widely different. In such a case, the ignorant preacher (and their name is Legion) addressing his people from St. Luke, bids them turn to St. Matthew, and observe how the Gospels explain and fill out one another.

Again, take such an expression as that constantly used by our Lord to those on whom He wrought His miracles: *ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε*. Admitting the difficulty of keeping an uniform rendering everywhere, at least the parallel places ought to have been strictly and faithfully treated. Has this been so? The first case is that of the woman with the issue of blood, Matt. ix. 22, Mark v. 34, Luke viii. 48; and in all of these stands, "*Thy faith hath made thee whole.*" But the next is

that of the blind man at Jericho, Mark x. 52, Luke xviii. 42. Now in the former of these places we read, "*Thy faith hath made thee whole:*" in the latter, "*Thy faith hath saved thee.*" In Luke vii. 50, where "*making whole*" was out of the question, "*hath saved thee*" was perhaps a necessity: in Luke xvii. 19, it would have been far better than "*hath made thee whole,*" seeing that *all ten* lepers were *made whole*, but *one only* was thus addressed. But the comparison and revision seems, as in several other cases, to have been carelessly conducted, and confusion has been the result.

In Matt. xxvi. 55, οὐκ ἐκπατήσατέ με is rendered "*Ye laid no hold on me:*" while in Mark xiv. 49, the same Greek words are given as "*Ye took me not.*"

In Matt. iv. 19, δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου is, "*Follow me,*" in Mark i. 17, it is, "*Come ye after me.*"

A remarkable instance of caprice in rendering is found Mark xii. 38—40, Luke xx. 46, 47. There "*love to go in long clothing,*" and "*desire to walk in long robes,*" represent the same Greek words: so do "*salutations in the market-places,*" and "*greetings in the markets:*" so do "*the chief seats in the synagogues and the uppermost rooms at feasts,*" and "*the highest seats in the synagogues, and the chief rooms at feasts:*" so do "*for a pretence,*" and "*for a shew.*" Now of course it is not that the sense in these expressions (except perhaps in the last) widely differs: but that they constitute a plain violation of the first axiom of a faithful version of concurrent Gospels;—that where the same Greek words are in any two, or in all, used of the same thing, they should be scrupulously rendered by the same English words.

Sometimes this caprice occurs where the same Greek word has been repeated in the same passage. No mere English reader would imagine that "*he is a debtor,*" Matt. xxiii. 16, and "*he is guilty,*" ditto, verse 18, represent one and the same Greek word ὀφείλει. In this case, most of the previous versions had been faithful. It is true that Wielif, strangely varying from his exemplar, the Vulgate, has "*is dettour*" in verse 16, and "*owith*" in verse 18, for the "*debet*" of the Vulgate in both places: but Tyndale and the Geneva have "*offendeth*" in both: Cranmer has "*is giltye*" in both, and the Rheims, "*is bound*" in both. King James's translators appear to have had no less than four opinions to satisfy; for they have appended to "*guilty*" in verse 18, a marginal note, "*Or, a debtor, or bound.*" Sometimes the variation amounts to the creation of a discrepancy between the Gospels; as in Matt. xxvi. 45, Mark xv. 33, where we are told, "*there was darkness over all the (or, the whole) land,*" as compared with Luke xxiii. 44, where the very same Greek words as those in St. Mark (ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν) are rendered "*over all the earth.*"

Sometimes the variation seems to be the fruit of the merest caprice: as in the rendering of *πρόθυμον*, "willing," in Matt. xxvi. 41, and "ready" in the parallel passage, Mark xiv. 38: in translating the same words in the same incident, "*fruits meet for repentance*," Matt. iii. 8, and "*fruits worthy of repentance*," Luke iii. 8: in giving for *δερματίνην*, "leathern," in Matt. iii. 12, and "*of a skin*," in Mark i. 6: for *κατακάψει*, "burn up," in Matt. iii. 12, and "burn," in Luke iii. 17: for *μακάριοι*, "blessed are," in Matt. v. 2, &c., and "blessed be" in Luke vi. 20, where, oddly enough, "*blessed are*" is adopted in the following verses: for *κράσπεδον*, "hem," in Matt. ix. 20, xiv. 36, and "border," in (Matt. xxiii. 5) Mark vi. 56, Luke viii. 44: for *ἢ δὲ μήγε*, "else," in Matt. ix. 17, and "if otherwise," in Luke v. 37: &c., &c.

Some of the foregoing may perhaps be regarded as clear instances of the compromise already hinted at. In the following it can hardly be doubted. The words *ἄκαρπος γίνεσθαι*, in the explanation of the parable of the sower, are rendered "*he becometh unfruitful*" in Matt. xiii. 22, and "*it becometh unfruitful*," in Mark iv. 19.

It will be observed that I have mainly confined the examples above given to places where *the same Greek words* occur in accounts of the *same incidents* or *discourses*; maintaining that it was the first duty of faithful translators to have reproduced these by *the same English words*, a duty which the authors of our version seem never to have recognised. There is here no question of their claim to render the same Greek word variously in English: no question, again, of their claim set up for the admission of equivalent English words into their version. It is a mere question of fidelity; of giving to their English readers the same impression of identity, and of variation, as is presented by the Gospels themselves. The English reader ought to be able to see, the unlettered preacher ought to be able to say, that a saying of our Lord's, or that any given incident, is reported in the same, or in different words, by the various Evangelists: and this, whether the variation be a palpably important one, or be judged of little consequence. Whereas, in this matter, our present English version is in utter confusion: false inferences may be, and doubtless daily are, drawn from identity or variety of words in the three Gospels; and the more an English student searches his Bible for an intelligent appreciation of their difference in character or in style, the more hopelessly will he find himself misled.

I pass to cases where not so much the duty of fidelity in the concurrent Gospels, as that of consistency in one and the same text, or in the version in general, is concerned.

Every reader of the Greek knows that it is the constant practice of the New Testament narrative, to describe actions which were simul-

taneous, or immediately consecutive, by the aorist participle preceding the aorist verb. The familiar instance of ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν will be enough. Now the ordinary rule with regard to such idiom is, that the two, the participle and verb, are to be regarded as contemporaneous; and that it is a mistake to view the action indicated by the participle as necessarily prior to that indicated by the verb. Thus, no one would think of rendering the phrase above given, "*having answered he said;*" or, "*when he had answered, he said.*" Common sense, in this case, guides every one to the right rendering, "*he answered and said,*" or "*he, answering, said.*" Now the departure from this simple rule has been the cause not only of awkward inconsistency, but also of grave misrepresentation of the sacred text in our English version, and that in almost every page in the three Gospels. Take such an example as Matt. ix. 2, Luke v. 20. In the former place, ἰδὼν [ὁ Ἰησοῦς] τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν, εἶπεν, is rightly rendered, "*And Jesus, seeing their faith, said;*" but in the latter, the same words are given, "*And when he saw their faith, he said.*" Or, to make the matter still plainer, in Matt. xii. 15, after it had been stated that the Pharisees held a council against Him, how they might destroy Him, we read (as the translation of ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς γινὼς ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκείθεν), "*But when Jesus knew it, he withdrew himself from thence.*" Now the impression here given is entirely different from, and falls short of in extent, that of the original. The simple rendering, "*But Jesus knew it, and withdrew,*" or, "*But Jesus knowing it, withdrew,*" would, at all events, leave room for the truth which the original words *may* have been meant to convey, that our Lord's knowledge of it was from the first, and superhuman; whereas the English version, by "*when Jesus knew it,*" confines His knowledge to the ordinary sources of human information.

A still more objectionable example occurs in Matt. xvi. 8. It had been previously stated that the disciples had misunderstood our Lord's warning about leaven, and reasoned among themselves, saying, "*It is because we have taken no bread.*" Then follows, γινὼς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν; which should have been rendered, "*But Jesus knowing it, said,*" or, "*But Jesus knew it, and said.*" Instead of either of which the Authorized Version has given: "*Which when Jesus perceived, he said.*" Examples of the same kind may be multiplied to any extent by reference to almost any part of the Gospels.

There is one exception to the above censure, and it is that in which the participle ἀκούσας is used of our Lord. In such cases we may say, that not His knowledge, but his action, which follows, is attributed as a consequence to *his* hearing, as *we* hear; and no false impression is given by the words, "*When Jesus had heard,*" or "*When Jesus heard.*" The reader may refer to Matt. iv. 12: "*When Jesus had heard that*

John was cast into prison, he departed;" on the whole, perhaps, the best English form for the Greek words.

The practice of our translators in this matter has been governed by no rule. In the very next verse they give us, "*And leaving (not, when he had left) Nazareth, he came and dwelt,*" &c. And in verse 21, *προβὰς ἐκεῖθεν*, "*Going on (not when he had gone on, which is in the Geneva version) from thence.*" And in ch. v. 1, "*Seeing (not when he saw, which it might well here have been, and is in Tyndale and Cranmer) the multitudes.*" Here, perhaps, the Vulgate, *videns* (not *quum vidisset*), has, as in many other cases, guided our translators.

In a revised version, all such renderings should be carefully reviewed, and so given as not to contract, but to reproduce in all its extent, the sense of the original. Those examples should be noted where the diversity of tenses of the aorist participle and the following verb points to a similar divarication in the version: as, for instance, when an aorist participle is followed by a future verb; cases which again have not always received due attention in the Authorized Version. Take, for instance, Matt. x. 22, ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος, οὗτος σωθήσεται, which should be rendered, "*He that hath endured unto the end, the same shall be saved;*" or, again, Matt. x. 39, ὁ εὗρων τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολέσει αὐτήν, "*He that hath found his life shall lose it.*" But it should be remembered that the historic present is used by the Evangelists indiscriminately with the aorist, and must often be rendered as such; and indeed that rigid rules for idiomatic translation cannot be given, but that common sense, *e re nata*, will, after all, be the best guide.

Very great caprice, often to the confusion of sequence and connection, has been shown by our translators with regard to the rendering of the conjunctions and other particles which join the narrative sentences in the Gospels. This is especially the case with the particle δέ, the most common of all. Now here again it would be impossible to lay down an iron rule. Considerable latitude must be given to a version which is to read naturally in idiomatic English. Sometimes we have no resource but to take δέ as a mere copulative, and give it by "*And*" (see Matt. i. 2, &c.; iii. 4). Sometimes the slightly disjunctive "*Now*" will best represent its force (see Matt. i. 18; xi. 2): sometimes the continuative "*So*" (see Matt. xiii. 27). At other times its disjunctive power will be sufficiently noted by passing on abruptly,—in fact, by not rendering it at all (see Matt. xiii. 37—39). Still, there should be a limit to these liberties. We must not assume that δέ may mean *anything*, and is everywhere to be rendered as we please. However English idiom may fail to follow the Greek in all cases, the Greek particle has a definite meaning, and the English should follow it where it can. The import of this particle in Greek

is always that of distinction or opposition—sometimes stronger, sometimes weaker. However modified in each individual example, there is always a “*but*” lurking beneath, so to speak, and giving the tinge to the transition from that which went before. Whenever English idiom will admit this adversative sense, it should be expressed.

We are now treating of a matter in which examples are so numerous, that the difficulty is to choose effective ones. I may illustrate my meaning by Luke xxiv. 12. The women had just reported to the apostles what they had seen and heard at the sepulchre. Their words seemed to them as idle tales, and they believed them not. And then the narrative proceeds: ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἀνάστας ἔδραμεν ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον. That is, there was to this universal disregard one exception; not to the full extent of believing their words, but so far, as that he arose and went to the spot. One would imagine that a better case for “*But Peter arose*” could hardly be made out. Our translators, however, as in hundreds of other cases, have missed the delicate point. They have given it, “*Then arose Peter, and ran unto the sepulchre;*” and that in the face of “*Petrus autem*” in the Vulgate,—“*but Peter rose up,*” Wiclif,—“*but Peter rising up,*” Rheims. Tyndale and Cranmer had “*then,*” and it was allowed to remain.*

This rendering of δέ by “*then,*” is altogether objectionable; for by it the occurrence of the real adverb of time, τότε, “*then,*” is entirely obscured. This may be seen by examining almost any narrative passage. Take Matt. xv. 21, ff, the history of the Canaanitish woman. Here we have (21) *Then* (καί) *Jesus went thence,* &c. (22) *And* (καί) *behold,* &c. (23) *But he* (ὁ δέ), &c. (24) *But he* (ὁ δέ), &c. (25) *Then came she* (ἡ δὲ ἐλθοῦσα), &c. (26) *But he* (ὁ δέ), &c. (27) *And she* (ἡ δέ), &c. (28) *Then Jesus answered* (τότε ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς), &c.

Now in this case the emphatic “*Then*” of ver. 28 is the only one in the Greek narrative. And it does especial duty. It marks our Lord’s change of bearing towards the woman, on account of her wonderful saying of faith. It is equivalent to “*at that saying,*” or “*at this point.*” But by introducing another “*then*” at verse 25, not only is this effect wholly marred, but a change in the woman’s bearing is implied, which never took place. *She* held on in a course of consistent importunity from the first; and “*But,*” with which the verse really begins, marks her persistency in this course, in opposi-

* I observe that some not very wise correspondent in one of the papers supposes he has convicted me of I know not what ignorance or carelessness, in having charged King James’s translators with unfairness in their rendering of ἐπισκόπου, “*overseers,*” in Acts xx. 28, because the word was already in Tyndale’s, Cranmer’s, and the Geneva versions. But King James’s translators are responsible for every word in their version, inasmuch as they state it to have been “*with the former translations diligently compared and revised.*”

tion to the discouragement which she received from our Lord. This, alas, is lost to the reader of the English version. Indeed it is not too much to say, that all the finer characteristics, which give life and spirit to the Gospel narratives,—all those features which could bring out to the intelligent student the attitude and motive of the persons engaged, are lost, in the carelessness, or clumsiness, of our much-vaunted translators.

Considerable confusion has been introduced by the use of "*likewise*" for "in like manner;" a meaning which, at all events, it has now lost. "*Likewise*" renders the Greek *ὁμοίως* every time but one that it occurs (in all twenty-eight times), and of these places there are only four (Matt. xxvi. 35; Luke iii. 11; vi. 31; x. 37) where it does not confound the sense. In some the meaning is altogether lost, *e.g.*, when our Lord (Luke xiii. 5) has been speaking of those on whom the tower of Siloam fell and slew them, and threatens the Jews that, except they repented, they should all perish in like manner, *i.e.*, in the ruin of their city. This is not conveyed to the mind of the reader by "ye shall all likewise perish." In this case the same had been done in ver. 3, with the similar threat, that their blood should be mingled with their sacrifices; the Greek word here being the almost equivalent one, *ὁσαύτως*.

But in this matter, as usual, the translators had no fixed rule; one place was not corrected by another: *ὁσαύτως* is rendered "*in like manner*" in Luke xx. 31; 1 Tim. ii. 9; "*after the same manner*" in 1 Cor. xi. 25; "*even so*" in 1 Tim. iii. 11; but everywhere else "*likewise*." And this was not because they always understood "*likewise*" to mean "*in like manner*;" for they sometimes put it for a simple *καί*, as we should do now; as, *e.g.*, Matt. xxiv. 33, where *οὕτως καί* is "*so likewise*," Luke ii. 38.

Their practice was as arbitrary with regard to the Greek words *ὄχλος*, "*multitude*," and *ὄχλοι*, "*multitudes*," which are indiscriminately given by "*multitude*," "*people*," "*press*," "*number of people*," "*company*," "*number*." The use of "*people*" is inconvenient, as that term is wanted for the more definite *λαός*, signifying the people of the Jews; and a wrong idea is sometimes conveyed by "*company*," as, *e.g.*, in Luke xii. 13, where it would seem to point at some smaller gathering round our Lord, and not, which it really does, at the "*innumerable multitude*" of verse 1. See also Luke xi. 27.

Let us look at a difficult passage, where the precise distinctions afforded by the text itself were essential. Matt. xii. 43—45 is parallel to Luke xi. 24—26, the words in both places being nearly identical. In both the introductory words run, "*When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through dry places*," &c. Now what is the antecedent of "*he*?" I can only testify, that for years

before I knew my Greek Testament, I imagined that it was *the man*; that it was he who sought rest, and found none; he who returned to his house (whatever that house might mean); he who companied with other worse spirits in dwelling there. A first glance at the Greek told me that it was the *unclean spirit* of which all this is said, and that the *house* is the man, out of whom it had gone. Now the whole of this misapprehension arose from the use of "*he*," instead of "*it*," in the words quoted. It may be said that this was the uniform practice of the translators. But it was not. Witness Luke ix. 39: "*A spirit taketh him, and he suddenly crieth out; and it teareth him,*" &c. Luke xi. 14: "*He was casting out a devil, and it was dumb.*" Whatever reasons there were in these two places for distinguishing between "*it*," the evil spirit, and "*he*," the person possessed, surely existed in still greater force in the difficult passage cited above.

An awkward confusion has been occasioned in the minds of the unlearned by the frequent rendering of the verbs ἀπαγγέλλω and καταγγέλλω ("*announce*" or "*declare*") by the English verb "*shew*." So with the former verb, Matt. xi. 4, "*Go and shew John*;" xii. 18, "*he shall shew judgment*;" xxviii. 11, "*shewed unto the chief priests*;" Luke vii. 18; xiv. 21; Acts xi. 13; xii. 17; xxvi. 20; xxviii. 21; 1 Thess. i. 9; 1 John i. 2. With the latter, Acts xvi. 17; xxvi. 23; 1 Cor. xi. 26. In this last instance we have had in our day a painful example of the resulting confusion. That not very wise body, the "English Church Union," had occasion to defend certain unaccustomed postures and acts in the Communion Service. They took the ground that such acts were allowable and to be recommended, as constituting an *exhibition* of the death of our Lord: seeing that St. Paul describes the Communion as a "*shewing*" of the Lord's death till He come. St. Paul says no such thing; but that as often as we partake of it, we announce, declare, bear witness to, the Lord's death.

Sometimes it would appear, curiously enough, as if our translators had been fettered by that prescribed uniformity which they so loudly repudiate and avoid elsewhere. In Matt. viii. 18, Jesus "*gave commandment to depart unto the other side.*" Of what? No hint has been given of any lake being near, unless indeed ch. iv. 13, "*Capernaum, which is upon the sea-coast,*" may be supposed to be in the memory of the reader. But though this might be recalled to his mind by εἰς τὸ πέραν in the Greek, it certainly is not by "*unto the other side*" in English. It might be of a mountain, or of a valley, or of a plain. In ver. 28, "*when he was come to the other side,*" it is well enough, seeing that we have just heard of the ship and the storm. But why fetter the English reader with the same

rendering, when he has no such guide? Why not "*unto the opposite shore?*"

A more important matter is concerned in the rendering of the one word, *αἰώνιος*, by two English words, "*eternal*" and "*everlasting*." Let it be granted that the two words bear to the English reader the same meaning in general. Even this must have some exceptions admitted, as, e.g., where St. Paul declares the mystery of the gospel to have been kept hidden *χρόνους αἰώνιους*, *during eternal ages*, which could not be rendered "*everlasting ages*," or it would be hidden now. But admitting this identity of meaning in all ordinary cases, it surely constitutes a reason for uniform, not for varying translation. If nothing is lost by the striking out of one of the two renderings, let us be, in so solemn a matter, strictly faithful, and adhere to one. But which of the two shall be eliminated? Here, I submit, there can be no question. Setting aside mere etymological considerations, "*eternal*" has a width of meaning answering to *αἰώνιος*, which "*everlasting*" has not. It is cognate to the mysterious term "*eternity*," and embraces in itself all that incomprehensibility by our present faculties, which that word does; whereas "*everlasting*" is a word of *time*—is the mysterious idea brought down to our comprehensions, and interpreted by them. I would therefore, in every case, act uprightly by the sacred text, and substitute "*eternal*" for "*everlasting*." As it is at present, all is caprice; sometimes mere euphony, sometimes mere chance, has ruled. In the crucial verse, Matt. xxv. 46, where the same epithet *αἰώνιος* is used, by the King Himself, both of the Life of the Blessed, and the Fire of the Cursed, we read, "*And these shall go away into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into life eternal.*"

Another source of confusion is in the uncertain rendering of the Greek verbs of desire or inclination, *θέλω* and *βούλομαι*. Take the former. In Matt. xii. 7, we read, "*I will have mercy, and not sacrifice.*" Now, compare this with Rom. ix. 15, "*I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy.*" Who would imagine that the Divine Speaker was in these two propositions enunciating things totally different?—that the "*mercy*" in the former was a quality in man, in the latter, in God?—that "*I will have*" in the former case represents *θέλω*, "*I desire*," "*I love*," and in the latter is the mere sign of the future of the verb "*have mercy*." If the rendering of the former had been "*I love mercy*," or, as expressed in the passage quoted (Hosea vi. 7), "*I desire mercy*," all would have been plain.

In Matt. xv. 32, our Lord is made to say, "*I will not send them away fasting.*" This expresses a simple future, "*Such shall be my procedure.*" But what He, in His infinite compassion, really does say is, "*I am unwilling to send them away fasting.*" The same is

the case in ch. xx. 14, where "*I will give*" should be "*It is my will, or my pleasure, to give.*" In Mark vi. 19, the words "*would have killed him*" give the idea that this would have happened, but for some intervening reason. But that, however true in fact, is not what the text asserts. It says that Herodias bore a grudge against John, and *wanted to kill him*, but could not. Another example of the same is Mark vi. 48, "*and would have passed by them.*" The natural supplement is, "*but that they perceived Him.*" But this is not the meaning. It is that He "*was minded to pass by them :*" such was His purpose. Even more striking, as more sure to lead to mistake, is Luke xiii. 31, "*For Herod will kill thee.*" Who would dream here of anything but a warning on the part of the speaker, arising from a future contingency which they regarded in their minds as certain? Nothing of the sort is intended. What the Pharisees really did say to our Lord was, "Herod desireth to kill thee," a fact, not a surmise. And the tone of His answer receives light and interest from this: "Kings may imagine a vain thing, but the Son of God must be perfected in His course." Other instances are too numerous to quote. An important one is found in John v. 40, where "*Ye have no desire to come to me*" is made into a simple future, "*Ye will not come to me.*"

The corresponding verb βούλομαι has met with somewhat better treatment. But in Jude, ver. 5, it also disappears under a simple future: "*I will therefore put you in remembrance.*" It should have been, "*I wish therefore to put you in remembrance,*" or perhaps in this case more simply, "*I would therefore put you in remembrance.*"

Curious again has been the varying practice in rendering τέκνον, "*child*," and υἱός, "*son*." In this case, some latitude was of course necessary. The English word "*child*" conveys an idea of childhood, which the corresponding Greek word does not. We could hardly insist on τέκνον Τιμόθεε being rendered "*child Timothy.*" But, all such instances being fully taken into account, the charge of capriciousness yet remains. In Matt. x. 21, καὶ πατήρ τέκνον is rendered, "*And the father the child ;*" whereas in Mark xiii. 12, it stands "*And the father the son.*" It was hardly necessary in the narrative of Luke ii. 48, belonging as it does to the childhood of our Lord, to have rendered τέκνον, "*Son.*" Again, in John i. 48, the original has it, "*To them gave he power to become children of God.*" Why was this changed into "*the sons of God ?*" The Vulgate, "*filios Dei,*" seems to have ruled all the English versions without exception. But even then, why insert the definite article? Again, in 1 Cor. iv. 14, St. Paul says, "*As my beloved children I warn you,*" and enters into the close propriety of the appellation, seeing that he was their father, and had begotten them in Christ Jesus through the Gospel. Why depart from the original term, and confuse or limit the figure? In

this case the Rheims version (which, with many great defects, is by far the most carefully made of all in our language) has "*My dearest children.*" Phil. ii. 15, is in the same case as John i. 12—see above; but here, too, the Rheims version is in this respect faithful, "*the simple children of God.*" In 1 Peter iii. 6, why should "*children*" have been altered into "*daughters?*" The idea introduced by our version is surely a different one from that in the Greek text—the real belonging of the Jewish wife to the family of Abraham; the adoption into the same of the Gentile wife: not the mere daughterhood by imitation. In 1 John iii. 1, again, all the English versions have gone wrong after the Vulgate. The original has, "that we should be called children of God."*

The other word, *υἱός*, "*son,*" has been even more arbitrarily treated. Here, again, a certain allowance must be made. The expression "*children of Israel*" for the "*Benay-Israel,*" has become a household word, and can hardly be found fault with. Again, when the Greek can say, by the zeugmatic construction which it allowed, "*the sons of this world marry and are given in marriage,*" we English, who know no such construction, are compelled to say "*the children of this world.*" But no such excuses can be found for changing *υἱός* into "*children*" in Matt. v. 9, "*they shall be called sons of God;*" in Matt. xii. 27, "*by whom do your sons cast them out?*" especially as the same question is so rendered in the parallel place, Luke xi. 19; in Matt. xxiii. 31, "*that ye are the sons of them which killed the prophets;*" in Matt. xxvii. 56, "*the mother of the sons of Zebedee*" (in this place, as in Matt. xx. 20, the appellation is given to Salome simply in virtue of her being the mother of James and John, and not, as the English text strangely seems to express, in that she was the mother of all the children born to Zebedee, he having, perhaps, another wife, who had not borne him children); in Luke vi. 35, "*And ye shall be sons of the Highest;*" in John iv. 12, "*and his sons, and his cattle;*" in Acts xiii. 10, "*Thou son of the devil;*" in Rom. ix. 26, "*they shall be called sons of the living God;*" in Gal. iii. 7, "*they are sons of Abraham;*" in Gal. iii. 26 (compare iv. 7, where "*son*" is retained); in Heb. xii. 5, where, in defiance of the sense, the word on which the argument turns is diversely rendered in the statement of the argument, and in the citation by which it is supported.

In Matt. xxi. 42, and the parallel place, Mark xii. 11, we have an instance, perhaps of compromise, but certainly of unfaithfulness. The Greek words are in both places, with no variety of reading at all affecting this matter, *παρὰ κυρίου ἐγένετο αὐτῇ, καὶ ἔστιν θαυμαστὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν*. The English version has, in St. Matthew, "*This is*

* The remarkable addition in the ancient text, now generally adopted, does not come into consideration here.

the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." It is difficult to imagine how "*is*" can be the rendering of ἐγένετο. In St. Mark, it stands, as it ought, "*This was the Lord's doing,*" &c. The trouble seems to have been imported in a curious way. The Vulgate has, "*A Domino factum est istud,*" "*This hath been done*" (or, *is done*, both being English perfects) "*by the Lord.*" Wiclif accordingly has, "*Of the Lord this thing is doen.*" Cranmer first has it, "*This is the Lord's doing,*" Tyndale and the Geneva having "*This was the Lord's doing;*" whereas in St. Mark, where all the former versions are consistent with themselves, our translators have taken the rendering which they rejected in St. Matthew.

There is some obscurity occasioned by the very various renderings of the one verb παραδίωμι, to *deliver up*. It is the word employed everywhere (except in Luke vi. 16) to describe the act of treachery by which Judas delivered up our Lord to His enemies. In almost every such place (see below) it is uniformly rendered "*betray.*" It may be questioned whether English readers have a very definite idea as to wherein Judas's crime consisted; and whether this idea might not have been somewhat clearer, had the rendering of this verb been more frequently given in its simplicity. I say, more frequently; because a moment's trial will show that strict uniformity could not have been preserved. In such places as Matt. x. 4, Mark iii. 19,—indeed in all places where the whole great crime is spoken of under one name, I would keep "*betray.*" It is too closely associated in the English mind with the act, to be eliminated, even were it desirable. But I will specify a few places where I conceive a clearer meaning would be given by the change. Matt. xvii. 22, where our Lord is really not speaking of the foul act of treason, but of the mere concrete fact of His being *delivered up into the hands of men*. The same is the case in Matt. xx. 18; and in verse 19, where the same word is used, we already have in our version, "*shall deliver him to the Gentiles.*" Matt. xxvi. 2, is another case, where the fact of betrayal by a disciple is not treated by our Lord, but merely that He was to be *delivered up to be crucified*. It is curious that in verse 15, where Judas makes the proposal to the chief priests, we have in our version, not "*and I will betray him unto you,*" but "*and I will deliver him unto you;*" although in the very next verse the same word is otherwise given, "*and from that time he sought opportunity to betray him.*" However psychologically correct this may be in Judas's own mouth, it is hardly a faithful treatment of one and the same word, to import into it a criminal tinge at pleasure, unless the context imperatively require it. The latter cases will be pointed out sufficiently by the application of the distinction above stated.

But we have also to notice the instances where this verb is used

of other matters than that which has been hitherto before us. The first is somewhat a remarkable one. In Matt. iv. 12 (and similarly in Mark i. 14) we read, "*Now when Jesus had heard that John was cast into prison.*" These last three words represent merely the verb *παρέδοθη*, "*was delivered up*;" and in the margin of our Authorized Version we have, "Or, *was delivered up.*" But surely it would have been far better to have preserved the word in its simplicity. Pragmatic explanations are hardly allowable in translation. Again, in Matt. x. 21, we have, "the brother shall deliver up the brother to death;" whereas in Mark xiii. 12, we have the very same words (*παράδοσει δὲ ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν εἰς θάνατον*) rendered "*the brother shall betray the brother unto death*," and similarly in Matt. xxiv. 10, "*and shall betray one another*," though in verse 9 the same word had been rendered "*shall deliver you up.*" It seems, again, hardly justifiable to add to the act of delivering up the crime of treachery in one place, and not in another.

The word *πνεῦμα*, when used of the third Person in the Blessed Trinity, is indifferently rendered "*Ghost*" and "*Spirit.*" It is clear that both renderings are admissible, and also that both must be retained; but some rule ought to be observed as to the use of each. The English reader ought not to find, in Luke ii. 26, that it had been revealed to Simeon "*by the Holy Ghost*" that he should not die till he had seen the Lord's Christ; and then, in the next verse, that "*he came by the Spirit into the temple*;" nor, again, in Luke iv. 1, that "*Jesus being full of the Holy Ghost . . . was led by the Spirit into the wilderness.*" The identity of the Divine Person thus indicated should have been most scrupulously preserved. In both these cases "*Holy Spirit*," not "*Holy Ghost*," ought to have been used. Again, in John i. 33, "*Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending . . . the same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost.*" Again, in Acts ii. 4, "*They were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance.*" Other instances abound.

It will be observed that I have not in this article dwelt upon the graver charges to be laid against our translators, of ignorance of Greek grammatical construction, or of inadequate apprehension of the drift of that which they were translating. Most of these are already familiar to those who have taken an interest in the subject of New Testament Revision, and it would have been superfluous to have re-stated them here. Something on the treatment of the Greek article by the compilers of our version might have been looked for in a paper of this kind; but I have avoided the subject, as one which it is hardly possible to put before the reader in a popular form. It is, perhaps, the one delicate and difficult point in which our trans-

lators have acquitted themselves best. This might have been expected; for it is one depending less on scholarship, in which they were not eminent, than on sound English common sense and tact, in which they remarkably excelled. Moreover, it is a matter in which many a tiro in revision has confidently tried his hand—each one adding an example more to the list of failures before him.*

I may add a few words on certain desiderata in revision which probably some ingenious reader may be able to supply.

Is it possible to distinguish between the *κόφιναι* of the five thousand, Matt. xiv. 20, Mark vi. 43, John vi. 13, and the *σπυρίδες* of the four thousand, Matt. xv. 37, Mark viii. 8? The two kinds of baskets were clearly different; for our Lord, on referring to the two miracles in Matt. xvi. 9, 10, Mark viii. 19, 20, says—“Remember ye not the five loaves of the five thousand, and how many *cophini* ye took up? Nor yet the seven loaves of the four thousand, and how many *spurides* ye took up?” Probably the *cophinus* was more of a box or stiff basket (our word *coffin* comes from it, through the Latin), and the *spuris* more of a textile and flexible basket. The Vulgate keeps the distinction by rendering the former, of course, *cophinus* (the Latin poet says of the Jews, “*Quorum cophinus femumque supellex*,” Juv. Sat. iii. 14), the latter, *sporta*. As to the earlier English versions, Wiclif has, “*how many cofyns ye token*,” and “*how many lepus ye token*”; Tyndale, the Geneva, and Cranmer, have “*basketts*” for both; the Rheims, as usual studying more accuracy, has *baskets* for the former, and *maundes* for the latter. But I am not certain whether more than one reader in a hundred would now understand “*maunds*,” though the word is still in provincial use. I had thought of “*hampers*,” but the mere writing of the word was enough to exclude it.† I fear the matter is desperate, but we should gain much in precision, if the two could be distinguished.

Another desideratum is a distinction between *διδάσκαλος*, *teacher*, and *ἐπιστάτης*, *master*. In Matt. x. 24, the change from *master* to *teacher* can be made without inconvenience—“The disciple is not above his teacher, nor the servant above his master.” But obviously this cannot be done in the many places where *διδάσκαλε* is used as the simple appellation of our Lord by those who address Him. The

* One of the most signal of these is to be seen in a translation recently put forth by Mr. J. B. Rotherham, published at Manchester. Of the rules which regulate the presence or absence of the article in Greek, Mr. Rotherham seems utterly ignorant. He who can render *κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀγιοσύνης*, Rom. i. 4, “according to a spirit of holiness,” and *δικαιοσύνη γὰρ θεοῦ . . . ἀποκαλύπτεται*, “A righteousness of God is revealed,” has, indeed, much to learn before he can issue a version in which “special regard is had to the power of the Greek article.”

† I see that Mr. Rotherham, for whom no incongruity seems too startling, has ventured on it. I have at last thought that “*wallets*” might be adopted, at all events experimentally.

question is, whether in such places, "*Rabbi*" might be its rendering. "*Master*" certainly falls short of the meaning. An example may be given of the arbitrary way in which the word has been treated. In John iii. 2, we read, "*Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God;*" whereas, in verse 10, where the word is the same, we have "*Art thou a master of Israel?*" Again, in John xiii. 13, our Lord says, ἡμεῖς φωνῶμέν σε ὁ διδάσκαλος καὶ ὁ κύριος. Now obviously there is here a distinction more marked than is conveyed by the English, "*Ye call me Master and Lord;*" these two words having nearly the same signification.

It were to be desired that we should be able to distinguish between ὁ διάβολος, "*the devil*," and τὰ δαιμόνια or οἱ δαίμονες, *the demons* which possessed men in the Gospel times. While, perhaps, no serious confusion is occasioned by the rendering of these terms by the one word "*devil*" (see Acts x. 38), yet we must remember that the sacred text keeps διάβολος and δαίμων, δαιμόνιον, entirely distinct. No man is ever said διάβολου ἔχειν; and when ὁ διάβολος put the treason into the heart of Judas (John xiii. 2), and ὁ σατανᾶς, who is the same (Rev. xii. 9), entered into him (John xiii. 27), it was something very different from demoniacal possession. Still I do not see my way to any such distinction. The word "*demon*," of course, occurs as a solution; but trial will at once show its inadmissibility.

It may be well to close with a notice of certain apparently desirable purisms which break down and prove impracticable.

One of these is, of course, anything like the attempt to render the same Greek word always by the same English one. It were really not worth while to combat such a piece of obvious childishness, did we not hear and see it continually put forward as a result to be aimed at, and a note of accuracy, for neglecting which our translators are to be blamed. After what has been said in this article, no one will suspect me of upholding them in their claim for absolute caprice in various renderings. But the present matter rests on far deeper considerations. Probably no word in any language covers exactly the same ground as the apparently corresponding word in another. Even the most simple of all words certainly do not. Take for example καί, "*and*." To say nothing of the perhaps too obvious inclusion of the meaning "*also*" in καί, it must be plain that, in such a clause as καὶ οὐκ εἰμι μόνος (John xvi. 32), "*and I am not alone*," does not give the tone of the Greek, but we must say, "*and yet I am not alone*." While, therefore, all pains should be taken never unnecessarily to deviate from the ordinary rendering of a word, no reviser ought for a moment to fetter himself by any obligation to render uniformly. In all cases the idea to be conveyed to the purely English reader is the chief consideration.

The attempt to reproduce in English the precise power of the Greek tenses will always be a failure. It is the more necessary to enforce this on revisers, because a considerable portion of their work will lie in correcting the sad confusion in which our version leaves this very matter of rendering tenses. But it is to be remembered here again, that our English tenses do not cover the same times with the apparently corresponding Greek ones; neither our present with their present, our imperfect with their imperfect, our past with their aorist, our perfect with their perfect, nor our future with their future. When we are told, for instance, that "the aorist has been wrongly translated by a present, because it never is a present," we feel that the writer is using ambiguous terms. He does not tell us whether it is translated as a *Greek* present or as an *English* present. That it never is a *Greek* present, is of course plain; that it never has to find its equivalent in an English one, may be seriously doubted. The necessity of rendering it by what we call the English perfect, certainly not seldom occurs. The Greek aorist can be joined with adverbs of present time, which our English past cannot;—as, *e.g.*, when St. Paul says, (Phil. iii. 12), οὐχ ὅτι ἤδη ἔλαβον, which it is impossible to render "not as if (or, not that) I already attained," because such a combination is not English. We must say "I have (or, had) already attained."

A very important class of aoristic usages may be exemplified by John xvii. 4, ἐγὼ σε ἐδόξασα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὸ ἔργον ἐτελείωσα ὃ δέδωκάς μοι ἵνα ποιήσω. Our Lord may be regarded as looking on his whole career on earth as past, and thus speaking of it by anticipation. "I glorified Thee. . . . I finished the work. . . ." But unfortunately, we have no idiom in English which will express this to the reader. Such renderings as those given above would convey to his mind the idea of a reference to a definite act in time past, and would altogether preclude the true meaning. We are compelled to lose the finer shade of feeling, and to render, "I have glorified thee. . . . I have finished the work." The fact is, that this is not a pure perfect in English; nearer to a pure perfect than the cognate expression would be in French, but still not amounting to it. We may see this in the fact that the right English for γέγραπται is not "It has been written," but "It is written." A legitimate sequel to "It has been written," would be "but is illegible now." It is emphatically not a perfect.*

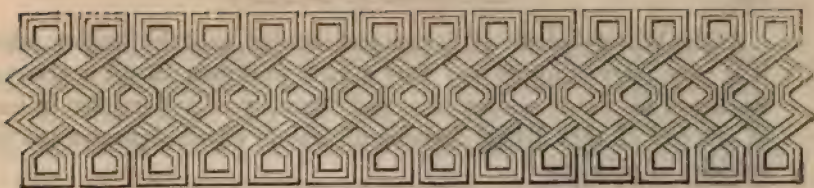
Still less can the Greek imperfect be always represented in an English version. Very often indeed it is so clearly used as

* And yet Mr. Rotherham gives this rendering throughout the Temptation, Matt. iv. 3—10. He seems not to appreciate the force of our English tenses; for in his Introduction he calls "are saved" an English *present*, whereas it is the strict and the only English *perfect*. If a man is drowning, what does "He is saved!" signify?

synonymous with an aorist, that the attempt to discriminate them would be folly itself. Take but one instance, on which I open by chance. The unjust steward called his lord's debtors, and *ἀγὼ* to the first, "*How much owest thou?*" &c. Whereupon the debtor *ἔπεν*, "*An hundred measures,*" &c. Then he *ἔπεν* to him, "*Take thy bill,*" &c. Then he *ἔπεν* to a second, "*And how much?*" &c; and so on. Now how is it possible to maintain a distinction here? And yet no better than this are one half of the cases in which a distinction has been maintained.

It will be well once more to remind our readers of the ground taken in this article, and generally by its writer. Its object has been to point out some of the less obvious defects of our beautiful, and for the most part faithful version. In the revision which is coming, these ought not to escape attention. But the effect of that revision ought not to be, and I am persuaded will not be, to break up the character of our present version, or in any way to mar its simplicity and its melody. It is deservedly dear to all Englishmen; and there is not one Greek scholar among us who would desire to make a *new version* which should attempt to supersede it. And again, it is not the version of King James's translators only. They for the most part took what they found. Any one may establish this for himself, who will compare, in such a work as "Bagster's English Hexapla," the five previous versions;—Wiclif's of 1380, Tyndale's of 1535, Cranmer's of 1539, the Geneva of 1557, and the Rheims of 1582. He will see that very many expressions have survived all through the six versions; indeed, that the great groundwork of all is the same. So that our present Bible is, in the main, far older than the date of its authorization. This last in fact only sanctioned one of a series of revisions, of which it is now high time that another should be undertaken.

HENRY ALFORD.



PICTURES OF THE SEASON.

FEW things can be more pleasant or less satisfactory than the attempt to review the pictures of a season. As to doing it exhaustively, well or ill, it is impossible, unless one can give about two months to careful observation and note-taking in the various exhibitions, and give opinions and reasons at length. This has indeed been ably done for some past seasons by a writer in the *Saturday Review*. Our own space is too confined, but we have one advantage from our narrower limits,—that we are prevented from indulging either in general views or particular vituperation. Both are curses of modern criticism. We can only say what we admire, regretting the probability of having missed many beautiful works which may deserve, and we hope will obtain, more advantageous notice than ours.

Have any of our readers, critical or semi-critical (and everybody who reads a criticism is a critic), any system for working through the Royal Academy Exhibition? We think the best way is first to go by names, while one's attention is fresh. Mark your catalogue from the index; then walk round and see the leading and progressive men's work first. As you move, "spot" any picture you really like—and always keep a look-out for good studies or subjects by younger hands, like Mr. Mason's two pictures. When you have passed about three hours in this way, you will be exceedingly tired; but you will have marked your catalogue pretty well, and will probably thus remember more than from plodding through it indiscriminately.

At the Water-Colours all is ease and comfort, as at the Dudley, where it is very interesting to see how a real workman in oil is always a workman in water-colours also, and where you will rejoice in hope of the end of that dismal division of labour which separates the two vehicles of painting.

But the best thing is to see a great picture by itself, and to vouchsafe an hour, at least, to the ten or twelve months' work of a competent man. Mr. Hunt's "Isabel" is *the* single picture of the year, and we take it first. A well-written article in the *Fortnightly Review* has exactly fulfilled the painter's prophecy made to us in his studio at Florence before the nearly-finished picture. "How they will pitch into me for making her dark and Etruscan, and giving her large feet!" It is just so. Poor simple Isabel is always expected to be simple à l'Anglaise, and piteous like one of Miss Yonge's well-regulated heroines. She ought to have worn satin shoes, not "zoccoli." Yet the fact remains, that Italian women are dark and vehement. People understand Juliet's sudden Italian passion of love at first sight, and Beatrice is supposed to mean what she says, when she bids her lover kill Claudio. Even supposing Keats did not know what Italian women are like, educated critics ought, before they pronounce sentence as if there were no appeal from him to Boccaccio. Hunt's "Isabel" is the perfect feminine type of the Etruscan-Italian. Napoleon's face and form stand for the male ideal of the same race: square, short, and powerful, with remarkable beauty in the mould of the neck. Dante, and the sharp Florentine features and large-boned forms, are Gothic or Lombard, as in the frescoes of Giotto and Ghirlandajo, and the two types remain to this day. In women like Isabel, love is stronger than death and life; their actions are quick and violent as their passions, and such a one (as Keats truly describes her) would be more likely to die quickly in a torrent of maddened lamentation, wailing for her lost and last relief, than to mope away consumptively, according to ultramontane views of the interesting. As the artist pithily observed (with a far-distant and meditative expression which beggars all description), "*She could have cut his head off, you see, and the delicate sort of blonde couldn't.*"

Mr. Hunt's water-colour in the Dudley Gallery, of the "Ponte Vecchio" with its lights reflected in long streams in Arno underneath, and the mysterious greens and purples of its deep Italian darkness, is beyond our praise. Some of the works in this exhibition, as Messrs. Solomon's and Stanhope's, give water-colour new importance, and, in fact, by the use of solid white and transparent vehicle, advance it into a kind of tempera painting.*

* Tempera, in the first instance, means *any* vehicle: then any except oil and water—as size, white of egg, ox-gall, &c.

Three large pictures by M. Gustave Doré (or Gory, as we heard him irreverently called) are, or were till lately, partially visible by what the French call the *lueur* of sepulchral gaslight, in the Egyptian Hall. There is the Kursaal at Hamburgh, and its passions—a subject unfit for oil-painting, as we think, or for any other form of representation. Mean and sordid vice is still sordid and mean, however violently excited people may get over it. It is the mistake of the sensational school not to see this, and to set up a standard of mere savageness and intensity of feeling. We all know M. Doré can draw noble figures when he pleases, and “Jephthah’s Daughter” has evidently been painted under the influence of Ormuzd; “The Sea of Ice” is a powerful transcript of the imagination of Danté, of course dwelling on the “fiero pasto” of Ugolino in the most vivid style of artistic cannibalism. We hope M. Doré will stick to oil-painting. As Dundee said, “his father’s son is still too good a man” to devote colour to such subjects as he has too often treated in woodcut; and his great powers and influence may yet work for good and not evil.

There is one thing we remark with great pleasure in a not very successful exhibition of the Royal Academy: it is the steady progress of a school of English painters thoroughly capable of drawing the human figure. The nude form is not *the* object of painting, but its study is the best and only means of really learning to draw, and you can’t represent action without knowing how the human body does act. Mr. Poynter’s “Catapult” (No. 402) is one of the chief pictures of the year—not only for its learning, research, and treatment, but because of its splendid drawing of muscle in motion.* The smaller vineæ along the wall are capital. Notice the raw hides to protect the engines from fire, and the wonderfully painted furnace. But how was that massive red-hot bolt got up to its level, ready for the blow of the *χείρ σιδηρέη*?

Then comes Mr. Leighton, with “Acme and Septimius,” “Actæa,” “Ariadne,” “Jonathan,” and a portrait. Now we ask any reasonable person if he sees any objection to any of Mr. Leighton’s nude pictures?—because we don’t. “Actæa” is a lovely fancy, and no more. As in “Ariadne,” the delicate warmth of flesh is contrasted with deep sea-blue, intensified by the porpoises and “purple island sides” in the one picture, and by rather indigoed reflections of cloud in the other. The same effect is beautifully given in Mr. Solomon’s “Bacchus” at the Dudley. We don’t know why he is not represented in the Academy, but we think it

* Notice the biceps of the man at the windlass; we think the principal nude archer too academic-Herculean. And did not Greek and Roman bowmen draw their arrows to the breast? Egyptians did to the ear.

can hardly be the fault of his picture, if he sent one in. Mr. Watts should have come first, with Mr. Armitage, as chiefs of English grand style; and Mr. Leighton's "Jonathan" reminds us of Watts; there is a certain likeness between the broad limbs and sunburnt red of the two ideals, neither of which are Semitic at all. "Jonathan's" face is high and noble, but seems hardly to suggest the love which was wonderful, passing the love of women; the lithe and beautiful boy contrasts well with him. In Watts's picture the contrast of Jacob's smooth and pale face with the red Esau is almost too strongly marked. Mr. Watts has hardly allowed for the seventeen years of shepherding, when the heat consumed the patriarch by day and the frost by night. Observe the splendid Titianesque contrast of Esau's swarthy knee with the green vegetation and blue distance. Then go to the "Bride of Pygmalion," a life in death, wonderful exceedingly; to the grand portrait of Mr. Panizzi, to the "Landscape" (No. 30), and to the bust of "Clytie;" and then judge of the new strength this great artist has put forth; and hope once more for men who shall deal with colour and form in all materials, like Giotto and Leonardo, and Michael Angelo and Dürer, and many another in old times.

With richer colour than his master, with softer sense of beauty, and a tender, uncontrollable imagination of his own, comes Watts's old pupil, Mr. Spencer Stanhope. There is deep Titian-green and blue in his distance, though its far hills take the sharp forms of the Pisan Apennine, such as Perugino and Raphael loved. The muscular tree-trunks look like Titian; the two figures in middle distance leave a thought of him. But the face of the principal figure may be coupled with the painter's own name in after time; it is like the "Juliet" of two years ago, and has a suggestion of some of Mr. Burne Jones's sad beauties. What has become of that gentleman? The old Water-Colour is like Alexander Selkirk's birds and beasts for want of him, and "its tameness is shocking to us."

Mr. Armitage has waited too long. The favourite pupil of Delaroche survives him to connect English art with the grandest French style, as the master himself was a link on the French side; drawing many of his inspirations from English history, and practically heading the English historical school, with such pictures as those of Cromwell and Charles I. Mr. Armitage's "Herodias" seems to us his greatest work—at least on canvas. The ruined greatness, the genius and debauchery in Herod's face are most striking; and Herodias, brow-bound with burning gold, reminds us of the author's Aholibahs and Hagars in years past, and of the long labours by which he has at last forced grandeur on the English mind. Weight tells at last. All the courtiers' faces, Greek rather than

Roman, are wonderful studies, with the roses on their low black brows. One ancient parasite is beyond price: and note the grand disgust of the grim old Hebrew servant. The young Herodias's *pose* is that of the Eastern dancing-girl, be it observed, and, like many other pictures in the room, is a fine example of life and motion in the clothed form. There is another Herodias in the Institute of Water-Colour Painting which may be compared with this picture, not without amusement and edification, by anybody who likes to go there for the sake of Carl Werner, Warren, and Rosa Bonheur. Our impression of this latter performance is that the young lady's terribly loose demeanour has been too severely felt by some unseen Israelite in the gloom behind her, who has kicked her violently into the air, castanets, Coan robe, and all. This is partly supported by the fact that Herod is throwing his crown viciously at her; but it seems rather to clash with the historical account which we possess. Great wits jump, we are told, and the author of this picture, like his heroine, jumps farther than most.

Of Sir Edwin Landseer's two pictures, we like the deer exceedingly, and do not much appreciate the "Rent Day after Sheriff-muir," which we own at first sight we took for a conventicle in the Pentlands; the modern telescope, which we had been instructed to look for, would suit one period as well as the other. But the other picture is quite like old times; the collapse of the dead stag is subtly contrasted with the repose of the tracking colley. The latter is *not* a deer-hound, and can scarcely have pulled the deer down, as we believe the general opinion runs. The very name Chevy, short for Cheviot, ought to have assisted southern criticism to tell dog from dog. The faint lights and delicately varied tints on the snow-wreaths are lovely, as in the "Random Shot" of long ago. Above all, mark the ravens: you can hear the hoarse croaking as they fly low with the hound's scent on the last drops of blood, just topping the "beallach" and no more. The forester's eye will mark their flight from below, and Chevy will not have tracked in vain.

The chase reminds us of the forest, and Mr. Millais's "Rosalind and Celia." Of course it is a considerable work. We think Rosalind very beautiful, though rather theatrically dressed, and the blue and red Touchstone (what blue, and what red, however!) is so entirely conventional that he seems to hang between greenroom and greenwood. But Celia is so pretty and so tired, and the squirrel eats his supper with such assurance that he is all right so near such people, that the whole work is charming after all. "Stella" is higher in its power, and the small single portrait is lovely; but the "Pensioners" seem Mr. Millais's great stroke of the year. He used to have rather a taste for ugliness; now it has sobered down into honour for age and

homely nobility. The taller pensioner was rated boatswain in his day—that is clear—and probably came from the Wear or the Tyne; the other is still topman all over, with his simple pleasant old English face, used to look on “great peril like a hearty play-fellow.” “Render thanks to the Giver, England, for thy sons.” We do not care to talk about boldness, breadth, massiveness, &c., because it is so difficult to explain one’s meaning in using the words. If a man has time to get a fair knowledge of drawing, and to try to “model” in oil-colour for two months or so, he will be more likely than before to appreciate the skill and knowledge which have gone into the many-coloured lantern-lights on the faces, hair, and dresses of the old men.

Soldiering naturally comes next, and the President of the Royal Academy, with his picture of the “Alma.” Though the portraits are admirable, there is a certain want of vehemence in the work. Of Mr. O’Neil’s “Waterloo” we don’t know what to say. The rapid outpour of thought in Byron’s verse, and its awe, its passion of pity and personal sorrow, its eagerness for battle, and special descriptions of *sound*, cannot be done justice to on canvas. The feeling of the picture, too, is anticipated by Millais’s “Black Brunswicker.” But the pale dawn-light, the steady stream of bayonets below; and the keen faces of all the men who have done with tears and farewells, and are getting to horse, or to their places in the column, give real grandeur and deep feeling to the picture. We do not remember any English picture of a heavy column of marching men; and it has always seemed to us one of the most impressive sights in the world, from its sinuous expression of unity and multitude, of discipline, and force of obedience, and harmonious will.

Two other well-marked pictures depend for their interest on war and its terrors. One is Mr. Carrick’s “After the Sortie,” which shows powerful drawing and deep feeling. A wounded man is being carried up a turret staircase, followed by his wife, who scarcely heeds an arrow which comes hissing venomously in at a loophole (the hiss is actually painted). The other is Mr. Poole’s “Border Raid,” a knight borne home by his followers, who have reached his castle-moat. The slight praying figure of the lady, the weariness of the men, at length felt, the reedy still water and evening scene, are most impressive, though we think the ground and vegetation too dark for the clear grey evening, and the indistinctness of the picture somehow reminds us of an aquarium. But Mr. Poole knows best, and this, like “Custaunce,” is a pathetic and noble picture.

Two other evenings—“The Hymn,” by Mr. Mason, and Mr. Walker’s “Vagrants”—claim attention; the first in particular, from the beauty of its figures and its deep feeling and power of subdued

colour. It is a great thing to see a pious picture without the impiety of affectation. "Netley Moor" is a very impressive, broad, and powerful landscape by the same artist. We apologize to Mr. Calderon for not having before noticed what study he has bestowed on the human figure; see "Ænone," and the tempera picture (No. 760). Green and blue hills are used to oppose the flesh-colour in both; we think, in both, the forms of the mountain background are sadly neglected. But Ænone singing to the silence is a lovely study, and may as well be called Ænone as anything else; though her "check has not lost its rose" or its roundness, and nobody will ever illustrate Tennyson's poem thoroughly who cannot imagine and paint the scenery with which it opens. "Yorick's" face (No. 316) we put above our praise, simply; and the young Lord Hamlet is little inferior.

Now let's drink "the Strangers." Legros' "Refectory" is fully equal to the standard which all have a right to expect of him; there is a grave peace in the high and thoughtful faces of the monks which makes one think of the brethren of Port Royal. The Holbein is very like a Holbein; M. Legros must have studied Henry VIII. in the Kensington Exhibition to some purpose. Tourrier's "Cloisters," with its two beautifully contrasted figures, reminds us, by contraries, of the last year's great success called "Mattins." M. Hémy's unaffected coast scenes are full of air and space, and cool evening or morning colour; and Baron Leys sends a work which displays all his thought and thoroughness of realization. The Burgomaster or presiding officer has a noble face, and we cannot help speculating on the originals of the large number of evident portraits in this great picture. One face on the Burgomaster's left reminds us much of the late Sir C. Lewis. All have the same fixedness one observes in Holbein, which gives the idea of perfect portraiture, but of perhaps too great similarity of expression. The Walloon (?) archers' faces are wonderful.

We grieve to say that we must deal shortly with many works which deserve loving analysis. Mr. Lewis's "Sinai Arabs and Camels" are painted in the desert and from the life, and are the best we ever saw, even of his. Mr. Herbert's "Valley (Wells?) of Moses" is a scene on the Red Sea shore, looking to the eastern mountains of the Tib. He has well rendered the unusual richness of the yellow sands of the Red Sea, and the beautiful raspberry-cream of the distant hills; but his camels won't do after Lewis's. Mr. A. Hughes's "Sigh no more, Ladies, sigh no more," has a face so lovely and expressive, that one is driven into a wilderness of conjecture as to the idiocy of the false one, and ends by thinking she is well rid of such a donkey. Mr. Hook's pictures are like himself, and

cannot have a better model for deep clear sea and brown bright faces. The "Chimney-sweep" is a new and pretty thought. Mr. Herdman's "Chief of Morar" has his foot upon his native heath, and we are really sorry for that vegetable, which must be terribly flattened out under the superincumbent pressure. Mr. Frith's "Johnson and Goldsmith" are effectively contrasted in a valuable picture; his French young lady, with Sterne, is pretty enough to be some excuse for that offensive divine; but his "Maria" is lovely and pathetic to a degree.

"Mrs. Birket Foster" is a charming portrait by Mr. Orchardson. "Home News" is another female figure of great beauty. In Mr. Redgrave's "Eugene Aram" the corpse is terrible enough, and the woodland scene beautiful, but we do not think the murderer's figure quite equal to the rest. An evening scene of the same impression is the "Dead Woodman" (No. 629), by Mr. Goodwin. Its "motive" is unluckily anticipated by Wallis's "Stonebreaker," of some years back, but the picture deserves the highest praise; and it is our misfortune to have such a memory,—not Mr. Goodwin's fault to have struck on the same chord as Mr. Wallis. Mr. Goodall has two fine studies, which remind one of idealized Coptic-Egyptian portraits. The portrait of Lord Somers, by Sir C. Lindsay, is the most unaffected and true in the room. One good study of fruit there is by Mr. Macdonald, of the Oxford Art School. Mr. Archer's picture of the "Funeral Procession of Guenevere," is wonderfully painted as to landscape and accessories, and indeed as to figures, except that his ladies are too uniformly pretty, and his knights seem scarcely big enough men. We wonder how many spectators recognize the gondola by its oar-post in Mr. Topham's "Vita Nuova,"—a charming work. Perugini's "Maiden Fair to see" is dangerous indeed, and it is lucky she is only a picture after all. Mr. Yeames's *genre*-historical pictures deserve good looking at, though we often do not care for his subjects; we think he is likely to be a master of expression. But Mr. Marks was always our delight since the "Monk Sculptor;" and the boy's head he exhibits this year, "The Lamb gone Astray," rather goes to one's heart, as it ought: we put it before the "Experimental Gunnery," good as that is. Mr. Ansdell's "Shepherd's Revenge" is capital; but the coming storm in his larger work is apparently raining ink, as there is no drawing in middle distance to throw the rain-streaks back. Mr. Calthorp's "Last Song of the Girondins" is a subject grand in feeling, but hard to make a picture of; and we cannot resist the incongruity of going off from it to Mr. A. Moore's "White Azaleas" and "Greek Maiden," exquisite in delicacy of colour and grace of form. The wonderful white study of sea (No. 452) by Mr. H. Moore caused a temporary confusion in our minds between

the two artists. Notice "Barley Harvest" (No. 641). While we congratulate Mr. Richmond on the "Portrait of the Bishop of Oxford" (which expresses the amenity of countless doves, combined with the sagacity of innumerable serpents), and on that of the "Rev. J. L. Brereton," we cannot see why five or six square feet of the Academy walls should be occupied with thrilling portraiture of the backs of all the latter gentleman's books: they remind one of Olivia and the sheep. "Letters and News at the Loch Side," Wells (No. 440), is a good Highland picture, very genuine and real. It is an off-day; or too musty for the hull, in gillies' language. All the men look drawn and tired, and rather glad of rest,—a state of things not infrequent about the end of August on the moors.

Mr. Prinsep's "Venetian Lover" (No. 499) is apparently having a bad time with an extremely beautiful and grandly indolent young lady in a splendid dress of russet and gold. Perhaps it is as well she is so passive: "I sleep, awake me not," might be a motto for the repose of those blue, indifferent eyes. Her lover never will; but we still hope she seems inclined to be good to him, in a quiet way! We much admire the "Greek Widow" (No. 523).

Miss Freer's "Red Roses" (No. 540); the "Exiled Jacobite," Lidderdale (No. 521); "The Shy Pupil," Storey (No. 273)—these two in particular; "Mr. Basset in his Laboratory," Houghton (No. 209); Maclise's "Madeline and Lady Macbeth;" Burchett's "Scene from Measure for Measure" (No. 589); Hicks's "Escape of the Countess of Morton" (No. 613); Hodgson's "Off the Downs in the Days of the Cæsars" (No. 615); Mr. Barwell's rather improbable "Rescue of the Nun" (No. 633); with Mr. Burgess's works, are all to be looked at. So in particular is Mr. Brett's wild morning, rising over a wonderfully-drawn and terrible sea, with boats escaping from a wreck, and figures left clinging to her masts.

We particularly like the "Empty Sleeve" by Mr. Leslie (No. 657), not only for the stout old commodore's sake, but for the respect and interest expressed by the girl's figure. In the "Orphans of Charles I. at Carisbrooke" (No. 672), Mr. Hayllar's Puritans, though wonderfully painted, are wonderfully painted clowns,—they are not hatefully or conscientiously insolent. We like the picture better for it. Crowe's "Mary Stuart" is a grand and piteous work. And so we have done: only noticing with delight the appearance of Mr. R. Doyle's "Haunted Tree" (No. 727), "where with puff'd cheek the 'elfin' hunter blows his wreathed bugle-horn," to call out his mates to play from under the gnarled foothold of the old oak. We observe a fine pencil *diablerie* drawing by Mr. Sandys. We hear with disappointment that a picture of high aim by that gentleman has not been hung this year; and, personally, we greatly regret not having seen it.

This must end our criticisms. Some good pictures we have missed, no doubt; some bad ones we have refrained from abusing: we don't know that hostile criticism does much good. On re-reading our work it reminds us terribly of Fred. Bayham's critique in the "New-comer." But, at all events, we have not talked about gesso, or impasto, or chiaroscuro, or intonaco, or quality; and our readers ought to be thankful to us for that at least.

The hopeful thing about this exhibition is the increased vigour it shows in study of the human form, without a single offensive or prudently-suggestive picture. A feeling for Greek and classical subjects seems to be arising analogous to that of David and his pupil Ingres. When we can pass more painters through the old classical grind at Oxford, see if they do not get some Homeric, or Sophoclean, or Theocritean motives into their pictures. Landscape is at a standstill for the present, and Pre-Raffaelite foreground studies are few; but Pre-Raffaelitism has done its work. One sea-piece in the Old Water-Colour redeems the prevailing slowness of that Exhibition; where all the old hands are equal to themselves, and nobody is at his very best, except, perhaps, Messrs. Richardson, Jenkins, and A. Hunt. It is the "Mull of Cantyre" by Mr. Powell; the multitudinous seas are incarnadined with red sunset; night is on them, and they cannot rest; they heave with coming storm, ridge beyond ridge,—not yet edged with white, or rolling dark and pale; all restlessness, and richness, and solemn foam, and deep colour, like the mingled tides of a great and stirring life. It is almost impossible to analyze what we call "feeling" in Landscape; but this picture has it, whatever it is, with almost unsurpassed power and intensity.

R. ST. JOHN TYRWHITT.



BISHOP FORBES ON THE ARTICLES.

*An Explanation of the Thirty-nine Articles, with an Epistle
Dedicatory to the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D. By A. P. FORBES,
D.C.L., Bishop of Brechin. Two vols. Oxford: Parker. 1857,
1868.*

I LATELY commented in this Review on some unsatisfactory, because inexact and arbitrary, interpretations of the Communion Service.* I now wish to call attention to a series of explanations of the Thirty-nine Articles, which appears to me to be open to a similar objection.

It would not seem to be very difficult to lay down generally what is required in a commentary on the Articles. They should be interpreted, like any other statement of opinions, according to the natural meaning of the words, taken in significant connexion with each other, with their context, and, in case of doubt, with the rest of the document, recourse being had, where it may be needful, to the theological history of the time, and specially to the writings of the framers of the Articles, and of others who are known to have sympathized with them. This is the way in which the true sense of a document of the kind is likely to be ascertained; and it would seem obvious, as I have said, that it is to be employed in the present case. The meaning of the Articles being thus arrived at, it is a separate, though of course a very important, task to estimate the bearing of their meaning on the general doctrine of the Church of England, to harmonize apparently conflicting results, and to obtain a view of the mind of the Church on the various points on which questions may be raised.

* See vol. vii. p. 401.

There is again a third inquiry which also has its place, though of an inferior and subordinate kind. There are different schools within the Church of England, which in one form or other have existed for the last three centuries, if not for a longer period; and as it is not only possible but likely that no one of them exactly expresses the mind of the Church on all doctrinal points, it is natural to inquire what limits of divergence may be allowed to each in the case of this or that matter of belief. This is of course a casuistical question depending on many minute considerations; but it is of consequence to the whole body of churchmen, as well as to the particular section concerned, not only that it should be entertained, but that it should be determined fairly and reasonably. These, it is plain, are distinct tasks; and though the temptation may be great to confuse them in practice, I believe it is in proportion as they are kept distinct that each is likely to be satisfactorily performed.

If these remarks are true, it seems evident that a work which, like Bishop Forbes's, professes to explain the Articles on a particular theory commits a fundamental mistake. The interpretation of the Articles requires no theory, and admits none. Particular passages may be doubtful, and with reference to them these or those external considerations may be legitimately employed; but to interpret the whole in the light of an external theory is self-condemnatory. As English churchmen, we may be bound, as Bishop Forbes thinks we are, to hold what is called the Catholic theory of belief. If the Articles express that theory, they will say so when interrogated by the ordinary methods of inquiry. Protestant tradition may have encrusted them; but there are recognised, though it may be slow methods of removing all such encrustations. If the Articles, fairly interpreted, are not Catholic, it may still be possible, by taking them in connexion with other statements of the Church's belief, to produce on the whole a Catholic result. If this again cannot be made out, it is open to contend that there are certain limits beyond the strict line of the formularies within which Catholic opinion has a standing-ground in the Church of England. But no supposed duty to Catholic truth can warrant us in explaining the Articles in any other sense than that which may appear on detailed examination to be the sense of the Articles themselves.

But it will be right to expound Bishop Forbes's theory somewhat more fully before proceeding to comment on his practice. This is indeed not so easy as it may appear at first sight, as though he expressly states that he has a theory, the precise nature of it is not so much to be found explicitly stated in any one passage of his work as to be collected from several. I am not sure that I altogether comprehend it: I am not sure that he is in these different passages

absolutely consistent with himself; but I believe that in what I am going to say I shall not far misrepresent him.

Bishop Forbes seems to arrive at his mode of interpreting the Articles, so to say, by a sort of double route. It is with him a question of duties; of duty to the Articles themselves, and of duty to Catholic belief. To the first he evidently attaches comparatively little importance. The Articles are an uninspired document, and there is a *prima facie*, though it may be unavoidable, hardship in requiring assent to them. Clergymen and others are bound to them simply because they have subscribed them: the obligation is to be interpreted legally, and the document itself to be construed with a legal literalness which takes the text sentence by sentence, and does not trouble itself with deductions and implications. "The plain literal and grammatical sense, interpreted by the hardest legal head, is all that we have to do with in accepting the text: and as regards the inferences, we have nothing whatever to do with them."* The duty to the Articles being thus discharged, another duty begins. The obligations of Catholic truth require that the Articles should be understood in a Catholic sense, and it is to this that the legal interpretation is calculated to pave the way. The one creates the vacuum (it is Bishop Forbes's own image applied to legal interpretation in another connexion†); the other comes and fills it. Our right to regard the Articles in this light is strengthened by historical considerations, by a view of the Elizabethan age, when they were tendered to the acceptance of a clergy oscillating between old and new beliefs, and by a reference to the disputes of the Caroline period, when the literal and grammatical sense was maintained by the king and the bishops, and denounced by the Puritans as Jesuitical and Arminian.

Such, so far as I am able to ascertain it, is Bishop Forbes's theory; and yet, as I have intimated already, I am not sure that I have exhibited it rightly. Perhaps he is not altogether consistent with himself in what he says about his own canon of interpretation. He claims to be bound by the literal sense of the Articles; yet he seems to admit that those whose historical position he defends as the true one, the Catholic party in the Elizabethan age of the Church, imported into them preconceived notions foreign to their letter, just as he says is now done by Low Churchmen.‡ So there is something not easily explicable in his comment on the Royal Declaration. "The Caroline bishops knew very well what they were doing; so did the Puritans. No wonder that these latter sought to stigmatize

* Vol. ii. p. 805.

† "The object of lawyers, according to the principle of acquitting one criminated if possible, is to evacuate the meaning of terms whereby the Church has defined and guarded the faith."—Vol. ii., p. 766.

‡ Vol. i. p. xxi.

the sense" enjoined by the Declaration "as Jesuitical and Arminian. The instinct of Puritanism was naturally aroused; the Declaration was the enunciation of the Catholic sense of the Articles; Tract XC. and the Eirenicon are legitimate outcomes of the King's Declaration."* Now, if the contention of the Caroline bishops is rightly represented by the Declaration, it was not for a bare literal lawyer's sense, but for a meaning variously described as "the true, usual, literal meaning," "the plain and full meaning," "the literal and grammatical sense,"—for that, in short, for which most clergymen, of whatever party, would contend in the present day. The Puritans thought the reformed formularies required yet further reformation, and so gave the High Churchmen the advantage of appearing as defenders of the *status quo*. But Bishop Forbes seems to imply that there was more in the controversy than this—that the struggle was really for a Catholic or non-Catholic sense. If this was so, I think that the Puritans, whose strong language in the discussions on the question is generally contrasted unfavourably with the moderation of their opponents, had really some justification for their vituperative epithets. On the whole, I cannot feel certain whether Bishop Forbes conceives himself to be interpreting the Articles naturally or not.† The best hypothesis I can form is that which I have given above, that he first interprets them like a lawyer, in order that he may afterwards interpret them as a Catholic divine; but I cannot say how far he consciously realizes to himself this twofold process.

Possibly, in one respect, Bishop Forbes's theory may appear to have something in common with the principles of interpretation laid down at the beginning of this paper. He remarks that "it is very difficult now to throw oneself into the mind of the framers of the Articles at their last revision," intimating that this is what we ought to do if we wish to approach them properly. It is, indeed, a duty which a judicious commentator would not only admit, but enforce. But I do not think Bishop Forbes equally satisfactory in his way of acting on it. What he does is to show at some length, and by various proofs, that a large portion of the nation and the clergy was Catholic at the time of Elizabeth's accession, and to argue that, as only a few of the clergy refused the Articles, the remainder of the

* Vol. i. p. xl.

† His account of his own relation to the Articles is as follows:—"I can sign them myself in 'the literal and grammatical sense,' that is, taking sentence by sentence as a lawyer would do; and when the plain and full meaning alluded to in the Declaration is doubtful, I supplement any deficiency by the interpretation of the other subscriptions which I have made and the documents I am bound to: so that not having the necessity to call in to my aid more than the most moderate help of such laws of explanation as all men practically need in the interpretation of every oath, obligation, pledge, or subscription, I feel that I am in the position of being able to come to a pretty impartial opinion on the subject of relaxation."—Vol. i. pp. viii., ix.

Catholic party must either have been consciously dishonest, or must have submitted in a Catholic sense. Now if it can be proved or made probable that the Articles, or any portions of them, were worded in a particular way in order to conciliate this section of the Church, the fact is, of course, important with reference to the interpretation of the document in whole or in part. Bishop Forbes does attempt this in a few places in the body of his commentary: in these cases, of course, due weight ought to be given to the argument. But simply to argue that because such and such persons signed such and such statements, therefore the statements must have a sense corresponding to the belief of the signers, is surely very insecure reasoning at best. If the Articles were an undeciphered inscription, such evidence as to their meaning might be acceptable for want of better. As it is, to interpret the Articles by the supposed conviction of the Catholics who originally signed them, rather than by their own words, is something like the task imposed on the hero of mythology, of hitting an object which he was only allowed to see as reflected in a vessel of oil. In their proper place these considerations have their importance. They affect not the interpretation of the Articles, but what I have called the casuistical question of the license to be allowed to schools of opinion in the Church, over and above the ascertained meaning of the formularies. In an inquiry like that, Shakspeare and Machyn's "Diary" may be tendered in evidence to prove that half the people of England were Catholic at the time when the Articles were originally imposed. But the poet and the London citizen will scarcely help us to ascertain what the framers of the Articles meant by the terms in which they expressed their own and the Reformed Church's belief.

Another thing still remains to be noticed before I examine Bishop Forbes's commentary in detail. He declares that "the Articles have suffered from being always treated controversially," and accordingly proposes to turn them "from the transitory controversies of the sixteenth century to those immutable truths which have been taught in the Church and by the Church in all ages." Two important things are here assumed; that certain controversies are transitory, and that certain truths are immutable. If it should prove that the controversies assumed to be transitory are still being waged on substantially the same grounds as in the Elizabethan age, and that the truths assumed to be immutable are propositions which one party in the Church, and that one especially attached to the Articles, regards as more than questionable, I think we shall not doubt that this mode of dealing with the Articles is really as controversial as that which it professes to supersede, while it has the disadvantage of using the Articles for a purpose which is, to say the least, not that which they

were intended to serve. "For example," he says, "the Romish doctrine of pardons, alluded to in Article XXII., was a perversion of the belief and practice of the penitential discipline of the Church. It shall be my duty to show what that penitential discipline was, and so of the rest." Is Bishop Forbes, however, quite sure that, in distinguishing between the truth and the perversion, he is drawing the line exactly where the Church of England would draw it? In his exposition of that part of the Article he makes no attempt to define the doctrine of the English formularies, or even to construct a catena on the subject from the writings of English divines: he casually mentions the address at the beginning of the Communion Service; but the bulk of his comment consists of a brief historical sketch, embracing the early Church, the mediæval Church, and the decisions of the Council of Trent, the canon by which truth is distinguished from error being nowhere defined or stated. Few things, indeed, are likely to strike a reader more than the absence of reference to Anglican authority in a work purporting to be a constructive exhibition of Anglican doctrine. A chain of English divines is at best only a secondary and subsidiary witness to the teaching of the Church of England, but it would seem to be more in place in a commentary on the Articles than extracts from schoolmen or from modern Roman Catholics.

Descending from generalities to details, I must beg to confine myself almost entirely to Bishop Forbes's exposition of the anti-Roman Articles. They, it is needless to point out, are the real test of the canon of interpretation which he adopts. Even of these I shall not notice all.

The first five Articles I pass over *sicco pede*, merely stopping for a moment to note a single point. In pursuance of his design of explaining the Articles constructively, Bishop Forbes seizes the opportunity presented by the words of the Second, "in the womb of the Blessed Virgin, of her substance," to enforce at some length the honour due to the Virgin. The same thing is done later at greater length in a more singular connexion, in the process of commenting on Article XV., "Of Christ alone without Sin," where we are first assured that the Virgin and some of the saints are exceptions to the language of the Article, and then instructed in the true view of the dignity of the Mother of our Lord. This, it is hardly necessary to say, is not commenting on the Articles, but supplementing and correcting them. Nor can it be said that these supplements and corrections are derived from other portions of the teaching of the English Church. In the exposition of the Second Article, indeed, a passage speaking honourably of the Virgin is quoted from a sermon of Latimer's—one of the very few cases in which an English divine is appealed to

at all in the work: in the other place references are made to two passages in the Prayer-Book, and two in the Homilies. Of these, Latimer's is of course merely an individual authority, while Bishop Forbes would himself contend that the sanction given to the Homilies by Article XXXV. cannot be taken as extending to all their details: the passages from the Prayer-Book speak of our Lord as "born of a pure Virgin," words which it is a mere assumption to interpret of freedom from sin, and of His being "made very man of her substance, and that without spot of sin," where our Lord's nature would seem to be specially distinguished from His mother's in respect of sinlessness. No notice meanwhile is taken of the facts, surely significant ones, that, with the exception of this incidental mention of the Virgin in the Second Article, the Articles are completely silent about her, and that in the Collects for the two festivals associated with her name that name is omitted altogether, the event commemorated being regarded simply in its relation to Christ.

The Sixth and Twentieth Articles resemble each other so much in the ground they traverse that it seems natural to treat them together. Yet, though connected, they are by no means identical. The Sixth is confined to the truth taught, but says nothing about the teacher, who may be an individual or a Church. It simply denies that the teacher, whoever he may be, has any right to enforce any doctrine as necessary to salvation which is not to be found in or collected from Scripture. The Twentieth recognises the Church as an expounder of Scripture, declares that it may not expound Scripture contradictorily, or teach anything contravening it, and repeats the prohibition against enforcing anything beyond Scripture as of necessity to salvation. I think, then, that a commentator anxious for clearness of exposition would have reserved what he had to say on the teaching power as much as possible for his explanation of the Twentieth Article. Bishop Forbes, however, treats the two questions together, and we may as well follow him in doing so. Apparently fearing that the Sixth Article, if left alone, would be misunderstood, he supplies the requisite correction:—

"It [the Article] says nothing against the acceptance of whatever the Church proposes for our belief, because whatsoever is so proposed to us must rest ultimately on the authority of Scripture, of which the Church is the guardian and the expounder. All that it seeks to protect the faithful against is the enforcement on them, as requisite to salvation, of individual opinions, which, being without the authentication of Church authority, have consequently no Scriptural authority."

This is constructive explanation, certainly. A cautious expositor would have remarked, "Nothing is said here about the office of the Church as a teacher." Bishop Forbes tells us that nothing is said

derogatory to the office of the Church as a teacher, because, in fact, nothing can be said, the teaching of a doctrine by the Church being the only criterion we have of knowing whether it is contained in Scripture. All that is forbidden is the unscriptural teaching of individuals; and even that is not to be tested by Scripture, but by the authority which is the criterion of Scriptural doctrine, the Church. Now this may be the meaning of the Article, but it can hardly be said to lie on its surface, much less to be expressed in its title, "The sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for salvation;" and considering how many persons, not only at the present day, but at the time of the Reformation, were in the habit of attaching a different and (according to Bishop Forbes) erroneous meaning to the words, "sufficiency of Scripture," it seems a little inconsiderate in the framers of the Article not to have expressed their mind on the matter more clearly. Meantime, it is strange that Bishop Forbes, after saying that *all* that the Article seeks to protect the faithful against is the enforcement of unauthorized opinions by individuals, proceeds in the very next sentence to say that the Article would condemn any accretive development by the Church which would add to the substance of the faith. The Article then is to guard us not merely against what individuals may do, but against what the Church may do. But why not say this plainly at the outset? If the Article is to be explained constructively, let us know what is involved in its constructive teaching. Does it mean that when the Church professes that its doctrine is contained in or deducible from Scripture, the doctrine is to be accepted; but that when it professes to be teaching an accretive development, the development is to be rejected? It can scarcely mean anything else; for if the individual is to be the judge whether a doctrine is a deduction or an accretion, the whole of Bishop Forbes's exposition falls to the ground. On the whole, I interpret Bishop Forbes's interpretation of the Article to mean that the Article is addressed not to the individual, but to the Church in its teaching capacity, recognising the power of the Church, but warning it to be careful how it exercises that power. If the Church neglects the warning, and teaches as a deduction what is really an accretion, individuals, it would seem, must accept it without interposing their own judgment.*

I do not mean, of course, to maintain that the doctrine of the framers of the Articles on this subject is clear and unembarrassed. They nowhere assert the right of the individual to judge whether the teaching of the Church is Scriptural or not. But the persistence with which they insist upon Scripture as the rule of faith, and the emphasis with which they deny that the Church has any right to

* See vol. i. p. 101, where this seems to be explicitly asserted.

add to or contradict it, are hardly consistent in moral effect, whatever they may be in logic, with Bishop Forbes's constructive doctrine that the individual can only know that a thing is Scriptural from the fact of its being taught by the Church. To borrow an illustration of his own, a charter given by a king to his subjects, which dwelt repeatedly and emphatically on his possible violations of duty, would hardly leave on their minds the impression that they had no right in any case to judge whether such a violation had been committed.

I go to Article X. Here Bishop Forbes begins his comment thus :—

"This is one of the instances in which the title of the Article does not correspond accurately with its contents. In the Article there is no direct assertion of the free will of man, nor definition of its meaning, though it is implied in its very limitation. The Article ought really to be termed, 'Of the Necessity of Divine Grace.'"

This criticism is only applicable if we accept Bishop Forbes's view of the doctrine of the Church of England on the subject of Free Will. He asserts that men in their natural condition have free will, and censures Luther for denying it. If he is right, the Article certainly does seem to be rather strangely drawn up. But if we suppose that the framers of the Article did not hold Bishop Forbes's doctrine, the difficulty vanishes. Let the Article be understood to mean that man in his natural state has no effectual free will for good, but that such a free will can only be given to him by the grace of God, and the title "Of Free Will" is seen to be appropriate enough. I do not say that the Article goes to the full length of the Lutheran doctrine, or that Bishop Forbes does not satisfy its meaning when he says, "No one by his natural powers can obtain actual grace, or the beginning of spiritual life." But I think that his adoption of a form of thought confessedly different from that which found favour with the reforming divines has prevented him from seeing the plain intention of the Article.

In the Thirteenth Article, again, Bishop Forbes takes exception to the title. "It would be correct," he says, "if it were worded, 'Of some Works before Justification.' " No doubt the title does present a difficulty. A person may cordially agree with the Article that "works done before the grace of Christ and the inspiration of His Spirit are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ," and yet hesitate to affirm the same of "Works before Justification." The case of the heathen is one which the framers of the Article might reasonably decline to deal with: the case of Cornelius they might fairly have been expected to consider. There would be no difficulty in admitting that Cornelius had faith in Christ, according to the proposition laid down in the Seventh

Article: there would be considerable difficulty in maintaining that he was justified in the theological sense. How the framers of the Article would have dealt with the difficulty, had their attention been drawn to it, I do not pretend to say. But I do not think they would have agreed with Bishop Forbes in introducing the word "some" into their title, and thus practically stultifying the title itself. The question of the authority of the titles of the Articles is one which will meet us again when we come to Article XXIX. I do not think they are to be forced into agreement with the meaning, real or supposed, of the body of the Articles which they respectively precede; but there can be no doubt that individual subscribers may be allowed the benefit of any difference which may appear to exist between a doctrine as stated in the Article and a doctrine as stated in the title. It needs no general theory of subscription, Catholic or Puritan, to make us realise the fact that those to whom the Articles were originally tendered must have been allowed that latitude; for it is only what would be allowed in the present day in case any new set of Articles were proposed to the acceptance of members of the Church. But this, as I have already insisted, is a question not of explanation, but of that adjustment of opinions which comes in after explanation has done its work.

The Seventeenth Article affords a very conspicuous instance of Bishop Forbes's method of interpretation. He gives an interesting sketch of the history of the Predestinarian controversy, showing how the circumstances of the Reformation tended to divert men's thoughts from the security offered by their connexion with the Church to some more personal and individual ground of confidence. He contrasts the extreme language of Calvin with the more guarded expressions of the Article, and observes that as a matter of fact the Article never satisfied the Puritans. Thus he prepares the way for his own explanation, which is that "God's predestination is bestowed on every baptised Christian." How much is assumed in this I need not point out. A student of the Articles will be tempted to ask the question whether Bishop Forbes can really have read through the Article on which he comments. The very first sentence of the Article tells us that the counsel of God in predestination is secret to us, and that those who are so chosen by God are brought to everlasting salvation; whereas baptismal predestination is a known, visible thing, and need not be finally effectual. What makes the matter stranger is that Bishop Forbes, in a note, calls attention to the fact that the words "*licet prædestinationis decreta sint nobis ignota*" occurred in Edward VI.'s Articles, but were erased by Parker. He perceives the relevancy of this omission to his view of the Article, but does not notice that the equivalent words, "*suo consilio, nobis*

quidem occulto," are still retained.* He fortifies his interpretation by saying that "no interpretation of this Article can be the right one which is at variance with the statements in Articles XXI., V., and XI.," where it is asserted that the offer of salvation is made to all. No one, of course, will deny that these Articles do present a difficulty, as compared with the Article before us; but the difficulty is not one which the framers of the Articles made, but which they found in the Bible, and to assume that it must be solved in Bishop Forbes's way is, as I have just said, to assume a great deal. Meanwhile it is important to notice that Bishop Forbes here distinctly asserts the principle that the Articles are to be interpreted by each other—*i.e.*, *not*, as he says in the Epistle Dedicatory, "taking sentence by sentence as a lawyer would do."

In the comment on the Nineteenth Article there is a singular piece of verbal explanation. Quoting the words, "As the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred, so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in *their* living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith," he proceeds to say: "The emphatic word here is *their*. It refers to the human side of the Church, or rather to the individuals in the Church who do not live up to the graces bestowed on them." Has Bishop Forbes read the Latin article, which he prints on the same page with the English? If so, he must have seen that the framers were so careless as to omit this emphatic word altogether when writing in another language. "Sicut erravit Ecclesia Hierosolymitana, Alexandrina, et Antiochena, ita et erravit Ecclesia Romana, non solum quoad agenda et caerimoniarum ritus, verum in his etiam quæ credenda sunt." Surely it is unnecessary to state that *their* must be understood (whether idiomatically or not is another question) of the four Churches spoken of, each of which is declared to have erred in the ways described.

I now come to the Articles which bear most on the controversies of the present day—those on the Sacraments. On these Bishop Forbes is more copious than on most of the others, and his reviewer must be more copious also.

The latter part of Article XXV. says, "The sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them." Bishop Forbes's comment is—

"In this sentence the stress is on the words, 'were not ordained of Christ to be,' &c. The Article does not say that the things spoken of may not be done, but that they were not *the* objects for which Christ ordained them. Had they been, they could not have been laid aside without sin.

* The author of the letter supposed to be by Bishop Geste (see below) wishes to strike out these words, but on grounds different from Bishop Forbes's interpretation. See Perry, Declaration on Kneeling, pp. 195 foll.

Being of ecclesiastical, not of Divine institution, they were mutable, not immutable. What it affirms is strictly historically true."

Those who attend to the language of the Articles on the Sacraments will have little doubt that the reason why the institution of Christ is dwelt on is because that, in the judgment of the framers, was the one thing of paramount importance. The five so-called "Sacramentals" are rejected in this very Article, because they have not any visible sign or ceremony *ordained of God*: the two Sacraments are called Sacraments ordained of Christ: "Christ's ordinance" and "Christ's institution and promise" are put prominently forward in Article XXVI. as the basis on which sacramental efficacy rests: Infant Baptism is enjoined in Article XXVII. as most agreeable with the institution of Christ: Article XXX. prescribes the administering of the Communion in both kinds on the ground of Christ's ordinance and commandment. Besides, the words of the passage before us are sufficient to show that the framers of the Article intended to disparage those uses of the Sacrament which Bishop Forbes thinks indifferent or laudable. What else can be the meaning of saying, "were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, &c., *but that we should duly use them*"? * The inference surely is, that other applications of the Sacrament are not legitimate. Again, on Bishop Forbes's hypothesis, what is the error against which the statement in the Article is levelled? Did anybody ever assert that the Sacraments were ordained of Christ for either of the purposes first named? Bishop Forbes himself answers the question in the words immediately following those which I have quoted. "By carrying the Sacraments about, we are probably to understand the procession of the Corpus Domini. *No person in his senses would say that this was ordained of Christ.*" Would any person in his senses think of formally denying what no one in his senses would assert? It is true that the Tridentine decrees distinguish between the facts of Christ's institution and the ulterior purposes and variations which the Church has introduced. The former they admit, as they could not avoid doing; the latter they assert as holding good nevertheless. But the admission would be a barren truism without the subsequent assertion; and to supply the assertion *ex ingenio* is an effort of constructive exposition which sound interpretation will hardly warrant.

The five so-called "Sacramentals" are defended by Bishop Forbes, including Extreme Unction, "the lost pleiad," as he calls it, "of the Anglican firmament." But as his defence does not lead him to wrest the language of the Articles, though he thinks it "awkward

* A contemporary comment on these words is supplied by Bishop Geste, *Treatise against Private Mass*, pp. 123, 124 of Dugdale's "Life of Geste," a reference which I owe to Mr. Sedley Taylor's pamphlet.

and embarrassed," and also "unfortunate," it does not come within the scope of this paper to criticise it. We may even note with satisfaction that he says, "For the right interpretation of the Article we need but these simple principles:—1. That the framers did not mean to contradict the Homilies, which they praised; 2. That the writers, both of the Articles and of the Homilies, did not use carefully guarded language without a meaning." The solidarity between the Articles and Homilies is asserted in too unqualified a manner, such as I cannot think Bishop Forbes himself would maintain in the case of other doctrinal statements; but the principle of interpreting the Articles by other writings of the Reformation period is within certain limits a true one, while it is undoubtedly different from that "interpretation by the hardest legal head," which is elsewhere advocated.

The Twenty-sixth Article is made the subject of an unauthorized comment. After stating the error against which the Article is generally understood to be directed, Bishop Forbes proceeds:—

"This led on to another error at the time of the Reformation. The efficiency of the Sacraments was held no longer to depend on the interior disposition of the minister. Not the beneficial effect only, but the reality also of the Sacrament was held to depend on the interior disposition, the faith of him to whom the Sacrament was administered. Our Article condemns both these notions. It lays down that the Sacraments have an objective value in virtue of their institution. Sacraments 'be effectual because of Christ's institution and promise,' therefore they do not depend on the state of the recipients."

Whether this is the doctrine of the Church of England, we shall see when we come to Article XXIX. All that is at present necessary to say is, that it is not expressed or implied in the Article before us. All that the Article does is to deny that the effect of the Sacraments is hindered by the unworthiness of the ministers, as it does in the title. It is a mere assumption to argue that because it is Christ's institution and promise that makes the Sacraments effectual, therefore they do not depend on the state of the recipient. In fact, Bishop Forbes has to introduce a distinction between reality and beneficial effect, of which the Article gives no hint. The more natural inference from the Article certainly would be, that the Sacraments by Christ's institution only take effect in the case of such as rightly and by faith receive them. But this question, as I said, is better reserved for Article XXIX.

In treating of the Twenty-seventh Article, Bishop Forbes contends that the Church of England does not really negative the authorized Roman doctrine of transubstantiation.

"It is self-evident," he says, "that the English Article does not go directly against the Council of Lateran—(1) Because the term 'transub-

stantiatio' is a subordinate part of the Lateran Canon; (2) because . . . even of the statement in which it occurs, our Article does not even touch upon the most important part—the change 'into the substance of the body and blood of Christ;' (3) because there is ground to think that two entirely distinct meanings, and those not having the slightest bearing upon one another, have been given to the word 'substance.'"

Without wishing to cavil about words, I would remark that a conclusion like this, depending upon three propositions, none of which would be admitted without argument, cannot be called "self-evident." As to the propositions themselves, it is sufficient to say, on the first, that whether the word "transubstantiatio" be prominent or not in the Lateran Canon, Bishop Forbes agrees that it was used there with the special object of condemning Berengar, who had brought the word "substance" into the controversy, while there is no doubt that, however understood, it was the received term at the time of the framing of the Articles to express the Roman doctrine. The second depends on the fact that the Article originally defined transubstantiation as the change of the substance of bread and wine into the substance of Christ's body and blood, and that the last eight words were afterwards omitted. It is possible that this may have been done with an object, as we know that Bishop Geste, the reviser, if not the framer, of this Article, was anxious to conciliate those who held a high sacramental doctrine; it is possible, also, that the change may have been adopted to assimilate the English Article to the Latin, which simply has "*panis et vini transubstantiatio*." What gain could arise from the omission to any one accustomed to strictness of thought it would be difficult to see: the change of substance must imply a change into some other substance, in whatever way the word "substance" is understood. The real weight of the argument lies in the third proposition, the allegation that the framers of the Articles understood the word "substance" in a different sense from that which it bears in the decrees of the Roman Church. According to Bishop Forbes, the word has two entirely different meanings, the one metaphysical and technical, the other physical and popular; and it is in this latter sense that the framers of our formularies understand it when they condemn transubstantiation. The argument is one which has recently been put with considerable plausibility by the author of the "*Kiss of Peace*," and answered in a learned and elaborate pamphlet by Mr. Sedley Taylor. Whether the controversy is yet exhausted I cannot say, but there can be no doubt that it is not so easy of decision as Bishop Forbes appears to think. Mr. Taylor has shown that Cranmer and Geste, in arguing against transubstantiation, recognised the distinction between substance and accident, and reasoned on that basis. He has also answered by anticipation one or two of

the special points on which Bishop Forbes relies, the points themselves having previously been raised in the "Kiss of Peace." He shows that the "Declaration on Kneeling" furnishes no presumption that its authors understood substance in the popular sense, and that Bishop Geste himself, while recognising the distinction between substance and accidents, brings the very same objection against transubstantiation as is brought in the Article, that it "overthroweth the nature of a sacrament." If Bishop Forbes wishes to establish his position, he must adduce some further evidence than that which Mr. Taylor has disposed of. Meantime it is strange to see Bishop Forbes going further in one respect than Dr. Newman went in Tract XC. Dr. Newman, when he wrote the tract, thought that the doctrine condemned in the Article as having "given occasion to many superstitions" was exemplified in the story of the appearance of blood in the chalice to St. Odo, and in that of the child seen during administration by St. Wittekundus. Bishop Forbes takes a distinction:—

"It would not be superstitious to believe that, as in the case at Bolsena (assuming the circumstance to be true), our Lord attested the truth of His presence in the sacrament by an appearance of blood; but it would be superstitious to believe that that appearance was physical—that it was our Lord's blood, and as such to be received. And so it would be superstitious to believe that those appearances of Christ as a little child in the sacrament, which have from time to time been vouchsafed to God's servants, was the actual body of our Lord in its natural condition."

I do not mean to say that Bishop Forbes's explanation is inconsistent with Dr. Newman's argument, which is that what the Article condemns is the notion of a carnal presence; but I think that the scrupulousness which refuses at once to surrender these stories is scarcely in unison with the spirit in which the Article was written.

Bishop Forbes says, "one cannot exaggerate the importance of the words *given, taken, and eaten*," in the third paragraph of this Article. By "importance" he must mean importance with a view to the establishment of a particular interpretation: for the general purposes of the Article it is obvious that they require to be estimated with just the same accuracy, neither more nor less, as the other expressions in the Article which are not confessedly mere expressions of course. They are, undoubtedly, somewhat fuller than might have been expected, and for this fulness an interpreter must, of course, seek a reason. Dean Stanley* finds it in a wish to accumulate terms out of which Romanist, Lutheran, Zuinglian, and Calvinist might take their choice. Dr. Hawkins† says, "the point of the argument is in

* Letter to Bishop of London on Subscription, p. 14.

† Notes upon Subscription, p. 25.

the words, 'only after a heavenly and spiritual manner:' and without asserting that the body of Christ is 'given' at all, the Article declares that, whether regarded as 'given,' or 'received,' or 'eaten,' in any case it is only after a heavenly and spiritual manner." While Dr. Hawkins is right in his view of the main thought of the sentence, I think he makes rather too little of the word "given." The Article, it seems to me, does commit itself to the statement that the Body is given, though only as an *obiter dictum*. But what does "given" mean? Is it more than a correlative to "taken and eaten"? Those who believe that what the priest distributes is in all cases our Lord's body may, of course, use the word, but so may those who believe that it is so only to the faithful. The only opinion which, it seems to me, the word does not favour is that which, as I said in the postscript to my paper on the Communion Office, seems to have dictated some of the alterations made by the revisers of 1552, viz., that the act of communion is not connected with the actual reception of the elements; so that the insertion of the word may be compared with the changes made in the Communion Office by the Caroline revisers. There is some doubt about the precise theological position of Geste, the framer of this part of the Article. His opinions on the Eucharist are to be gathered from his Treatise against the *Prevee* (Privy or Private) Masse, published 1548, from some notes on the Prayer-Book sent to Burghley, apparently undated, from a letter to Burghley on this very Article, dated December 22, 1566, and from another letter to the same person, on various passages in the Articles, without a signature, but apparently in his handwriting, and supposed to be written in May, 1571. If the two first documents stood alone, his leanings would seem to be Protestant: if we had only the last two, we should suppose that he held a high sacramental doctrine.* On the particular point before us, however, there is no necessary contrariety in his statements. His letter of 1566 asserts that the words, "after a heavenly and spiritual manner *only*," as used by him, "did not exclude the presence of Christ's body in the Sacrament, but only the grossness and sensibleness in the receiving thereof." In his treatise he had said, "that we as materially and truly, though not grosslier (grossly or?) sensibly, but ghostly receive and eat Christ's body and drink His blood as we do the foresaid" (the bread and wine). But what we are concerned with, after all, is the meaning he expressed in the Article, recollecting, as we must,

* He is contrasted with some other bishops as having preached in defence of the real presence by a Roman Catholic controversialist of the time (Dorman's "Disproof of M. Nowell's Reproof," Antwerp, 1565, pp. 52A, 103A, a rare book, to which my attention was directed by Mr. Sedley Taylor, if indeed I ought not rather to name Mr. H. R. Droop, to whom he refers).

that he would naturally choose terms which, while conveying his own view, would be accepted by his episcopal brethren. That meaning I believe to be that which I have stated above, an assertion of the connexion of our Lord's presence with the elements, excluding the notion of a carnal presence, but not entering further into definition on the matter. For such further definition we must look to the next Article.

On the concluding sentence of the Article, Bishop Forbes repeats what he had said on Article XXV., that the Article does not prohibit the practices mentioned, but merely states that they are no part of Christ's institution. Accordingly, he sketches the history of the several practices, much as a commentator on Article XXV. might sketch the history of Infant Baptism, and ends by saying, "It is unnecessary to go into the question of the worship of Our Lord in the Sacrament, after the exhaustive treatise of John Keble, τοῦ μακαρίτου, to which the reader is referred." If this is constructive exposition, it is so in the sense of building up again the things which the Reformers destroyed.

We now come to the chief battle-ground of the eucharistic doctrine in the Articles, Article XXIX. There can be little doubt that it was regarded as such at the time when it was put forth. It originally formed part of the revised Articles of 1563; but it was omitted when they came to be published in that year, and it did not finally take its place till 1571. There is a letter, from Parker to Burghley,* implying that difficulties were felt regarding it; and another, supposed to be by Geste, also to Burghley, begging that it may not be adopted,† "because it is quite contrary to the Scripture and to the doctrine of the Fathers." As to its object, I do not see that there can be any reasonable doubt. The question whether the wicked receive the body of Christ, or not, was a very common one at the Reformation, as any one who will look at the works of the Reformers may see. It was, in fact, one of the tests applied by the Romanists in their examinations of the accused Reformers at the time of the Marian persecution, the question of Adoration being another. It is one of the principal subjects discussed by Cranmer in his controversy with Gardiner. There was no dispute that the wicked did not receive the "virtus Sacramenti;" whether they received the "res Sacramenti," or merely the "signum Sacramenti," was the point at issue. Article XXV. speaks only of the "virtus Sacramenti." Article XXVIII. touches on the "res Sacramenti" when

* Parker's Correspondence (Parker Society), p. 281.

† Perry, Declaration, p. 200. The passage is further important, as showing how the writer understood the expression afterwards introduced into the Catechism, "reception by the faithful."

it says that the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith, but does not go into the question. The present Article deals with the question, and deals with it as it was dealt with (I believe) by the Reformers generally, denying that the wicked receive more than the "signum."

Such seems to me the natural explanation of the Article: now let us see what Bishop Forbes has to allege against it. He first asserts that the reception of the "*res Sacramenti*" by the wicked is required by the language of St. Paul in the First Epistle to the Corinthians. To this it can only be said that many expositors do not feel the necessity of so understanding St. Paul's words, and that there is no evidence that the Reformers felt it. He appeals to expressions in the Communion Office, "*receive the same unworthily*," "*unworthily receiving thereof*," "*receive it unworthily*," the reference to Judas, the reference to St. Paul's language, the words in the Prayer of Humble Access, and those in the second Post-Communion Prayer. As to the three first passages, no one doubts that good and bad alike receive the Communion, in the sense in which the word is ordinarily understood, *i.e.*, the consecrated elements.* The reference to Judas, like that to St. Paul, proves no more than that the Reformers, like the sacred writers, looked upon unworthy reception as an act of profanation which would be followed by punishment; which, again, is not in dispute. The other two passages were discussed in the postscript to my previous paper. Bishop Forbes then urges the words about unworthy reception at the end of Article XXV. They have reference, as I said just now, to the "*virtus Sacramenti*." As to any argument based on the adoption of St. Paul's words, it must of course stand or fall with the interpretation of those words. He next comes to the words of the present Article. The Fathers, he says, generally assert that the wicked, in some sense, do receive the body of Christ, *i.e.*, they receive the "*res Sacramenti*." St. Augustine, in other passages than that quoted in the Article, admits such a reception; therefore, the passage quoted must be understood in that sense. This is rather a proof that the framers of the Article *ought* to have meant a certain thing than that they *did* mean it. Further, he appeals to the words, "yet are they in no wise partakers of Christ." "To be a partaker of Christ is the language of St. Paul. Our Article uses St. Paul's language in St. Paul's meaning. No one ought to attempt to maintain that our Article uses the words of Holy Scripture in a non-scriptural sense." This is a hazardous canon to lay down, especially for one who believes, with Bishop Forbes, that the Church

* This question was raised at the time of the Reformation, and answered by the Protestants much as I have answered it. See Redman in Foxe, vol. vi., pp. 269 foll., ed. 1846, quoted by Perry, Declaration, p. 29.

is the one interpreter of Scripture. Surely the question of the meaning of the words of Scripture in themselves is distinct from the question of the meaning attributed to them in a formulary of the Church where they are quoted. In interpreting an Article, at any rate, we are to interpret its applications of Scripture by themselves, not by our views of Scripture. In the present case, however, I suspect the discrepancy is one of Bishop Forbes's own creation. The Article says that the wicked are *in no wise* partakers of Christ, neither beneficially nor in the sense of partaking of the "res Sacramenti." The implication would seem to be, that to allow that they are partakers of Christ, though only to their condemnation, is to allow too much. I do not advance this as a certain interpretation, but as a highly probable one, agreeing as it does not only with the title of the Article, but with its whole tenor. That the wording may at the same time have been so formed as to give a *locus standi* for those who, like the author of the letter ascribed to Bishop Geste, did not sympathize with the Article is of course possible. But, urges Bishop Forbes, we happen to know over and above that the Scriptural meaning was the meaning of the framer of the Article. How do we know this? From Archbishop Parker's letter to Burghley, in which he says that he is still advisedly of opinion concerning St. Augustine's authority "concerning so much wherefore they be alleged in the Article." This must mean that though the words would not prove that the wicked do not receive the "res Sacramenti," they are enough to prove that the wicked do not receive the "virtus Sacramenti." Now all that we happen to know is that Burghley, for some reason unstated, objected to St. Augustine's authority as alleged in the Article, and that Parker maintained that it was sufficient for the purpose for which it was alleged. The nature of Burghley's objection and the purpose of the Article, as conceived by Parker, we must supply from conjecture.* From the letter itself (which Bishop Forbes does not give entire) it would seem that Burghley was, so to say, the spokesman of some men who "varied" from the doctrine of the Article. The only objections which we know to have been taken at the time are those contained in Geste's (?) letter to Burghley, so that the probability would appear to be that these are referred to. Strype assumes without doubt that they came from the Papists. The reference to St. Augustine certainly creates a difficulty on Bishop Forbes's hypothesis: *primâ facie* it unquestionably seems to deny that the "res Sacramenti" is received by the wicked. Why should Parker have adduced it at all,

* I am aware of the argument founded by Dr. Pusey ("Real Presence the Doctrine of English Church," pp. 275 foll.) on the passages of Prosper to which Parker refers: but it does not seem to me to overbalance the general probability on the other side. What I am concerned to maintain is merely that Parker's letter has not that decisive value which Bishop Forbes attributes to it.

on the supposition that such was not his meaning, when, as Bishop Forbes tells us, and as Gardiner had shown in his work against Cranmer, there are other passages in St. Augustine which would have expressed his real intention unquestionably? As to the antithetical structure of the Article, which Bishop Forbes urges in support of his view, it proves nothing. The logical opposition is between partaking of Christ and eating the sign or sacrament of so great a thing. Nor is he more fortunate in his attempt to rebut the evidence which the title of the Article bears to its meaning. If, indeed, as he asserts, the grammatical structure of the words of the Article would not admit the meaning expressed in the title, the title, as I said some pages ago, could not be allowed to overbear the Article. But I shall be surprised if any one who has followed this discussion agrees with Bishop Forbes that the words of the Article will not grammatically bear the meaning that the wicked do not eat the body of Christ. Such a meaning may be contrary to the sense of Scripture, contrary to the teaching of the Fathers, but contrary to the words of the Article most assuredly it is not.

The only other comments which I have occasion to notice are those on Articles XXXI. and XXXII.

Bishop Forbes maintains that the Eucharist is a commemorative sacrifice, available for the dead as well as for the living, and that the Thirty-first Article does not contradict this. He asserts, first, that it is a sacrifice; and, secondly, that it is available as aforesaid. The first he proves, as usual, from the Fathers, and then quotes Sir William Palmer and the Bishop of Exeter to show that it is reconcilable with the Article. What the Article is likely to have meant is a question which he does not consider, though, as we have seen, he is not indisposed to raise it in other cases. He does, however, indirectly pass judgment on this question, when, after speaking of the testimony of the early Church, he says, "It is probable that the English Reformers were not conversant with the Eastern Liturgies; otherwise we cannot conceive how they could have preferred the Second to the First Book of Edward, or have rested content with the emendations at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth." With reference to the extent of the efficacy of the Eucharist, he quotes the passage from the Post-Communion Prayer discussed in my former paper, "we and all thy whole Church," which he says "many English divines have applied, without blame," to those in the intermediate state, and states that "the Church of England has judicially ruled in her supreme tribunal that prayer for the dead is not unlawful." The remainder of his comment is chiefly devoted to showing that the doctrine of a continuing Eucharistic sacrifice is not inconsistent with the doctrine of the one oblation of Christ once offered, not that the Church of England does not consider it inconsistent. Yet, in an

explanation of Anglican formularies, the latter would have seemed the point chiefly to be laboured.

In the Thirty-second Article Bishop Forbes lays stress on the title. In 1553 it ran, "The state of single life is commanded of no man by the word of God;" in Latin, "*Cœlibatus ex verbo Dei præcipitur nemini*;" in 1571 it was changed into, "Of the Marriage of Priests," "*De Conjugio Sacerdotum*." The change extends to the body of the Article: in 1553 the obligation to celibacy was denied of the clergy alone, the liberty of all other men being left to be inferred; now it is denied of the clergy as of other Christian men: in 1553 the heading spoke of a "præceptum," the Article of a "mandatum;" now the two are combined: lastly, the present heading introduces the important word "*sacerdotum*." How Bishop Forbes should think "the marked contrast of the clergy with other Christian men an observable thing," is not easy to see. The simple account of the matter is that the clergy, who had been excepted from the liberty to marry under the old religion, are now declared to be excepted no longer. The original Article said the same thing, but it said it awkwardly, stating, as it were, the major premiss of the syllogism in the title, the conclusion in the Article itself. As for the combination of mandate and precept, it removes any question that might arise on the interchangeable use of the two words, while it makes the cogency of the rule of celibacy more stringent, and, by consequence, the exemption from it more complete. Any significance that there may be in the assertion that bishops, presbyters, and deacons are all in some sense "*sacerdotes*" I have no wish to ignore. Only it should be recollected that the more is made of the word, the more force is given to the Article. In whatever sense the English clergy are priests, in that sense it is true that their sacerdotal character leaves them free to marry or not as they like. Before I leave the question of the heading, I would remind Bishop Forbes that Article XXIX. is also one of those which had their titles revised. Originally it stood in the Latin, "*Impii non manducant Corpus Christi in usu Cœnæ*;" afterwards it was altered into, "*De manducatione Corporis Christi, et impios illud non manducare*." Is no argument as to the meaning of the Article to be founded on the fact that, while the title was altered, the words which it is sought to deprive of their strict meaning were retained? In the latter part of his comment on the present Article, Bishop Forbes maintains that by leaving the choice of a married or single life to the conscience of each person, clerical or lay, it really implies that the question is not free to the individual. This is of course true; not so the corollary Bishop Forbes draws from it, that the very circumstances of the clergy make them more responsible in the matter than the laity, or that "the Church of England leans to the celibate," though "it

does not enjoin it."* I do not say that the Article lays any burden on those who wish to decide their individual case on what may be called professional grounds; but it expressly declines to bias their judgment.

A few words on the comment on the Ratification will bring me to the end of what I have to say.

"The Articles," says Bishop Forbes, "are primarily a State document, made ecclesiastical by the acceptance of the two Convocations in 1562 and 1571. . . . One treats them very differently from the decrees of a Provincial Synod of the Church of England. Convocation . . . is not a Council in the strictly ecclesiastical sense.† . . . It only binds the conscience as a result of subscription."

I do not object to this view of our duty to the Articles, though I dissent from the remarks that follow (remarks to which I have already adverted), that subscription only binds us to the plain literal and grammatical sense, interpreted by the hardest legal head. But there are two questions which I am desirous to ask. Is it nothing in Bishop Forbes's estimation that the Articles, as we have them, though enacted by Parliament, were framed by the bishops? Is it nothing in Bishop Forbes's estimation, as a Scotch bishop, that the Articles were accepted by the Convention or Synod of Laurence-kirk?

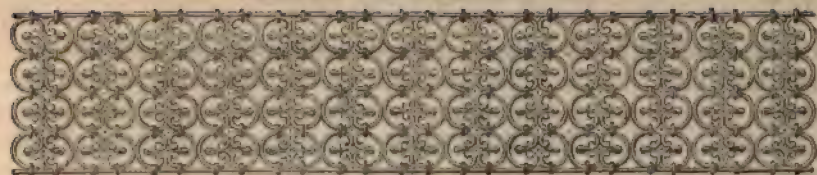
I have spoken of Bishop Forbes's work as what it professes to be, an explanation of the Articles. If it were possible to regard it in any other light, it would be easy to do justice to its merits. It contains much interesting theological argument, and many sketches of the history of doctrines, presented in a lively if somewhat desultory manner, and occasionally relieved by illustrations and quotations which will please the literary reader. The spirit in which he writes is earnest, and the tone which he adopts towards opponents in general conciliatory. It is as an exegetical work that it has come before me; whether I have estimated it justly as such I leave others to judge.

In conclusion, I have to say that I am not ignorant that other writers have maintained many of Bishop Forbes's interpretations on substantially the same grounds; but I have thought it better to deal with his work alone, being as it is the most complete and systematic exposition of a certain theory of the Articles, than to extend the field of controversy further.

JOHN CONINGTON.

* This seems to be made out from the Marriage Service, which speaks of those who have not the gift of continence. But what the Marriage Service says it says to all; and any opinion that the clergy have a special duty in the matter, whether an admissible one or not, is at any rate a private one.

† He calls it, however, a Synod, in the Chronological Table prefixed to vol. i.



ASPECTS OF POSITIVISM IN RELATION TO CHRISTIANITY.

ὁ οὖν ἀγνοῦντες εὐσεβεῖτε τοῦτο ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν.—Acts xvii. 23.

Catéchisme Positiviste, ou Sommaire Exposition de la Religion Universelle. Par AUGUSTE COMTE. Paris. 1852.

Système de Philosophie Positive, ou Traité de Sociologie Institutant la Religion de l'Humanité. Par AUGUSTE COMTE. Paris. 1851—1854.

I.

NO religion can fail to be a fruitful subject of study: even the rudest reveals something of the natural feelings and wants of man which are awakened by the experience of life. And exactly as we believe Christianity to be *the* Truth, we shall confidently expect to find in it all that is true in the manifold expressions of human thought. Thus it has happened not unfrequently that independent speculations or instinctive aspirations have brought out elements in the Gospel which had been before overlooked or set aside. They were there, and even actively at work, but they were not consciously apprehended. And so it seems to be now. The religion of Positivism is offered as the final result of a profound analysis of society and man, and its unquestionable attractiveness to pure and vigorous minds indicates that it does meet with some peculiar force present in phases of thought. Are there not then lessons which we may learn from it?

While I endeavour to answer this question, I shall be content to

take Comte's own conclusions, without discussing the processes by which he obtains them. The strength of the Positivist philosophy lies in its method; the strength of the Positivist religion lies in its conception: and the Positivist alone is concerned with reconciling the two. That which is at best only a hypothesis for the Positivist may prove to be a reality for the Christian; and while I set aside the physiological basis of the Positive religion, it need scarcely be said that I do not propose to deal with the principles of Positivism as furnishing a method of philosophy. I desire simply to explain what Comte lays down as the essential bases of religion, from an exclusively human point of view, and to consider whether his exposition throws any light upon neglected aspects of Christianity.

But though this is not the place to discuss the philosophic aspect of Positivism, one remark is unavoidable. It seems to be generally assumed that there is some fundamental antagonism between the Positive method and Christianity. Nothing, I believe, can be more false. I should even venture to maintain that the spirit of Positivism is more in harmony with a *historic* religion than that of any other system of philosophy. It knows nothing of causes, and consequently decides nothing prior to observation. It refuses to recognize absolute laws, and consequently is always ready to take account of new facts. As against a metaphysical theism the arguments of Positivists may perhaps avail; but they are inherently powerless against a faith which is based, not on subjective theories, but on outward events, of which all personal experience and all social development furnish the adequate and only conceivable verification.

This being so, it is evident that a Positivist in philosophy may be a Christian in religion; and the religion constructed on Positivism may, as far as it goes, illustrate or confirm the doctrine and constitution in which the Church has embodied the facts of the Gospel. How far this is so is the subject with which we have now to deal. And with this problem before us, it would be superfluous to criticise the errors and misrepresentations—to use no harsher terms—with which Comte's religious writings are disfigured. He puts them forward so boldly and so frequently, that no one moderately conversant with Christianity can be misled by them.* It is equally unnecessary to exhibit his weaknesses. Others, who have dwelt on these with more than necessary detail, have paid the penalty of becoming blind to what there is really noble and just in his teaching. And it is with this that we are concerned. A system is formidable, not by what there is false in it, but by what there is true in it. If then it can be shewn that Christianity assures what

* Something has been said in a former paper on Comte's fundamental misconception of the idea of Christianity, *Contemporary Review*, vi., pp. 417 ff.

Positivism promises—if it can be shewn that it includes in a fact what Positivism symbolizes in a conception—if it can be shewn that it carries on to the unseen and eternal the ideas which Positivism limits to the seen and temporal—we may be sure that Positivism will have no lasting religious power, except as a transitional preparation for a fuller faith. Comte will be one more in the long line of witnesses who shew that the soul is naturally Christian.*

II.

To some however it must seem strange to speak of any system as a religion which does not recognize the action of a Personal God. For us indeed the idea of religion is so naturally connected with that of theology, that it requires a serious effort to separate the two. A perfect religion must indeed take account of three elements—the individual, the world, and God; but an imperfect religion can exist, if the individual recognizes without him an infinite power, contemplated as personal, and such as to claim the complete devotion of the worshipper. The Great Being of Comte—the sum of all humanity, past, present and future—practically satisfies the condition of infinity; and it satisfies the condition of personality by the concession which is made to each worshipper to represent it to himself under some definite historical or imaginary type. In fact, we may be driven to ask ourselves whether the Being which some Christians worship is less truly an abstraction than the idealized humanity of the Positivists.

But while we must never leave out of sight, in dealing with the religion of Positivism, the fundamental defect which mars its completeness, it is necessary to remember that this is not the only form in which a religion can be founded upon a dualism, though it is that most repugnant to our instincts. Dr. Newman, in a striking passage of his "*Apologia*,"† has sketched the permanent influence of evangelical teaching upon him, which consisted in "confirming me," he

* In this unconscious prophecy of faith, Comte offers a singular parallel to the great poet of the Roman Republic. Both were bitterly hostile to the established faith of their countries. Both sought to lay in the study of nature the firm basis of human life and hope. Both were profoundly impressed with the sense of the unity of the world. But, in spite of the similarity of the moral position of the two teachers, we feel that they are separated by more than eighteen Christian centuries. Lucretius sought in the explanation of the origin of things that confidence which Comte looks for in the observation of their being. The one feels his way towards the intellectual conception of a harmony of nature; the other, towards the moral law of the discipline of life. Both, as it seems, were heralds of a crisis of thought. To both the Resurrection is the complete fulfilment of aspiration and teaching.

† P. 59. It is however difficult to judge whether Dr. Newman himself holds this to be the final analysis of the elements of religion. Perhaps I may refer to what I have said elsewhere on this subject: "*The Gospel of the Resurrection*," pp. 18 ff.; 136 ff. Ed. 2.

says, "in my mistrust of the reality of material phenomena, and making me rest in the thought of two, and two only, supreme and luminously self-evident beings—myself and my Creator." Thus, as Comte leaves out the Deity from his elementary conceptions, another school leaves out the world. A little reflection will shew that a system based upon either dualism is irreparably though not equally imperfect. The one passes into Secularism, the other into Mysticism; while the fulness of Truth springs from the co-ordination of both.

There can be no doubt that the quotation from Dr. Newman expresses the popular view of the constituent elements of religion, though this personal antithesis is more truly characteristic of Protestantism than of Roman Catholicism. It is therefore easy to see in which direction the study of the Positive religion is likely to be fruitful to us. By dwelling on the relations of man to humanity and to the world, Comte has again vindicated for religion its social destination. Since the Reformation, the general tendency of religious influences has been to individualism; and thus a bold and exclusive enunciation of the complementary aspect cannot but contribute to the restoration of the true harmony between personal and social religion which Christianity, as we believe, alone contains.

III.

Having thus indicated the one vast lacuna in Comte's theory of religion, and the manner in which his system is likely to supplement other popular theories, we may proceed to trace the outlines of it as he has drawn them. "Religion is," he says, "the complete harmony proper to human existence, individual and collective, when all its parts are brought into due relation to one another."* It is for the soul, in other words, what health is for the body; † and as health is essentially one, though in all cases variously and imperfectly realized, so too religion is essentially one, though it is attained in various forms and in different degrees. Even to the last, it is an ideal to which each specific type is an approximation.‡

The object of religion, corresponding to this definition, is set forth as twofold. It is destined at once to discipline (*régler*) the individual, and to unite (*unir*) the separate individuals in a harmonious whole. It aims at personal unity and social unity.§ And the same

* *Politique Positive*, ii., 8. Compare *Catéchisme*, p. 2. "[Religion] indique l'état de complète *unité* qui distingue notre existence, à la fois personnelle et sociale, quand toutes ses parties, tant morales que physiques, convergent habituellement vers une destination commune."

Thus Comte adopts the derivation from *religare*, and not from *relegere*, which Augustine also defends: *De Vera Religione*, 55; *Retract.*, 13 (the whole of this revision is full of interest).

† *Pol. Pos.*, l. c. ‡ *Pol. Pos.*, l. c. *Cat.*, 3. § *Pol. Pos.*, ii. 66. *Cat.*, l. c.

influences which tend to correct the selfish instincts of each man, tend at the same time to bring all men into a true and lasting concord.*

And as the aim of religion is twofold, so also is its base. It reposes on an objective and on a subjective foundation.† Without, there is the external order, in itself independent of us, which necessarily limits our thoughts and actions and feelings. Within, there is a principle of benevolent sympathy, which prompts us to look beyond our own wants and wishes, and to seek in a wider harmony the satisfaction of the deepest instincts of our nature.

The same dualism is extended also to the composition of religion. It has an intellectual part and a moral part. The former includes the adequate conception of the general laws of physics, of life, of society, to which our feelings and our actions are subordinated. The latter, under the shape of discipline, regulates our conduct at once public and private, and, under the shape of worship, guides and intensifies our feelings. Briefly, the sphere of doctrine is thought, and its end is the True; the sphere of discipline is action, and its end is the Good; the sphere of worship is feeling, and its end is the Beautiful. And, as a whole, religion teaches us to know, to serve, and to love the Great Being, in whom all that falls within the range of our powers is summed up.‡

IV.

In this view of the character and scope of religion, which no one can deny to be grand and comprehensive, even while it lacks the Christian elements of infinity and personality which we necessarily crave, one point is of commanding importance. Religion, Comte tells us, is the bringing into harmony the order without us and the spirit within us; the last and perfect combination of faith and love.§ This conception is the true key to his whole system. Our chief work, therefore, is to learn the character of the bases on which these final principles respectively repose.

On the one side then we have a vast external order, of which a fuller knowledge is gradually unfolded in the long course of ages, whereby we apprehend it as within certain limits at once fixed and variable. Step by step we are forced to contemplate the phenomena which it presents as falling into groups, and connected with one another by certain relations of sequence. The laws of observation which we thus form are extended gradually from physics to life, and from life to history, till we feel that not only are the ages permeated by "an increasing purpose," but that all being also is united by one

* Pol. Pos., ii. 10.
Pol. Pos., ii. 19 ff.

† Pol. Pos., ii. 12, 17, 25. Cat. 28.
‡ Pol. Pos., ii. 16.*

principle. The efforts of Reason—and the juxtaposition is important—naturally culminate in the nobler efforts of Faith.*

This order is apprehended, as has been said, as being both fixed and variable; and in both respects it affects us beneficently. The fixity furnishes a solid basis for our thoughts and actions, and, by making foresight generally possible, saves us from idle speculation and from misdirected energy. At the same time it sets an impassable limit to personal caprice, and, by basing all life upon submission, prepares men for sympathetic effort as united in obedience to a common supremacy.† Its variability, on the other hand, is the pledge of progress. It stimulates speculation by suggesting a series of problems of surpassing interest. It guides activity by opening fields for labour, and substituting fruitful obedience for passive resignation. It represses at once asceticism and mysticism by offering its greatest blessings not to personal, but to social labour.‡

Such according to Comte is the objective base of religion. On the other side, it is observed that there is an internal tendency in man, springing from benevolent affections, which carries him beyond himself in the search after his proper happiness and dignity.§ Just as the laws of the external world are only slowly and partially made known, so this inner life is brought out by the gradual evolution of society. The love of the Family passes into the love of the State; and the love of the State rises into the all-embracing love of Humanity.

This tendency also, like the external order, is at once fixed and variable. In some shape or other, it will make itself felt in every man. It may be dwarfed and neutralised by atrophy, or strengthened and ennobled by exercise. But in its normal development Love spontaneously apprehends by moral intuition what Faith systematically constructs by intellectual processes; and at the last both coincide in their complete fulfilment. Faith sees the harmony of all things, which Love feels.

Nor may we forget that while the ultimate objective and subjective bases of religion are thus broadly distinguished, there is yet always a human element in our conception of the Cosmos, and a cosmical element in our feelings as men. The unity of the world is subjective.|| The laws of phenomena are gained by the abstraction of the constant part from the variable. And conversely, the development of love is objective. It gains strength only as it is manifested according to the conditions of our existence. Man indeed is himself,

* Pol. Pos., ii. 25 ff. p. 17. "L'état religieux repose donc sur la combinaison permanente de deux conditions également fondamentales, aimer et croire, qui, quoique profondément distinctes, doivent naturellement concourir. Chacune d'elles, outre sa nécessité propre, ajoute à l'autre un complément indispensable à sa pleine efficacité."

† Pol. Pos., ii. 28 ff.

‡ Pol. Pos., ii. 37 ff. Cat. 16, 41.

§ Pol. Pos., ii. 14.

|| Pol. Pos., ii. 32 ff. Cat. 36, 77.

according to the wise instinct of old philosophers, a microcosm, including in his own person the action of all the laws which we observe without us, and supplementing them by that higher law of love whereby he alone is capable of religion.*

According to this exposition, it is evident that religion is built upon knowledge, and the Positivist system of doctrine is simply the outline of the hierarchy of the sciences, which are severally subordinated one to another, and each regulated by its peculiar laws. In due succession the believer or the student—for the words become synonymous—learns to appreciate the universal laws of number, time, and space, by which all our definite conceptions are ruled; next he passes to those of physics, which are more complicated and less general; then to those of chemistry, which bring him to the verge of life. The investigation of the laws of life leads to that of the laws of society; and the last and crowning science in this scheme is that of morals.†

Such an encyclopædic review of the great departments of knowledge reveals two important principles. Each science is based upon those which precede it in the scale, so that in every case the nobler phenomena are subordinated to the lower. And, secondly, each science, as it increases in complexity, admits also of greater variations.‡ To these principles two corollaries may be added. First, that each series of laws produces its full effect in every instance, though the result may be modified by the action of new forces acting according to new laws. And, again, that the power of foresight, which measures the definiteness of the law, varies from absolute certainty in the case of combinations of number, and the like, to indefinite doubt when we speculate on the isolated action of individuals.

V.

One important conclusion follows from this mode of viewing the relations of religion and science, which has been commonly lost sight of by physicists no less than by theologians. If it be true, and it seems to be incontestable as far as it goes, a conflict between religion and science is impossible. Not only are the two subjects heterogeneous, but the results of science—whether physical or human—are part of the data which it is the function of religion to co-ordinate.

Moreover, if we complete the great hierarchy of the sciences by the addition of theology above morals, it is obvious that the same

* Cat. 95, 122.

† The connection of the sciences is clearly given, *Pol. Pos.*, ii. 58 ff. The most complete examination of their distribution and relations is in *Pol. Pos.*, iv. 187 ff.

‡ Cat. 50, 70, 73. Thus many phenomena will never be brought under definite laws.—Cat. 52.

principles will hold good. The new science, so far as it deals with facts, will never be independent of the action of the forces revealed by the lower sciences; but it is not itself shaped by them. In dealing with it, we shall have to take account of new forces manifested under new laws, which may modify in a manner wholly inconceivable before experience the laws and forces of the lower sciences; but theology is no more therefore inconsistent with them than the science of chemistry, for instance, is with the science of life. It is impossible to anticipate from the observation of an inferior science what will be the phenomena of another above it; and, conversely, the phenomena of every superior science will be subject to the laws of those below it, though they are not explicable by those alone. A problem in biology cannot be solved by the application of chemical laws, though these must be considered in dealing with it; and so also a question in morals cannot be dealt with solely by laws of life, or a question of theology by laws of ethics; though, in both cases, the subordinate laws underlie the final result.

Thus the Positive view of the dependence of religion on science errs by defect, and not in principle. It requires to be supplemented, and not overthrown. And when the whole cycle of human thought and experience, of consciousness as well as of observation, is brought within the range of scientific study, we are first capable of perceiving the full grandeur of the idea of religion. Its destiny is not only to discipline (*régler*) and to unite (*rallier*), but still more to reunite (*rélier*). It is the final harmony of man, the microcosm, not with the world alone, but with God.

It is of no moment in this respect what view we may take of nature (*natura, werden*). Every fact in science furnishes new material for religion, and at once enlarges its scope and tends to define its character. But, that it may do so, no fact must be looked at by itself. At present, science suffers at least as much as religion from partial and contracted views. The student of physics perpetrates as many solecisms as the student of theology. Every one would feel the absurdity of a geometrician denying a fact in morals because it is not deducible from his premisses; and yet it is not a rare thing to hear some explorer of inorganic nature gravely argue that nothing can be known of God, because his inquiries give no direct results as to His being or His attributes. Thus each partial observer of ethics, or history, or nature, is tempted to forget that there are other phenomena than those with which he deals, and so to use his fragmentary laws as measures of the universe. The degradation of science is the inevitable consequence. But when all observed facts are placed in their proper categories, whether they be facts in physics, or biology, or social science, or ethics, or theology,

they will, as we believe, teach us something more of the will of God, which is made manifest to us, according to the nature of the subject-matter, in the several orders of being with which each of these departments of knowledge is respectively conversant.

We claim then, by our Christian faith, that the sphere of religion be recognized as co-extensive with the utmost bounds of human thought and knowledge, while at the same time it is dominated by a moral purpose which springs from sympathy or love. The personal object of religion—the reconciliation of man to God—is not likely ever to be absent from our minds; but there is at all times a tendency to omit, at least in popular exposition, this complementary view of the harmonization of man with humanity and nature. Scepticism at once occupies the ground which is abandoned. And in this lies one of the great lessons of Positivism, that by asserting religion to be the complete harmony of man and the Cosmos, it has forced again upon our notice aspects of Christian truth which have been more or less hidden since the teaching of the greatest Greek fathers was superseded in the West by the necessarily narrower system of Latin theology. Some conception of the great order at present we must have;* and if our religion is, as we believe, the highest expression which can be given to faith and love, it will embrace this also. We shall rise beyond the individual standing-point to some one higher and more commanding; and while we retain firmly our original sense of the inestimable worth of the individual soul, we shall feel also that each is part of a sublimer whole, extending through all time and space, and bound by sensible and indissoluble links to the sum of all being.

VI.

It is not difficult to characterize the ideas which are brought into prominence by this extension of the religious field of life. The Positivist suggests the ideas of continuity, solidarity, and totality; the Christian, going yet further, adds the idea of infinity; and without the distinct recognition of these four ideas, it seems to be impossible to represent adequately the message of Christianity, as a historical and sacramental religion, to our own age.

A very little reflection will shew the profound influence which continuity exercises upon life. When it is once apprehended, no religion which claims to be universal can neglect it. Materially, intellectually, and morally, we are the children of the past, destined in turn to give birth to a new race which will inherit all that we possess. Whatever view we may take of the originative power of the individual, and we claim necessarily that the personal will shall

* Cat. 26.

be admitted to be an independent force, it is evident that the accumulations of wealth of every form which furnish the instruments of our action, the treasures of language which control the general tenour of our thoughts, the forms and habits of social and national intercourse which stimulate and guide our feelings, are incomparably stronger than any individual power which can be brought to bear upon them. If it were not so, in place of society we should have chaos. And all these are in their source and growth independent of us. We can watch how, in old times, the various results of labour and reflection and conflict were gathered up and perpetuated in abiding shapes; but we have no choice but to receive them. It is our privilege to modify, but not to begin. More and more as the ages go on, in Comte's striking phrase, we who live are ruled by the dead, though it is our prerogative to serve them with a free and willing service, and in our turn, when our work is done, to be joined with them in the sovereignty of the future.*

Two important conclusions flow from this law of our earthly existence. The first is, to borrow again Comte's own phrase, that progress is the development of order;† and the second, that the thoughts or institutions of the past can be applied to the present only by a method of proportion.

As to the first, it is of no moment whether, like the Positivist, we regard the phenomena of society simply in themselves, without referring them to any higher cause, or whether we see in them (as we do) the manifestation of the will of God. No one looking back over the past can fail to detect a general advance of humanity, as a whole, in certain definite directions corresponding to what we observe in the fuller development of the man. The progress, on a large scale, exhibits the harmonious elevation of our whole complex being, even though periods of devastation and fiery trial are needed for the preparation of the future growth.

The second consequence, though it is really more obvious, is more commonly overlooked. Any expression of popular judgment, whether it be made by word or by act, is necessarily relative to the time and circumstances under which it is made. As circumstances change, it does not by any means follow that the changes in the acceptance of words or in the significance of acts will be made in the same direction, so that the relation between them will remain fixed. And therefore, if we would gain for ourselves the blessings which we can refer in past ages to certain institutions or formulas, it can only be by realising the relation in which they stood to the whole constitution

* Pol. Pos., ii. 61. Cat. 32. The question of hereditary character deserves more attention from moralists than it has received. Cf. Cat. 102.

† Cat. 108.

of society then, and finding their proportional representatives now. To transfer a form of one age unaltered into another is in most cases to be faithless to that very principle of continuity by which we claim to be children of the first century, or the fourth, or the ninth, or the thirteenth. We are the children of the men who lived then; we cannot be the men themselves.

The doctrine of solidarity is not less fruitful of thought than that of continuity. It presents to us (if such an illustration is allowable) in a horizontal section a similar succession of varieties of society to that which we have considered before in a vertical section. Or, to take another mode of expression, it presents in the extension of space what continuity regards in the extension of time. In a family, or a city, or a nation, we can readily apprehend how the co-existing members are bound together so as to form a whole, of which each part is really, though remotely, united to the others by material and moral actions and reactions. Our observation of the subtle influences by which continuity is preserved helps us to extend this idea yet further. Nation is thus seen to be moved by nation, stock by stock, till the whole race, which is connected spiritually by a community of nature, is felt also to be connected actually by mutual, though often indirect, operations of each fragment upon the rest.

Whenever we seize, however tremblingly, as at best it must be, this vast conception of the Great Being in which all mankind is for the time united, it is evident that our views of the destiny, of the relations, and of the action of men will be greatly influenced. The thought which inspires hope, and assures patience, at the same time ennobles labour, and stimulates action. Hope and patience spring necessarily out of the application of the lessons of the past to the present. We can see how rivalries and conflicts, the rise and fall of principles and states, the very exhaustion of powers once beneficent and life-giving, have contributed to the whole progress of human life. We can believe then that phenomena of the same kind, when co-existent, are no less instrumental of good. And it is no objection to this faith that it is not in our experience converted into sight. Life would be indefinitely impoverished if the fruits of effort or suffering were not reserved in the richest measure for the future.

The present effect of the idea of solidarity upon labour and action is perhaps less frequently realised than the remoter effect which has been just noticed, but it is at least capable of being far more energetic. Briefly, it may be summed up in two principles. It consecrates the permanent variety of functions in life,* and substitutes duties for rights.†

* Cat. 109, 113.

† Cat. 289. The conception of salary as simply designed "à remplacer chez chaque

As long as we regard individuals as so many separate units, it is clear that we must regard complete equality as the ultimate ideal of their state. The object of reform must be to assimilate man to man. But this chimerical fancy loses all rational basis when the individual is seen to be the member of a body which itself is part of a greater whole, of which the final dimensions surpass all human imagination. Then it follows at once that complexity of office is the condition of health. The completeness of health depends on the completeness of the organism. Society, in every true sense, would cease to exist without an abiding distinction of classes. Humanity would be poorer if it were deprived of any national or specific types. There is no confusion in the multiplicity of service. There is no levelling, no disparagement, in the just subordination of distinct works. The essential variety, the actual combination, both belong to the characteristics of life.

And if we apply the principle to the separate work of each, it becomes, as it were, a revelation of the moral dignity of labour. No one in any society works for himself. Each worker is a servant of the body. He does really co-operate with all for the good of all. It is only required that he should feel the destination and the source of what he does and of what he receives. Then at last he would, as Comte admirably expresses the truth, know that "to live *for* others" is but another aspect of "living *by* others." *

At the same time the transference of our point of sight from the individual to the body brings out into clear light the second principle. If the individual be the centre, then he may have rights; but if the body be the centre, he can have only duties. It is possible that these complementary aspects may be reconciled, but there can be no doubt which we most frequently forget. And if we once add the Christian idea of what the body potentially is, all notion of personal claims vanishes in comparison with the infinite debt whereby we are bound, each in our measure, to fill up that which is lacking to the completeness of the whole.

The doctrine of what I have ventured to call the totality of life carries yet one step further the doctrines of its continuity and solidarity. It is not only that the successive generations of men are linked together by laws which they can only modify, and not abro-

organe social les matériaux qu'il consomme toujours, comme provisions pour sa subsistance ou instruments pour sa fonction" (Cat. 116), is worthy of attention, as well as the principle on which it is based, that "chaque service personnel ne comporte jamais d'autre récompense que la satisfaction de l'accomplir et la reconnaissance qu'il procure" (Cat. 117).

* "Vivre pour autrui devient chez chacun de nous le devoir continu qui résulte rigoureusement de ce fait irrécusable—vivre par autrui" (Cat. 266). To a Christian, the words have a tenfold force.

gate, nor yet that each generation is interpenetrated and united by a common life; but the life of humanity is itself ruled, in a great measure, by the medium in which it is passed. The influence of physical powers upon man may have been exaggerated, but we cannot deny that it is real. Comte himself does not overstate it. "The world," he writes, "furnishes the materials, and man determines the form." "Man is not a result of the world, and yet he depends upon it."* The observed variations in the constancy of the relations of nature and man are not sufficient to disturb our confidence in the fixity of what we call natural laws. And, conversely, while the laws remain fixed, man is so far capable of modifying the elements through which their action is displayed, as to seriously alter their total effect. If again we regard only living forms, here the power of man is supreme. Some die away at his approach; others follow him; others are capable of receiving what we are forced to call the moral impress of his character.

To pursue in any detail the consequences which flow from this connection of man with the physical world would be impossible here. It must be enough to notice the general lessons which it teaches as to the action of man and the destiny of creation. As to the first, it shows that the sovereignty of man is manifested, not in the direct exertion, but in the guidance of force.† The effect in each case depends not so much on power as on wisdom. In other words, our true strength lies in taking each discovered law as the rule according to which we may employ our energies, always remembering that the higher phenomena rest upon and include the lower, and are modifiable in direct proportion to their complexity.

On the other hand, as man is at present continually modifying all nature, both spontaneously and of purpose, it is necessary to regard the connection thus established as in some sense permanent. We cannot wholly sever the fate of the lower and humbler companions of man, for example, from the fate of man himself. And perhaps there is nothing more characteristic of Comte than the almost importunate eagerness with which he claims for the animals which habitually labour with man to assure his worthy objects incorporation, according to their individual dignity and services, in the great being into which man himself passes.‡

VII.

Now these grand and far-reaching ideas of the continuity, the solidarity, the totality of life, which answer equally to the laws of our being and the deepest aspirations of our souls, are not only reconcilable with Christianity, but they are essentially Christian. The Positivist

* Cat. 42, 37.

† Cat. 105 ff.

‡ Cat. 31.

theory, so far from advancing anything novel in such teaching, simply places us once again in the original Christian point of view of the Cosmos. Once again the divinity of the Gospel is vindicated by its power, when honestly interpreted, to stand abreast or in advance of the noblest generalizations of experience. And this is in virtue of its essential constitution, intellectually no less than spiritually. For, because it is contained primarily in facts, and not in words, it rises beyond the possible associations of a single age to a full harmony with universal life. And so, as our view of life becomes fuller and richer, our view of the Gospel, which is the transfiguration of life, becomes fuller and richer in the same degree. Doctrine which is based upon the Incarnation and the Resurrection must be progressive, organic, and total. These facts, however imperfectly interpreted, yet mark human existence by an advance in a definite direction, by relation to one centre, by approximation towards a perfect ideal. They contain a principle of continuous life, a principle of social unity, a prospect of "the restoration of all things." And this, too, was the case before history or science had laid open the general laws of human progress or the necessary connection of man with the world.

Nor, while the facts in themselves are found to be thus pregnant, does the apostolic interpretation of the facts in any degree fall short of the meaning which has been assigned to them. "It was the purpose of God," we read, "that, in the dispensation of the fulness of times, He might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are in earth."*

Because of Christ's Incarnation and Passion, "God also hath highly exalted Him, and given Him a name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth."†

From Christ,—"*which is the head,*"—"the whole body fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love."‡

"The earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God . . . groaning and travailling in pain together until now."§

Such language, in its assured confidence, passes our hope; and as we ponder on it, we may well doubt whether even to St. Paul himself the infinite depths of wisdom which it contains were open as they are to us now. Here also it seems as if the lapse of ages and the slow widening of thought could alone adequately reveal the significance of prophecy. ||

* Eph. i. 10. † Phil. ii. 9, 10. ‡ Eph. iv. 16. § Rom. viii. 19, 22.

|| Comp. 1 Pet. i. 10—12.

But Christianity does not pause where Positivism pauses, in the visible order. It carries the unity of being yet further, and links all that is seen with that unseen which can only be figured to us in parables. An imperious instinct asserts that our individual existence is not closed by what falls here under our senses; and every indication of the intimate relationship of man with man, and of age with age, confirms the belief in the further extension of this law of dependence to an order of being beyond the present. If we further take account of the many tokens of a scheme begun and not completed here, which requires for the present the sacrifice of races, it may be, or of generations, the same conviction is deepened. Even in the constitution and advance of society, the effects of selfishness and sin are so open and great, that we are forced to look onward to some future resolution of the discords by which they interrupt the harmony of life.

From the nature of the case, it is impossible that we should have any distinct apprehension of this unseen order. Our utmost resources of language only enable us to combine variously the phenomena with which we are already acquainted; and this to which we are looking is a new order, and not the transference of the old to a new sphere. But though our notions of the future must be vague, Christianity so treats it as to assure us of our personal hope, and at the same time to indicate the direction in which we may look for the solution of the mysteries of society.

In the first place, it accepts unequivocally the indivisibility of man.* The body is not a burden by which the soul is temporarily weighed down, but an essential condition of our personality, to be won† and disciplined, and in the end to be transfigured, but not destroyed. The central fact in which these truths are conveyed is absolutely unique, as is the combination of the truths themselves. Between the Resurrection and any of the other raisings from the dead there is no more resemblance than there is between the Incarnation and any of the fabled visits of the Greek gods to earth in human shapes. The same event which declares the essential permanence of our whole being shows that the conditions of its action and existence will be changed. In what way this change will be accomplished we cannot tell. We know only that we can draw no conclusions from the limitations of this world as to the character of the next, and, on the other hand, that nothing in us will be lost.

Corresponding reflections help us to see how that which appears to be lost or prematurely carried away here may have truly fulfilled its work. It is clear that performance is not a final test of character, nor external action of effect. We are conscious of subtle powers

* Compare Cat. 24.

† Comp. 1 Thes. iv. 4 (*κρῖσθαι*).

about us, which cannot be analyzed or resisted. In another order, as we can believe, we may be allowed to see how these had their origin in silent, unnoticed, or forgotten souls, which will then be revealed in the plenitude of their true energy.

The mystery of evil, we allow, still remains; but even on this light is cast. It ceases, at least, to be triumphant or active.

"Then cometh the end when [Christ] shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when He shall have put down all rule, and all authority and power. For He must reign till He hath put all enemies under His feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death. . . . Then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all."*

This sublime prospect lies before us, in which all the varied developments of life are crowned with their divine fulfilment. And though the contemplation of it may lie without the range of the personal teaching of Christianity which commonly limits our religious thought, yet it is a duty to strive, as occasion may arise, to grasp the full proportions of the hope which it brings to man and to the world. It is not always enough that each should feel in his own heart the power of the Gospel to meet individual wants. We must claim for it also to be recognized as a wisdom revealed and realized only in the advance of time, and embracing in one infinite fact all that men have aspired to for themselves and for the transitory order in which they are placed.

It is our lot to live in an age when this need is imperative. On all sides there is a restless striving after some solid construction of truth which may rise out of and above the results of negative criticism. Never before were the evils of dispersive study more apparent or more pressing. Never before were isolated views of truth more capable of being exhibited in their one-sidedness. Never before was anarchy of thought and life felt to be more at variance with the highest destiny of man. Never before was there a more passionate longing for spiritual unity among those whom the conditions of life have separated. Of all these facts the teaching of Positivism is an unlooked-for and unsuspected witness. At the same time it seems to point out how we may apply the apostolic message to combine, and supplement, and guide, and animate the scattered elements out of which the future may be worthily built. And while we thankfully receive the lessons which it gives, we owe to it also a new confirmation of our historic creed. For if anything external can re-assure faith, it must be that the widest interpretation of human progress, the subtlest analysis of human nature, is only a partial commentary on the Resurrection.

BROOKE F. WESTCOTT.

* 1 Cor. xv. 24 ff.



GEORGE ELIOT AS A POET.

AS if a strong delightful water that we knew only as a river appeared in the character of a fountain ; as if one whom we had wondered at as a good walker or inexhaustible pedestrian, began to dance ; as if Mr. Bright, in the middle of a public meeting, were to oblige the company with a song,—no, no, not like that exactly, but like something quite new,—is the appearance of George Eliot in the character of a poet. “The Spanish Gypsy,” a poem in five books, originally written, as a prefatory note informs us, in the winter of 1864-5, and, after a visit to Spain in 1867, re-written and amplified, is before us. It is a great volume of three hundred and fifty octavo pages ; and the first thing which strikes the reader is, that it is a good deal longer than he expected it would be. This is bad, to begin with. What right has anybody to make a poem longer than one expected ? The next thing that strikes one is,—at all events, the next thing that struck me was, as I very hastily turned over the book,—that the fine *largo* of the author’s manner, continued through so many pages, was a very little burdensome in its effect. That may come of the specific levity of my taste ; but it is as well to be quite frank.

Dr. Holmes, of Boston, says,—I fear I am repeating myself, as he did with his illustration of the alighting huma,—that a poem is like a violin in the respect that it needs to be kept and used a good

deal before you know what music there is in it. If that is so, what may here be said of George Eliot's poem will have but little value; for the book has only been in my hand a few days, at a time when my pre-occupation is great, and reading is painful to me. But, in the first place, I do really think my hasty impressions are correct in this case; and, in the second, I shall find some way of returning to the book, if after very often-repeated readings (according to my habit) I alter any of my opinions.

In the *Argosy* I once gave reasons for looking forward with deep interest to anything George Eliot might do in the shape of poetry, and also hinted the direction in which her risk of greater or less failure appeared to me to lie. "You can never reckon up these high-strung natures, ever ready to be re-impregnated," or tell what surprises they may have in store for you. It had often struck me that there was a vein of poetic *expression* in the writing of George Eliot, of which a hundred instances might have been given. But the question of questions remained, Had she such a power, not to say necessity, of spontaneous expression in verse, that when we saw her poetry we should inevitably say, as Milton said of himself, that the expression in verse was the right-hand speech, that in prose the left-hand speech? How fine are the shades or gradations of quality in this respect, can be little understood by those who have not, by instinct or otherwise, fed, so to speak, on verse. For example, we all know that Wordsworth often wrote, in the printed form of verse, the most utterly detestable prose. Yet he could and did produce most exquisite verse. Again, a living poet of the school of Wordsworth, Mr. Henry Taylor, barely, or little better than barely, enables us to say of him that verse is his right-hand and prose his left. Still, after some little demur, we *are* able to say it; and we call him a poet.

It must not be supposed that this is by any means a matter of mere fluency, correctness, or ease of numbers. Macaulay wrote verses far superior in these particulars to many of Mr. Henry Taylor's, and many of Wordsworth's. Yet verse was, unequivocally, Macaulay's left hand; and after adolescence, few people can read his verse for poetry. If I were not unwilling to rouse the prejudice of (I fear!) most of my readers, I should here add Edgar Poe; and, indeed, I really cannot spare him as an illustration. He must have some queer hybrid place, all to himself (which it would take an essay to define); but, though he may be said to have felt verse his right hand medium of expression, some few of us hesitate to call him a poet. Not to complicate this matter, let us come at once to the point. What is it that in excellent verse differentiates* that which is poetry and

* I have seen this word objected to as a scientific foppery; but in its form of *to differ*, the verb is a good old English verb.

that which is not? Not mere fluency, but unconscious fluency; in a word, simplicity. Whatever art may do for the poet, he must be a *simple* musician to begin with.

In looking rapidly over this poem of George Eliot's I have—let me confess it—I have been inclined to fear that this “note” of simplicity is wanting. And, in spite of an abundance of fine passages, I fear, also, there is not the perfect fluency of use and wont. It has been maintained, under shelter of Elizabethan models, that you may do almost anything in dramatic blank verse, in the way of lengthening and shortening the line. I object to the doctrine, and maintain that the Elizabethan examples cited are, in many instances, mere bits of negligence; and, in others, roughnesses of workmanship belonging to the lusty youth of a new art. Blank verse means ten-syllable iambic lines. If there are deviations from this form, as there often are, and should be, they must be regulated deviations, not accidental intrusions of other forms. As I have already stated, I have been able to spend but little time as yet over the “Spanish Gypsy,” but I have at once found lines such as these:—

On p. 16—

“His parti-coloured vest, tight-fitting, and his hose.”

On p. 39—

“Leaned o’er the coral-biting baby’s; ’twixt the rails.”

On p. 86—

“Lest notes should mar your purity.”

On p. 138—

“To that deep consecrating oath our sponsor Fate.”

On p. 174—

“In unsuspected secrecy, to search him out.”

On p. 259—

“She ever knew. For me—Oh, I have a fire within.”

On p. 304—

“But she has looked on the unchangeable and bowed.”

I cannot believe that these are (at all events, with but one exception, that of the line short of a foot) anything but what they appear to be, namely, lapses of the finger on the instrument. There is assuredly no want of skill in the writer who could produce the two little ballads in trochaic assonant* (one at p. 40, the other

* The Spanish trochaic assonant is not rhyme to the English ear, nor do I think it agreeable. It means merely that in the last foot of each of the assonant lines, the vowels in the first and second syllables shall correspond. Thus if one of the lines ended with *dado*, the other might end with *malo*. In a language abounding with consonants like the English, the effect of the assonance is lost. Nobody would have noticed it in these ingenious attempts of George Eliot's, unless the reader's attention had been called to the subject by a note of the author's.

at p. 206), and the versification of the "Spanish Gypsy" often breaks out into the very highest excellence; but it too often wants spontaneity and simplicity.

As the same observation applies to the lyrics, one has little hesitation in coming to the conclusion that the primal peculiarity which distinguishes the singer from the sayer is either lacking in George Eliot or that its function has suffered from disuse. I still hesitate to say suffered irreparably, because I still think the orbit of a genius like George Eliot's incalculable. With such a noble ambition, and such immense resources, one may do almost anything. Thus, though I confess I *now* think it improbable that George Eliot will ever exhibit in a poem the true simplicity of the singer, and compel her readers to admit that her music is better than her speech, I hesitate, or well-nigh hesitate, in saying even so much as that. It is very pathetic that a noble ambition should come so near its mark and yet fail. Only what are we to do? The truth must be spoken.

Against the presumption raised by the bulk of the writing must, in fairness, be set the evidence of particular passages, in which the author attains such high excellence that if one had seen those passages alone, there would have been no hesitation or doubt on the score of melody. A few of these, in some of which the reader will catch fine touches of Elizabethan inspiration, I will pick out of the mass.

Take, for an example, this description of Zarca, on p. 111:—

"He is of those
Who steal the keys from snoring Destiny
And make the prophets lie."

And this on p. 151:—

"My vagabonds are a seed more generous,
Quick as the serpent, loving as the hound,
And beautiful as disinherited gods.
They have a promised land beyond the sea."

And this on p. 169:—

"Spring afternoons, when delicate shadows fall
Pencilled upon the grass; high summer morns
When white light rains upon the quiet sea
And corn-fields flush with ripeness."

And this on p. 275:—

"Present and silent and unchangeable
As a celestial portent."

Lastly, the best lyric in the poem, on p. 171:—

"The world is great: the birds all fly from me,
The stars are golden fruit upon a tree
All out of reach: my little sister went,
And I am lonely."

"The world is great: I tried to mount the hill
Above the pines, where the light lies so still,
But it rose higher: little Lisa went,
And I am lonely.

"The world is great: the wind comes rushing by,
I wonder where it comes from; sea-birds cry
And hurt my heart; my little sister went,
And I am lonely.

"The world is great: the people laugh and talk,
And make loud holiday: how fast they walk!
I'm lame, they push me: little Lisa went,
And I am lonely."

Besides the want of spontaneity and simplicity in the verse, there are other points which make us feel, with whatever reluctance to admit the thing we undoubtingly see, that in the "Spanish Gypsy" something is wanting, and in that something everything that endears a poem as a poem. The writing has the diffuseness of literature, rather than the condensation of poetry; and, admirable as some of it is, we wish it away: at the lowest, we say to ourselves, if a poet had had to utter this, our pleasure would have been perfect; but, as it is, what is before us is almost too good, and yet it is not good enough; it does not compel us to think, *le poète a le frisson*, either while we read or afterwards. There is too much aggregation and accumulation about it; we are set thinking, and set feeling; we are agitated; but we are not thrilled by any single sudden notes. Lastly, or all but lastly, some of the frequent touches of humorous detail are fatal:—

"Enter the Duke, Pablo, and Annibal,
Exit the cat, retreating towards the dark."

This, and all this kind of thing, is gravely wrong in a poem. In some cases the phraseology has this species of modern familiarity and curtness; in others the equally distinguishable *large* of the modern philosophic manner, while, what is supremely needed, namely, finish, is what we in vain go longing for.

Finally, the intellectual ground-work, or outline, of the poem shows, far too plainly, under the colouring of passion and the movement of the story. Since "Silas Marner" we have had no book from George Eliot to which this criticism would not, in some degree, be applicable. There is not room here for any exhibition of all the recurring ideas of George Eliot's writings, but one in particular has been growing more and more prominent since "Silas Marner," and of which the first hint is in "The Mill on the Floss." "If the past is not to bind us," said Maggie Tulliver, in answer to the importunities of Stephen Guest, "what is?" In a noticeable and well-remembered review of Mr. Lecky's "History of Rationalism," George Eliot told us that

the best part of our lives was made up of organized traditions (I quote from memory, but the meaning was plain). Putting these two things together, we get the intellectual ground-plan of the "Spanish Gypsy." Perhaps the illustrious author of the poem would resent the idea that any moral was intended to be conveyed by her recent writings; but, assuredly, this moral is thrust upon us everywhere, in a way which implies, if not intention, very eager belief.

Leaving the workmanship and the intellectual conception, or interwoven moral criticism, of the poem, and coming to the story, I am sure of only echoing what all the world will say when I call this in the highest degree poetic; and poetically dramatic, too. I must add, and with emphasis, that the story seems to me to gain, as a story, by this mode of presentation—as I firmly believe "*Romola*" would have gained, if the question of perfect poetic expression could have been got over. In other words, although the manner of the novelist too often obtrudes itself in the "Spanish Gypsy," the author has told the story more affectingly, and with much more of truthfulness and local colour and manner, than she would have done if she had been writing it as a novel. Compare, for example, what I think are among the very finest things George Eliot has ever done—the scene between Juan the troubadour, and the gypsy girls at the opening of book iii., and the scene in which Don Amador reads to the retainers of Don Silva from "*Las Siete Partidas*" the passage beginning "*Et esta gentileza aviene en tres maneras*" (the critical reader who stumbles at the "*et*" must be informed that this is thirteenth century Spanish)—compare these two scenes, I say, with the first scene in the barber's shop, and the scene of the Florentine joke in "*Romola*," and note how very much the author gains by assuming the dramatic form. I have heard readers of much critical ability, and much poetic and dramatic instinct, too, complain that they did not see the force of those scenes in "*Romola*," but it must be an incredibly dull person that misses the force of those scenes in the "Spanish Gypsy." The love-passages, also, are exquisitely beautiful; and in them again the author has gained by using the dramatic form. I dare to add, that she has, however, lost by some of the (so to speak) "stage-directions." We don't want to be told how a man and woman of the type of Don Silva and Fedalma* look when they are saying certain things. We can feel pretty sure when the moment would be too sweet and solemn even for kissing. As Sam Slick said, "*Natur' teaches that air.*"

The story of the "Spanish Gypsy" is simply this:—Fedalma, a

* I do not remember having ever seen this name before; it is an exquisitely musical word, and, I suppose, is intended to mean Faith of the Soul; or, more intelligibly to some people (not to be envied), Spiritual Fidelity.

Zincala, is lost in her early childhood, and brought up by a Spanish duchess, Don Silva's mother. As she grows to womanhood Silva loves her, and she is on the point of marrying him when the narrative opens. But Fedalma's father, Zarca, a gypsy Moses, Hiawatha, or both, devoted to the regeneration of his tribe, suddenly appears upon the scene and claims his daughter. Will she marry Don Silva or go with her father, and be the priestess of a new faith to the Zincali? She decides to accompany her father. Upon this Silva renounces his position as a Spanish noble and Christian knight and becomes a Zincalo. This implies the relinquishment of his post as commander of the town and fortress of Bedmár, which it is his duty to guard against the Moors; but he is not aware at the time he takes the gypsy oath, that Zarca is already in league with the Moors to take the fortress. Zarca and the Moors, however, succeed in investing the place, and some noble Spaniards, friends of Silva's, including his uncle, Father Isidor, are slain. Mad with remorse and rage, Silva stabs Zarca, but is allowed to go free. The poem closes with the departure of Silva to obtain absolution from the Pope, in order that he may recommence the career of a Christian knight, and the departure of Fedalma to begin, as best she may, the work bequeathed to her by her father, namely, the regeneration of the Zincali.

One thing is obvious on the face of this story, that Silva was guilty, in so far as he was an apostate. But there will not be wanting readers who when asking the question who was the cause of all the misery with which the narrative overflows, will say, Fedalma. It was all very well to say that her past bound her. But which past? When Zarca started up, she was pledged by her "past" to Silva, and she loved him. What Zarca imported into the situation was, as lawyers say, new matter. The morrow would have seen her married to Silva; and what *then*, if Zarca had appeared upon the stage with his gypsy patriotism? All the future was dark to her, there was no reason whatever to believe that either she or Zarca would be able to regenerate the gypsies; there was present actual proof that she was essential to Silva, life of his life, and the bond of his being. What right had she to forsake him? It is idle to discuss this, but since, as far as I can make out, there is distinct teaching in the poem, and that teaching is of no force unless Fedalma was, *beyond question*, right, it is perfectly fair and appropriate to suggest that there is room for question. It seems to me a little curious that George Eliot does not see that the same reason which made Sephardo, the astrologer, a son first, and a Jew afterwards, would make Fedalma a betrothed woman first and a Zincala next.

But I do not dwell upon this point, because I look forward to

another opportunity of dealing with what we are now entitled to assume is George Eliot's evangel—

" that Supreme, the irreversible Past,"

Irreversible, no doubt, but—"Supreme!" The reader must not imagine that I am darting captiously at a word here. Not at all. George Eliot has a very distinct meaning, which is very distinctly affiliated to a certain mode of thought. To this mode of thought may be traced the astounding discords of her late writings, or rather the one astounding discord which runs through them.

In submitting to the world a poem, George Eliot is under one serious disadvantage. There are certain particulars in which she is not likely, in verse, to excel her own prose. Clear and profound conception, and emphatic, luminous, and affecting presentation of character, is one of them. The power of inventing dramatic situation is another. In these particulars, the "Spanish Gypsy" falls behind nothing that this distinguished writer has done; though I do not myself feel that either Fedalma or Zarca is dramatically presented to us. Indeed, vivid as George Eliot's painting of character always is, and profoundly intelligent, I never thought it dramatic. Nor is it. Here, as in the other books of George Eliot, character is always most vividly described and analyzed; and what the people do is, of course, in exact accordance with what is described; but none of them reveal themselves without having had the advantage of some criticism. None of them, that is to say, reveal themselves by action only, or by action and speech only, unless the speech takes a critical form. Zarca is shadowy, and Fedalma shadowy. But Juan and Silva we understand well because they are criticized; and Isidor the prior, and Sephardo the Jew, we understand well, because their talk is criticism of a kind which only a certain order of mind could produce. Perhaps the finest portions of the poem lie in some of these critical or quasi-critical passages. Let us take "The Astrologer's Study," on p. 177:—

" A room high up in Abderahman's tower,
A window open to the still warm eve,
And the bright disc of royal Jupiter.
Lamps burning low make little atmospheres
Of light amid the dimness; here and there
Show books and phials, stones and instruments.
In carved dark-oaken chair, unpillow'd, sleeps
Right in the rays of Jupiter a small man,
In skull-cap bordered close with crisp grey curls,
And loose black gown showing a neck and breast
Protected by a dim-green amulet;
Pale-faced, with finest nostril wont to breathe
Ethereal passion in a world of thought;

Eyebrows jet-black and firm, yet delicate ;
Beard scant and grizzled ; mouth shut firm, with curves
So subtly turned to meanings exquisite,
You seem to read them as you read a word
Full-vowelled, long-descended, pregnant—rich
With legacies from long, laborious lives."

Juan's criticism of himself, on p. 237 :—

" I can unleash my fancy if you wish
And hunt for phantoms : shoot an airy guess
And bring down airy likelihood—some lie
Masked cunningly to look like royal truth
And cheat the shooter, while King Fact goes free ;
Or else some image of reality
That doubt will handle and reject as false.
Ask for conjecture—I can thread the sky
Like any swallow ; but, if you insist
On knowledge that would guide a pair of feet
Right to Bedmár, across the Moorish bounds,
A mule that dreams of stumbling over stones
Is better stored."

And, assuredly, I must not omit the study of the character of Silva himself, on pp. 68—70 :—

" A man of high-wrought strain, fastidious
In his acceptance, dreading all delight
That speedy dies and turns to carrion :
His senses much exacting, deep instilled
With keen imagination's difficult needs ;—
Like strong-limbed monsters studded o'er with eyes,
Their hunger checked by overwhelming vision,
Or that fierce lion in symbolic dream
Snatched from the ground by wings and new-endowed
With a man's thought-propelled relenting heart.
Silva was both the lion and the man ;
First hesitating shrank, then fiercely sprang,
Or having sprung, turned pallid at his deed
And loosed the prize, paying his blood for nought.
A nature half-transformed, with qualities
That oft bewrayed each other, elements
Not blent but struggling, breeding strange effects,
Passing the reckoning of his friends or foes.
Haughty and generous, grave and passionate ;
With tidal moments of devoutest awe,
Sinking anon to farthest ebb of doubt ;
Deliberating ever, till the sting
Of a recurrent ardour made him rush
Right against reasons that himself had drilled
And marshalled painfully. A spirit framed
Too proudly special for obedience,
Too subtly pondering for mastery :
Born of a goddess with a mortal sire,
Heir of flesh-fettered, weak divinity,
Doom-gifted with long resonant consciousness
And perilous heightening of the sentient soul.
But look less curiously : life itself

May not express us all, may leave the worst
 And the best too, like tunes in mechanism
 Never awaked. In various catalogues
 Objects stand variously."

There is only one living mind which could have given us poetico-psychological studies of human character like these. There is no comparison in range of faculty between such a mind and John Clare's. Is it not strange, and almost pathetic, that an uncultivated peasant could sing, and touch us with music, as no speech could; and yet that a highly-cultivated mind like George Eliot's should almost overwhelm our judgment by the richness and volume of what it pours forth in the name of song; and yet that we are compelled to say the bird-note is missing?

MATTHEW BROWNE.

P.S.—It must not be supposed that the unwelcome Alexandrines above quoted are the outcome of any scrutiny, for the time has been short. But, hurriedly turning over the leaves in reading the proof, my eye catches three more—two on page 273:—

"That strove against her anguish, eyes that seemed a soul"

"He must be conqueror; be monarch of his lot."

And, on p. 221,—

"Through multitudinous compression of stored sense."

It may be added, that readers of the "Spanish Gypsy" will recognize in its pages some of the mottoes of chapters in "Felix Holt."



LAY WORK IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

“I AM very far from disparaging,” said a clerical speaker at a recent meeting of the English Church Union, “the office of laymen in the Church of Christ. It is *the high prerogative of the laity to listen and to obey.*” The immediate reference of the words was to the question whether laymen should or should not elect, or be elected as, representatives in diocesan synods, and I have no wish to strain them beyond their natural meaning as uttered in that connexion. It will hardly be questioned, however, that the spirit which breathes through the words I have italicised, is one which, uttered or unuttered, often influences the feelings and the actions of a large section of the clergy, that it embodies that which, if not the very essence, is yet the most prominent among the accidents, of the system which, for want of a better word, we must continue to call Sacerdotalism. It asserts not only that some men are called and sent to do a special work as preachers of the Gospel, ministers of the word, shepherds of men’s souls, but that it is theirs as by divine right (certain words as to “lording it over God’s heritage,” and certain acts of the “whole multitude” of the Apostolic Church being apparently forgotten) to settle all questions as to the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Church, that the

laity are bound to accept whatever activities, or limitations of activity, the clergy may think proper to assign to them, that it is the duty of the clergy to exclude them from any share but the most subordinate, in the government of the society of which both are members, that all that we include under the generic title of the prophetic office of the Church, preaching, exhortation, direction, confession, and the like, lies altogether outside the sphere of their capacity. When attempts are made by laymen to enter on any work of this kind they are met by suspicion, coldness, antagonism. The spirit of the "Conventicle" and the "Five Miles" Acts still lingers among us. When their severity was mitigated in 1812 by the Act 52 Geo. III. c. 155, a penalty of £20 was imposed on any one who even in his own private house should assemble more than twenty persons for the purpose of worship. The Act might not be often enforced, but it remained as a formidable weapon ready to be brought into the field whenever it was wanted, and therefore sufficiently effective to deter men from its infringement. In country parishes it was actually enforced by high-and-dry rectors against Evangelical noblemen and gentlemen. Even Mr. Wilberforce was threatened with it. When Lord Shaftesbury brought in a bill to repeal this penal enactment it was opposed by Lord Derby, Lord Carnarvon, and the Bishop of Oxford, and carried, on the motion for its being committed, by a majority of one.

It is scarcely to be wondered at that those who were not satisfied with the dead level of the Church life of the eighteenth century, should seek, in some way or other, to bring the devotion and ability of laymen into fuller action. It is much to the honour of most of those who have been prominent in what are known as the Evangelical and Catholic revivals, that they have in various ways, with more or less system, worked in this direction. Young men have been led to give their services as district-visitors or teachers in Sunday-schools, and having once begun, have carried their labours on through all the successive stages of an eminent professional career. Men of business have made themselves useful as treasurers, auditors, committee-men for religious societies or parochial charities, and so relieved the clergy from some portion of the drudgery of "serving tables," which almost inevitably falls upon them. Noblemen, members of Parliament, and others have advocated the cause of missions, or schools, or charities, on metropolitan or provincial platforms. So far as this went it was well. But most thoughtful minds felt that it did not go far enough. It left many of the highest forms of Christian work neglected. It utilised the lower, not the nobler powers of those whose services it enlisted. It lacked system and organization, and tended to sporadic, spasmodic efforts on the one

side, to conventional rhetoric and mere accountant's work on the other.

Various schemes have accordingly been propounded from time to time, as calculated to supply what was thus defective. Those who held (as I think, rightly) that though unpaid labour might be the nobler form of service, payment did not of necessity vitiate the work done, and was allowable with lay as well as clerical workers, set up societies which aimed at organizing it. The London City Mission sent its agents working on what was looked on as the basis of a Protestant Evangelical Christianity, always in avowed independence of the clergy of the Church Establishment, and not unfrequently in scarcely concealed opposition to them. The Scripture Readers Association, with a fuller recognition of the parochial system, has sent men at the request of the clergy to work under them in reading and talking to the poor, with a much narrower and more defined sphere of activity than the City missionaries. Schemes, more or less elaborate, have been brought forward by Archdeacon Hale and others, and discussed in Convocation, for the revival of the sub-diaconate, or of an order of "lectors," who were to differ from the clergy in being permitted to earn their own livelihood by trade or otherwise, whose character was not to have the note of indelibility supposed to be attached to Holy Orders strictly so called, but who might be allowed to help in the liturgical service of the Church, reading prayers or lessons, doing much of the work that now falls on curates. Others again, from Archdeacon Hare to Bishop Selwyn, have urged, rather as a means than an end, the revival of diocesan synods, in which laymen were to sit as representatives elected by the laity. Some have even urged their admission within the walls of the Jerusalem Chamber itself, in the fond hope that Convocation might then become something more than the *simulacrum* of a synod, and arrive at some other result than the three days' talk, the wilderness of amendments, and the inevitable prorogation with which we have become familiar. By some, indeed, as the opening quotation of this paper will have shown, even the mildest of these proposals has been regarded with suspicion as the "thin end" of the wedge of lay encroachment on the sacred, inalienable prerogatives of the clergy. Its authors have been reminded that they have against them all the weight of ecclesiastical authority, that there is scarcely any precedent in the great conciliar ages for the presence of others than bishops at general councils, and none at all for that of others than bishops and presbyters at provincial synods. Considerations of expediency, edification, the hope of bridging over the widening chasm between the clergy and the laity, between the Church and the nation, have been looked on as unworthy concessions to the lawlessness

of the age. "It is the high prerogative of the laity to listen and obey."

Two associations of comparatively very recent origin call for more special notice. It will hardly be thought necessary that we should add, as a third, the so-called revival of the Benedictine order, and include in our survey of lay Church-work in England the mummeries of Brother Ignatius and the tragi-comedy of the bankrupt establishment at Norwich. Of that, with its "infant Samuel," and its brother Stanislaus, and its many scandals, we may well say,

"Non ragionamm' di lor, ma guarda e passa."

The two which have more claim to consideration as regards both the idea on which each is based and the work which has been actually done, are (1) the Guild of St. Alban's, and (2) the Association of Lay Helpers in the Diocese of London. Even these, indeed, call for notice less on account of the magnitude of their operations than because they are fair representative types of the two modes of organization applicable to lay work; one, the revival of Mediæval forms, and phrases, and modes of thought; the other seeking to make the most of what it finds, to meet the necessities of our own time by reproducing the spirit of primitive Christianity, rather than by tying itself to the forms of the Apostolic, still less of any later age.

I. The constitutions of the Guild of St. Alban's* are elaborate enough, eighty-three in number, filling fifty pages. They provide,* as paper constitutions usually do, for indefinite growth, and contemplate the expansion of the Guild through the whole extent of the Church of England, and the churches in communion with her. They considerately concede to any provincial synod or general Council (!) in future years, the right to alter or annul them. They divide England into provinces, each under its own Provincial. They admit members through the several grades of Probationers, Fellows, Brothers; place them under the government of a Warden and a Provost, with power to hold courts, reprieve, sentence, suspend, or expel; and arrange for the establishment of Sisterhoods, wearing a distinct dress, and living together for works of mercy. Even the Brothers are to wear a uniform habit at all meetings of the Guild, and on such other occasions as the Provost may direct. The Guild is defined as consisting of "Lay Communicants of the Church of England, and of all Churches in connexion with her." Clergymen are admitted only (as laymen may be who do not desire a closer union) as Associates. Its general objects are defined as follows:—

* It is well to guard against a natural, and probably general misapprehension, by stating that the Guild has absolutely no connexion whatever with the church of the same name in Baldwin's Gardens.

- "1. To maintain and spread the CATHOLIC FAITH.
- "2. To oppose Latitudinarianism, Rationalism, and Infidelity.
- "3. To support the independence of the ENGLISH CHURCH, that she may be free from the interference of the State in purely spiritual matters, and from the jurisdiction claimed by the Bishop of Rome.
- "4. To revive and maintain a religious observance of the SACRAMENTS and offices of the Church.
- "5. To assist the Clergy in Parochial and Mission Work.
- "6. To encourage the practice of piety, virtue, and charity, to carry on works of mercy, and to promote UNITY.
- "THE SPECIAL WORKS of the Guild at present are :—Choir Duties, Night Schools, Sunday Schools, Youths' Societies or Clubs, Guilds for Children, Visiting the Sick and Needy, Reverent and Christian Burial of the Dead, Sisterhood Duties of all kinds."

And, for the lay members, besides the general duties of devotions at fixed times, and the dedication of at least one-tenth of their annual income to the service of God, work is sketched out under various heads, the enumeration of which, if not absolutely exhaustive, must be allowed to possess considerable width and variety, and to recognise the principle of finding work for each according to the diversity of gifts. As suggestive of many modes of useful labour to those who may not feel drawn towards a closer association with the Guild, it seems worth while to reprint it.

"HEADS OF PRACTICAL WORK TO BE UNDERTAKEN BY THE VARIOUS MEMBERS OF THE GUILD AS THEY MAY HAVE OPPORTUNITY.

"1. VISITING. (a) The Heathen. (b) The Distressed. (c) The Sick. (d) The Fallen. (e) Communicants. (f) Parents of School Children. (g) Candidates for Baptism, Confirmation, Holy Communion, Marriage. (h) Those lately Baptized, Confirmed, Recovered from Sickness, Escaped from Fire, Accidents, &c. (i) Families where one is lately deceased. (j) Hospitals. (k) Gaols. (l) Workhouses. (m) Penitentiaries. (n) For the Distribution of Tracts, Alms. (o) To Collect and Canvass for Pious Purposes. (p) Fellow-Guildsmen in Distress or Sickness.

"2. TEACHING IN SCHOOLS. (a) Day. (b) Night. Infant, Ordinary, Adult, Sunday, Industrial, Ragged, Reformatory; Servants' Training.

"3. LITERARY WORK. (a) Composition. (b) Translation. (c) Editing. (d) Drawing up Reports and Addresses. (e) Conducting Correspondence. (f) Office of Librarian. (g) Reading with Candidates for Holy Orders. (h) Tuition. (i) Private Study.

"4. ECCLESIOLOGY. (a) Collecting Notes. (b) Making Original Drawings—Architecture, Arrangement, Church Plate, Stained Glass, Coloured Decoration, Ornamental Metal-work.

"5. DRAWING AND PAINTING. (a) Illuminating Books. (b) Decorating—Churches, Oratories. (c) Religious Works—Original, Copies. (d) Glass Painting.

"6. MUSIC. (a) Theoretical—Composing, Editing, Adapting. (b) Practical—In the Church, in the Choir, as Organist, in Oratory, Concerts for the Poor.

"7. THE PRODUCTION OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS. (a) Printing—Com-

posing, Press Work, Correcting for the Press. (b) Binding. (c) Lithography. (d) Engraving—On Wood, on Metal.

"8. CHURCH BUILDING, &c. (a) Making Designs. (b) Carving. (c) Working Altar Cloths, Vestments, Palls, Banners.

"9. BURIALS. (a) Arranging and Conducting. (b) Attending—of Members, of the Poor; as the Choir. (c) Managing Burial Clubs. (d) Tending Churchyards and Cemeteries. (e) Designing Memorials to the Departed.

"10. EMPLOYING AND PROCURING WORK FOR (a) Distressed Persons. (b) School Children. (c) Penitent Women. (d) Youths in Guild Societies and Clubs.

"11. ORGANIZING AND ASSISTING TO WORK (a) Clothing Clubs. (b) Penny Banks. (c) Book Clubs. (d) Parochial Libraries. (e) Reading Rooms. (f) Bible, Prayer Book, and Tract Depôts. (g) Depôts for Religious Works. (h) Societies for Discovering and Relieving the Distressed. (i) Church Building and Endowment Societies. (j) Missionary Societies. (k) Orphan Houses. (l) Dispensaries. (m) Reformatory Schools. (n) Penitentiaries—Refuges, Houses of Amendment. (o) Clubs for Young Workmen. (p) Dormitories. (q) Schools—Existing, Required. (r) Meetings for Foreign Missions, Home Missions, Church Defence. (s) Sewing Classes. (t) Soup Kitchens. (u) Mothers' Meetings. (v) Penny Readings. (x) Dinners for Destitute and Sick.

"12. PUBLIC SPEAKING. (a) In Friendly Meetings. (b) In Hostile Meetings.

"13. LECTURES. (a) To Artisans. (b) To the Young. (c) Against Atheism and Infidelity.

"14. DEVOTIONAL ASSISTANCE. (a) Regular and Reliable Attendance—At Church, in the Oratory. (b) Readiness to Receive the Holy Communion with the Sick. (c) Acting as Sponsors for the Children of the Poor. (d) Promoting Religious Retreats and Devotional Exercises. (e) Confirmation Classes. (f) Bible Classes. (g) Serving at the Altar. (h) Acting as Sacristan. (i) Attendant at Font.

"15. ACTIVE ASSISTANCE. (a) Writing Letters. (b) Transacting Business. (c) Keeping Accounts for—(d) Giving Professional Advice to—the Clergy, the Poor, Religious and Charitable Societies. (e) Collecting Funds for the Distressed.

"16. NURSING THE SICK POOR. (a) In Hospitals. (b) Convalescent Homes. (c) Their own Houses. (d) Assisting to Train Nurses.

"17. HOSPITALITY. (a) To Travelling Brethren. (b) To Poor Clergy. (c) To Foreign Churchmen. (d) Receiving and Educating Orphans.

"AND WHATSOEVER ELSE MAY TEND TO PROMOTE THE GLORY OF
THE MOST HIGH."

A Directory of the Guild for 1867—8 enables us to form some estimate of the extent of the operations. There are, it would seem, besides the Provost and the Warden, 6 Provincials, 13 Masters and Assistant-Masters, 34 Brethren, 63 Fellows, 33 Probationers, 52 Male and Female Lay Associates, 150 Church Associates (including the Bishop of Dunedin and Bishop Tozer), 40 Scattered Lay Associates (male and female), and 32 Members of Associated Guilds. I am informed that about 70 names have been added in various ways since the publication of this list. The Monthly Paper of the Guild which bears "Church Work" as its chief title, has been in circulation for twelve

years. It indicates the existence of Brotherhoods of various kinds in different parts of England, of St. Peter at Exeter, of St. Barnabas at Leeds, of St. Cuthbert at Newcastle. There are Members and Associates working in New Zealand, Madras, and other British possessions. We read of an order of the Holy Redeemer, the Prior of which proposes to revive the "friar" life, the life of the Mendicant Orders, in its completeness.

It would not be difficult to single out many features of the action of this Guild, and its associated Brotherhoods, as subjects either for ridicule or declamation. The contrast between the vastness of conception and the poverty of results, the tendency to masquerade the activities of the nineteenth century under the names, circumstances, and dress of the thirteenth, are calculated, on the one hand, to provoke a smile. The presence, on the other, of the names of leading "Ritualists," Dr. Littledale, Mr. Gresley, Mr. Nugee, among the Clerical Associates, the stress laid upon the duty of "freeing the Church from the influence of the State," of "opposing Latitudinarianism" as well as Rationalism and Infidelity, upon the "restoration of reverent Ritual," such as "has given to the Church of St. Philip, Clerkenwell,* that truly Christian appearance which so distinguishes it from the surrounding sister Churches of Islington," the prominent place assigned in Church Work, to "working altar cloths and *Vestments*,"—all this might supply material for declamation against the Guild, as part and parcel of the scheme which aims at bringing back Mediæval Romanism upon the Protestantism of England. The Clergy might be called on to denounce it as dangerous, Bishops urged to do the "something" for which alarmists always clamour, to stop its progress, young men warned against any kind of connexion with it. I have no wish to take my place among the sneerers or denouncers. I can well believe that it has enlisted many laymen in active service which has been fruitful in good for themselves and others. I find nothing in its constitution, or mode of action, which goes beyond the limits of the freedom that may legitimately be claimed by members of the Church of England. It is right to add, as more direct evidence, that the formal statement of the objects of the Guild includes a protest against "the jurisdiction claimed by the Bishop of Rome," as well as against the interference of the State, that the language in which the Supper of the Lord is spoken is free, so far as I have seen, from the admixture of distinctively Romish phraseology, that the action of the Guild and its Brotherhoods in undertaking decent and reverent burial for the poor, while aiming at "imparting to them a character of cheerful faith and hope,"

* The passage refers to the state of St. Philip's under its late incumbent, the Rev. W. R. Wroth.

"laying the dead to rest with the voice of solemn song and praise, and with the sign of salvation upon coffin and pall,"* does not ostensibly contemplate any direct revival of Prayers for the Dead, still less any assertion of the Romish doctrine which was at once a development and a corruption of that primitive practice.

There are, however, some points in the constitution and action of the Guild of St. Alban's which call for notice, as at least somewhat hazardous in themselves, and likely, should its operations ever be much extended, to be productive of serious evils. (1) Although it is formally stated that the members of the Guild "owe obedience to the Bishop of the Diocese, *especially* when acting with his clergy in Synod," (especially, i.e., *when a condition is satisfied, the fulfilment of which is sure to be exceptional and remote*;) there is no trace of any desire to place the action of the Guild in any degree under Episcopal sanction or guidance. Its members may work independently of the Bishop; they are sent, and are removable, not by him, but by the Provost. Though they profess to work "under the direction and with the sanction of the Parochial Clergy," and naturally gather round the churches of such clergymen as sympathize with them, yet there are many modes of action pointed out by them which might be carried on irrespective of such sanction, and without the safeguard, where it was wanting, of the approval of the Ordinary. (2) This independence of Episcopal authority tends, it would seem, to go further. The members of the Guild are pledged to take a definite line on most of the great questions that affect the relations between the Church of England and the State, on the Final Court of Appeal, on the independence of the National and Colonial Churches, on the Law of Divorce, on Marriage with a deceased Wife's Sister. But these are the very questions on which the most thoughtful and well-balanced minds among the Bishops of the Church find it impossible to arrive at entire agreement, and the result is that the Guild directs the action of its members *against* the Bishops whose judgment on these matters it disapproves, rallies round the Bishop of Capetown at every stage of his proceedings, and, in its Monthly Paper, attacks the Bishop of London in language as unseemly as that which usually characterizes religious newspapers. (3) It is obvious that this union of independence of action, and strong assertion of what are called Church principles, and "revival of Catholic ritual," may make the Guild rather a troublesome body, even in the parishes where its members have

* This seems, as in many similar associations in Italy and Spain, to be a specially favourite form of activity. It deserves, I think, within due limits, all sympathy and respect, as a protest on the one side against the tasteless and heartless routine which we have allowed undertakers to establish with an undisputed sovereignty in the burial of the rich; and, on the other, against the mean brutality which too often accompanies the burial of the poor.

rendered most effective service. They have brought, *e.g.*, under one Incumbent the work and worship of the parish to their own standard. Another comes who belongs to a different school, or to a different shade of opinion and practice in the same. Instead of finding laymen willing to work heartily with him, he is brought face to face with a concerted action, like that of a Trades' Union. Pressure is put upon him to keep up vestments, lights, incense, and the like; and on his hesitating or refusing, he is threatened with a general strike. It becomes a point of honour with the Brothers, even if no orders are issued from the Provost, to stick close together, and the Incumbent finds himself with an empty choir, and, it may be, with deserted night schools and unvisited poor.

I may seem to have dwelt at too great length on the rules and working of an association which is after all obscure and unimportant. But, as has been said, it supplies a type of what a numerous and active section of the Church contemplate in the direction of lay work. It has grown and spread through many parts of England, and appears to have considerable vitality. Some examination of it was necessary in order that we might better appreciate the character and claims of the body which I have selected as the representative example on the other side.

II. The Association of Lay Helpers for the Diocese of London is of more recent origin than the Guild. It took its rise in 1865 as one of the outgrowths of the noble movement of the Bishop of London's Fund. It was organized chiefly by the Rev. W. F. Erskine Knollys, one of the Bishop's chaplains. It numbers about one hundred and sixty lay members. It works entirely under the sanction of the Bishop, and its main purpose is to strengthen the parochial system by distributing lay help to the incumbents who most need it. It does not affect the titles or other characteristics of mediæval work. It is directed by a working committee of clerical and lay members. It draws its members from men of all classes and all parties; having on its register some of the most conspicuous members of the Guild of St. Alban's, who have come with hearty loyalty and been received without distrust, and men like Mr. Cadman, Mr. Moorhouse, Mr. Oakley, Mr. Kempe, who are as far as possible from any sympathy with the so-called Ritualistic school. If it does not map out the various spheres of activity in which laymen can exercise their office and ministry in the Church of God with the minuteness of the Guild, it will be admitted that what it does specify furnishes ample scope for all "diversities of gifts" and varieties of individual character. The range of work thus suggested is as follows:—

"I. SUNDAY WORK.

- "1. Teaching or superintendence of Sunday Schools, seeking out children

who do not go to School, conducting Special Morning Services for younger children, also Evening Services for children generally.

"2. Conducting Bible Classes for young men, also classes for children or others held at the teacher's own house.

"3. Systematically visiting the poor and sick for religious conversation and instruction, both at their own homes and at Hospitals and Workhouse Infirmaries.

"*4. Conducting or assisting at services for the poor in School and Mission Rooms, and in the open air.

"*5. Attending and taking part at religious discussions among the working classes.

"6. Distributing tracts in the streets and parks, and also from house to house.

"7. Assisting at Church Services as members of choirs, by reading the Lessons, or by attending to the comfortable seating of the poor.

"8. Seeking out the unbaptized, encouraging the newly-confirmed to come to Holy Communion, inducing the poor to attend Church.

" II. EVENING WORK.

"1. Teaching in Night and Ragged Schools.

"2. Management of Working Men's Clubs and Youths' Institutes, assistance at popular Lectures, Penny Readings, and other means of recreation.

"3. Attendance at Penny Banks, Clothing Funds, and School and Parochial Libraries.

"4. Visiting the poor, either generally or in a defined district, the families in which shall be considered especially under the care of the visitor.

"*5. Assisting in and conducting Services in School and Mission Rooms, and the open air.

"6. Assisting in Church Services as above, also practising Church and School Choirs.

" III. DAY WORK.

"1. Visiting the poor and sick as above.

"2. Collecting and canvassing for Funds for Parochial and Mission purposes.

"3. Acting as Secretaries to Parochial Institutions and Religious and Charitable Societies.

" IV. GENERAL WORK.

"Endeavouring by personal influence and exertions to further the cause of Lay Agency, so as to strengthen the hands of those already labouring in the work, and encourage others to follow their example."

It is added that the work thus suggested is to be done with the sanction, and under the direction of, the parochial clergy, and that those sections to which an asterisk (*) is prefixed require the *special* sanction of the Bishop.

It is, of course, obvious to all who know anything of the Church's work in London, that this represents but a very small section of what is done by laymen. If it affected the same organization as the Guild, it too might seem to be diminutive, almost microscopic, in the range of its activity. But the mode in which the Association has started on its course and thus far grown is, I believe, encouraging. The

usual machinery of an organizing secretary, the committee of Noble and Right Reverend and Honourable names, the big meeting, the impassioned rhetoric of the platform, the flourish of trumpets in newspapers and magazines, these have been laid aside with the same simplicity and moderation which rejected the adscititious attractions of mediæval nomenclature, for the quieter, slower, and, I trust, surer work of gathering workers by twos or threes as they were willing to come in, bringing them into contact with each other, holding conferences on practical questions, such as the work of Sunday schools, youths' institutes, evening classes for young men, and the like. The number of such recruits, ready for actual work or already engaged in it, has steadily increased. Among those with whom I have come in contact as students in the Theological Department or the Evening Classes of King's College, London, I have found many who welcomed the opening for work thus presented to them. In proportion as it becomes more widely known, it will, we may hope, grow with an accelerated rate.*

There remains, however, the question which this Association hardly as yet attempts to answer, how this lay activity may best be organized and recognised; what names and functions should be assigned to the paid or unpaid labourers who are needed, if the Church is to cope with the great masses of poverty, vice, heathenism, which lie around her. The favourite scheme of many, as has been said already in this paper, is to fall back upon the precedents of former ages, and to re-institute an order of Sub-deacons or of Readers. In a paper of Suggestions by Archdeacon Hale (written in 1850, and reprinted in the collected edition of his Charges), it is proposed to have a special form of ordination for them, *without* imposition of hands. They are to be examined in Scripture and the doctrine of the Church, but not in Latin or Greek. They are not to baptize or assist in the distribution of the Holy Communion, or solemnize marriage, but they may read prayers, catechize, bury the dead, and preach in any oratory or place licensed for public worship. The plan thus suggested has been formally approved by the Lower House of Convocation in the following resolution, passed at the end of its session in 1865:—

“That this House, recognising the importance of encouraging Lay Agency, is of opinion that the spiritual wants of the Church would be most effectually

* I take this opportunity of mentioning here, rather than among the “Notices of Books,” a very interesting work by Mr. C. P. Bosanquet, the Honorary Secretary of this Association, on “London, its Growth, Charitable Agencies, and Wants.” (Hatchard, 1868.) It deals with many questions of public interest,—sanitary legislation, the equalization of poor-rates, the state of the working classes,—calmly and intelligently. Few books are more likely to interest young men in real Church work, and to raise them above the frivolities and disputes that often usurp the name.

met by the constitution of a distinct office, such as that of Sub-Deacon or Reader, as auxiliary to the sacred ministry of the Church."

So again the Bishop of Oxford announced at a diocesan conference in 1866, that the subject had occupied the attention of a large meeting of the Episcopate (including all the archbishops and many colonial prelates), and that "they had resolved (subject to the inquiry whether one point of this scheme could be carried out consistently with the Act of Uniformity) *that an Order of 'Readers' should be established* ('Lay Deacons' as a designation had been rejected), to be appointed without imposition of hands, and to labour in outlying districts, in ministering the word, &c." They were to wear the surplice, but were not to be addressed as "Reverend."

Hitherto, however, the scheme does not seem to have gone much further than the stage of resolutions upon paper. The Scotch bishops have indeed added to their canons (in 1863) one which authorizes "any bishop to appoint lay readers and catechists." The Bishop of Melbourne has issued a paper defining the duties of a Reader, and including in them that of reading prayers, with a *written* sermon, and baptizing in case of necessity; and says that he has thought it right to revive the order, even if he has not actually done so. The late Bishop of Rochester, in a circular dated January 1, 1867, expressed his warm sympathy with the project. One member only of the English Episcopate has cut the knot of this difficulty instead of waiting for a legal inquiry to untie it.* The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, with something of the same characteristic intrepidity that led him to protest against the "counsels of the timid or popular obstructiveness" which refuses to acknowledge that there are "errors, inaccuracies, misconceptions, obscurities," in the Authorized Version of the Bible,† has ventured on the appointment of a "Reader" in the Church of England (for the first time for a century or more), and has drawn up and used a special form of service for such appointment.‡ From a printed circular by Mr. J. D. T. Niblett, the "Reader" so appointed, dated September, 1866, it appears that he is a M.A. of Oxford, a gentleman

* See an interesting paper on the whole subject of Lay Agency, read by Earl Nelson at the York Meeting of the Church Congress.

† Preface to the Pastoral Epistles, p. xiii.

‡ See Lord Nelson's paper at the York Congress *at supra*. It would be interesting to find out when the last "Reader" was appointed before the lapse or suspension of the order in the Church of England. The Act 3 Edward VI. (1549-50) enacts that the Ordination Services "to be drawn up by six prelates and *six other men* (laymen?) *of this realm*," shall include archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons, and *other ministers of the Church*," but remained, as our Prayer-Book shows, a dead letter, as far as the last clause is concerned. Strype, in his "Annals," gives a declaration which they were called on to subscribe, consisting chiefly of promises of obedience, keeping to their place, and the like. Burn, in his "Ecclesiastical Law," iii. pp. 452, 453, states that "in this kingdom, in churches or chapels where there is a very small endowment, it hath been usual to admit Readers," but fails to give data or details.

of landed property, patron of two livings, and anxious to devote himself personally to this form of ministerial work. He undertakes school services and cottage lectures, reading the order of morning and evening prayer, with the exception of the Absolution and with other abbreviations. His work is entirely unpaid.

I do not know whether any other appointment has been made in the same diocese, nor whether the example has been followed by any other bishop, nor whether the legal questions hinted at by the Bishop of Oxford as to the *status* and functions of such Readers or Sub-deacons—(it is singular that in almost all the discussions on the subject, the two orders, which in the Eastern and Western Churches are quite distinct, are treated as if they were identical, and the terms synonymous)—have yet been solved, or are on their way towards a solution. But it is clear, I think, that this is a step in the right direction, and I welcome it all the more because it is an example of lay work thus recognised, done without payment by a man in the “upper-middle” stratum of society. The risk in all schemes like that suggested by Archdeacon Hale and approved by the Lower House of Convocation is that they tend simply to organize an inferior type of labour, to invest the class which we may speak of without offence as the City Missionary or Scripture Readers’ class, with a little more authority. And it is clear that whatever such men may be and do (and I hold them in all honour), they cannot socially take a position which will give them influence with any but the poor. They are not likely to be accepted as preachers by any but the untaught. If they are forbidden to engage in other callings for their maintenance, their income from the Church’s funds must necessarily be narrow, and unless we adopt the perilous expedient (which some seem not to shrink from) of reviving a rule of celibacy, they will be oppressed with small anxieties. If they are allowed to work for their livelihood (the truer, more primitive, more Apostolical course for them,* and, perhaps, not for them only), they are exposed to the risks (risks, indeed, which energy, and faith, and charity can overcome) of being engrossed with its cares, its interests, its rivalries. What we want is a revival of the practice of the Apostolic and succeeding ages, which recognised the diversity of gifts bestowed by God upon the members of His Church, and tried to apportion to every man his work according to that diversity. We surely fail in that apportionment when we limit the work of lay helpers of high culture and commanding gifts of speech to the task of teaching children in Sunday schools, or making speeches on plat-

* St. Paul’s work as a tent-maker is, of course, a case in point. But it may be noticed further (1), that the rules in 1 Tim. iii. 3, and Titus i. 7, while they forbid discreditable, imply honourable occupations; and (2), that in the so-called “Statutes of the Ancient Church” (a collection of canons of the Church of Africa), it is expressly ordered (Can. li.—liii.), that the clergy should earn their livelihood by secular employment.—(Bruns. *Canones*, i. p. 146.)

forms, or sitting on committees. Let us see briefly how the matter stood in the better ages of the Church.

I note then (1) that in the constitution of the synagogue which served, in part at least, as the model after which that of the Apostolic Church was fashioned, the work of public teaching was irrespective of the priesthood. The sons of Levi had no precedence over the sons of Judah, as in Luke iv., or Benjamin, as in Acts xiii. Any householder or stranger, taught in the schools of Jerusalem, or not so taught, who was known to possess the power to speak "a word of exhortation," might be summoned to take his part in the Sabbath services.

(2) The picture of Apostolic worship in 1 Cor. xiv.,* the hints which meet us elsewhere (as in James iii. 1, 1 John iv. 1, Rom. xii. 6—8) clearly imply a like absence of limitation. The "prophet," the "teacher," the "evangelist," might or might not be also a bishop-presbyter, or deacon, and any prophet might speak at such meetings, and the Apostle exhorts them to "covet to prophesy," and tells them that they may *all* exercise their gifts in the Church, one by one, in due order and under necessary regulations. (3) The tendency of the ages that followed, embodied in the authentic, and yet more in the spurious, Ignatian Epistles, was, I need not say, towards drawing the lines of demarcation between the laity and clergy more deeply, but in this respect the old practice still lingered with remarkable vitality, even while the "minor orders" were gradually taking shape and rising into prominence in proportion as the more ancient and freer action of laymen was repressed.† The well-known story of Origen is a case in point. He, as a layman of known learning and skill in exposition, went to Cæsarea, and was invited by the bishops there to preach. True it was made the ground of a charge against them by Demetrius of Alexandria. But the form which the charge took is, by implication, not *against* but *in favour of* the general right of laymen to exercise their teaching functions even in the Church. His special offence was not that he taught, being a layman, but that he taught *when bishops were present*.‡ And the accused bishops,

* The exhortation of St. James that men were not to be "many teachers," implies that the function was *open* to laymen as well as to the bishop-elders of the Church. The words of St. John imply a freedom of utterance like that of 1 Cor. xiv. Those of St. Paul speak of the gift of teaching, as well as of prophecy, as given apart from office.

† So in like manner the function of exorcism, the treatment, in other words, of the insane, was at first exercised by any who had a special gift qualifying them for the work. It was not till the third or fourth century that the exorcists were formed into an order.—(Bingham, *Eccles. Antiq.*, iii. 4.)

‡ How little this affected the more general question is seen in the fact, that Augustine was the first Presbyter of the African Church who preached *in the presence of his Bishop*, and that this was looked on as a dangerous innovation.—(Bingham, *Eccles. Antiq.*, ii. 3, § 4.)

Alexander of Jerusalem, and Theoctistos of Cæsarea, defend themselves, in their turn, not with a plea of ignorance or exceptional circumstances, but by an appeal to the common law of the Church. They knew the custom, even in the form of which Demetrius complained, to prevail at Iconium and other Asiatic Churches; they believed that it prevailed elsewhere. It was reasonable for them to suppose that it would be recognised even in Alexandria.* (4) In Western Africa, too, we find the practice existing, and placed under limitations which at once sanction it and guard it against abuse. In the fourth Council of Carthage (the canons of which form the *Statuta Ecclesiæ Antiquæ* already referred to, the name indicating that they were looked upon as setting forth the general practice of the Church), we find, with the name of Augustine among the subscriptions to its laws, the rule:—

“Laicus, præsentibus clericis, nisi ipsis jubentibus, docere non audeat.”
—(C. 98.)

A layman, *i.e.*, might teach (1) in the absence of the clergy, or (2) in their presence, with special leave and license. Another of the canons of the same Council alike limited and sanctioned the teaching work of women in the same way:—

“Mulier, quamvis docta et sancta, viros in conventu docere non præsumat.”

They too, *i.e.*, might teach their own sex and children publicly; they might even teach men, as Miss Marsh has done in our own time, provided it were not in the public meeting-place of the congregation.

These are the chief authorities. A few details may be added that are not without interest. (1) It is noted as among the exceptional customs of the Alexandrian Church, that the office of Reader might be filled even by an unbaptized catechumen.† If the gift were there it might be used to God's glory and the edifying of the Church, even though the man who possessed it had not as yet been brought within the visible fold of Christ. (2) The Commentary of the Pseudo-Ambrose on Eph. iv. recognises that at the commencement of the Church's work “*Omnibus concessum est et evangelizare, et baptizare et scripturas in Ecclesiâ explanare*,” the restrictions of the Church organization of the writer's time being an after-growth. In the so-called Apostolic Constitutions, which undoubtedly represent the general practice of the Church in the third and fourth centuries, we find the law that “if any man, though a layman, is skilful in expounding doctrine, and of venerable manners, he may be allowed to teach” (viii. 32). So too in the “Shepherd” of Hermas (iii. 8),

* Eusebius, Hist. Eccl., vi. 19.

† Socrates, Hist. Eccl., v. 22.

the chief stones in the mystical temple of the Lord are said to "bishops, teachers, and deacons:" the teachers, *i.e.*, are named a distinct class, not necessarily identical, generally distinct from two orders of the ministry. It is clear too, from the description of the work of the Prophets in Book II. Comm. 11, that the New Testament idea of their work was still a living reality. The prophetic office depended not on the episcopate or the diaconate, but on a gift which came and went, which was given to the man who was "meek and peaceable and humble, content with fewer wants than those of other men." When such a man, "having the Divine Spirit," comes into an assembly of righteous men, and they offer up prayer to God, then . . . the man, being filled with the Holy Spirit, speaks to the multitude as the Lord wishes." It is clear, translating these words into the facts which they represent, that they bring before us a state of things in which, as at Corinth, any good man taught of God was looked on as entitled to speak a word of counsel, comfort, admonition to the Church.

At the Reformation, as we have seen, it was in contemplation to extend the ministerial work of the Church, with distinct offices and appointment, beyond the orders of bishops, priests, and deacons. The intention remained unfulfilled; and the legislative action of the Anglican Church has been, on the whole, restrictive as to lay activity, acting on the policy of suspicion and distrust. Even the Puritan party found fault at the Hampton Court Conference with the language of Art. XXIII., as not rigid enough. By declaring it not to be lawful "for any man to take upon himself the office of public preaching or ministering the sacraments *in the congregation*," that Article, they said, implied the lawfulness of such ministrations *not in the congregation*.* With a few exceptions, which Dean Stanley has brought together in his pamphlet on Church and State, the admission of preachers not episcopally ordained by Act 13 Eliz. c. 12, and the exemption of ministers ordained in Foreign Reformed Churches from the penal enactments of the Act of Uniformity, the whole current of legislation till within the few years has been against extending to laymen any share in the public services of the Church, either as readers or teachers. The Act of 52 Geo. III. c. 155, while it repealed some of the most arbitrary restraints on the worship of Nonconformists, forbade a congregation of more than twenty persons, in addition to the family of the master of the house, unless the building in which they were assembled was registered "for the worship of Protestants" in the Bishop or Archdeacon's Court, or at the Quarter Sessions; and this clause was brought into play (as was stated in the debates in the House of Lo-

* Cardwell, "History of Conferences," p. 179.

on the Religious Worship Bill in 1855) more than once, to prevent meetings for prayer and exposition of Scripture in the houses of noblemen and gentlemen. Even Mr. Wilberforce had been threatened with it. In 1855 another "Places of Worship Registration Act" was passed, and this made it lawful for any man to hold meetings (18 & 19 Vict. c. 81) for religious worship in any building for congregations of any denomination, or for those who "object to be designated by any distinctive appellation." Legally, therefore, under this Act, though a clause was inserted exempting all churches and chapels of the United Church of England and Ireland from its operations, it is in the power of any layman, and therefore of any lay member of the Church of England, to open any meeting for religious worship, and to conduct that worship in any form he pleases. He is liable only to ecclesiastical censures, and it is not easy to bring any but the clergy under their penal operation. The result has been in more than one notorious instance, in the diocese of London and elsewhere, that chapels have been opened by unordained persons, with a service so exactly counterfeiting that of the Church of England as to mislead the unwary, and there is no power to restrain it. In the same year another and more important Act was passed, which bears upon and recognises the work of laymen in conducting worship within, and according to the order of, the Established Church.

The interference of the incumbent of St. Michael's, Burleigh Street, with the special services held in Exeter Hall, the probable interference of other clergy with those which were held in some theatres and elsewhere, drew the attention of men whose sympathies were with these less regular modes of bringing the Gospel to the ears of those who were not likely to receive it through the ordinary channels. They felt the necessity of modifying the law which put it in the power of the parochial clergy to stop them altogether. The result was a somewhat curious game at cross purposes, seeming misadventure, and ultimate, but, perhaps, undesigned emancipation. On June 12th, 1855, Lord Shaftesbury brought in a Bill for the repeal of the Act 52, Geo. III. c. 155, which was then still in force. He admitted that it had practically been allowed to remain, for the most part, as a dead letter, but contended that it might at any time be made use of to stop the meetings for worship held in connexion with the London City Mission, in ragged schools, and the like, and even cottage and school-room services conducted by the incumbent of a parish. The Bishop of London stated that it had been agreed at a meeting of the bishops to oppose the Bill, and asked, at all events, for a clause to prevent any clergyman from officiating in such meetings for worship as the Bill proposed to sanction, without the

authority of the bishop of the diocese. The Lord Chancellor admitted that the law required alteration, and that 52 Geo. III. c. 155, applied, *though not intentionally, to services which were held within their own parishes by clergymen of the Church of England.* The second reading was carried by a majority of one—thirty-one against thirty—and on June 14th Lord Shaftesbury pledged himself to introduce a clause such as had been asked for. It seems, however, to have been understood that the Episcopal opposition to the Bill would be carried on more energetically, and Lord Derby, on July 6th, instructed by the Select Committee to which it had been referred, brought in another Bill, in the hope, apparently, that it would be accepted on both sides as a compromise. He, too, was ready to admit that there was a real grievance in the law as it stood, and proposed that no penalty should attach to any layman holding meetings for worship with the concurrence of the clergyman of the parish, or *if that concurrence were refused, by the consent of the bishop of the diocese.* He would not object, even, to a clause permitting a layman to hold such meetings without the consent of either, provided that they were held not in any public building, but in a dwelling-house, and did not assume the character of *public* worship. In the course of the debate Lord Shaftesbury objected to the Bill as giving too little liberty, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who took his stand on the twenty-third Article, urged that both Bills should be withdrawn, as giving too much, and the result seemed likely to be a failure. Lord Derby acted on the suggestion at once. Ultimately, however, the former Bill with some modifications was carried rapidly through both Houses at the end of the Session, and became law as the 18 & 19 Vict. c. 86. This Act has, if I mistake not, an important bearing on the question of lay services.* It recites three restrictive Acts of 1 William and Mary, Sess. 1, c. 18, 52 Geo. III. c. 155, and 15 & 16 Vict. c. 36, and then proceeds to enact that nothing in the Acts so recited shall apply

"To any congregation or assembly for religious worship held in any parish or any Ecclesiastical district, and conducted by the incumbent, or in case the incumbent is not resident, by the curate of such parish or district, or by any person authorized by them respectively."

This, it is clear, gives the parochial system of the Church the fullest possible elasticity. It is not necessary that the "person authorized" should be in Holy Orders. The titles, Sub-deacon and Reader, are all but unknown to English legislation. Modern Acts of Parliament ignore them altogether. The "person" may officiate as a layman pure and simple. If, on the other hand, any man

* I wish to acknowledge my obligations to my friend Mr. Julius A. Pearson for having called my attention to the Act referred to, and its bearing on the points at issue, as well as to other information connected with the subject of this paper.

chooses to throw himself altogether outside the parochial system, he may (as Lord Granville said in one of these debates), "open any place of meeting for worship anywhere on payment of the registration fee of half-a-crown."

We see, then, that services of some kind, conducted by laymen with the consent of the incumbent or curate, are distinctly lawful. The question has been put, What services? May a layman read all that a deacon reads in church or chapel, and preach a sermon? And, if not, where is the line of demarcation to be drawn? The answer to this question is not, I believe, difficult, either theoretically or practically. (1) It can hardly be assumed that it was the intention of the legislature to *compel* the incumbent in such cases to sanction a service approximating more or less to that of Nonconformists, to make mutilation, the omission of creed, or collect, or psalm, or lesson, a *condition* of legality. He is clearly *at liberty* to authorize a layman to read all that is not specifically appropriated in the Prayer-Book to a *priest*.* (2) Happily, however, the Act of Uniformity does not extend beyond "cathedrals, collegiate or parish churches, and chapels," and there is, therefore, in such "outside" services, a liberty on the other side.† Prayers may be omitted, lessons altered or abridged, prayers not in the Book of Common Prayer, written or unwritten, may, if the incumbent think fit, be introduced without the risk of any proceedings in ecclesiastical or civil courts. (3) The instance of Bishop Ellicott's solitary Reader is a case in point. In the eyes of the law which, as I have said, knows nothing of that office, he is a layman, and nothing more; and he, in the account which he gives of the services which he conducts with the bishop's sanction, describes himself as "omitting, of course, the Absolution and such other portions of the ritual as belong more especially to the priestly office," and as "leaving out other portions also." He claims, that is, the twofold freedom for which I have contended, of giving all but the specially priestly portions, or of selecting at discretion.

* Even this limitation is made with the reserve that as the Deacon is not in practice debarred from using *some* portions of the Morning or Evening Prayer which are assigned to the Priest, *e.g.*, the Suffrages after the Creed and the Lord's Prayer in the Litany, so neither would the layman.

† As I read the Act, section i. prohibits any deviation from the Book of Common Prayer by "*all who officiate*" in "cathedrals, churches, and chapels." Section 2 narrows the scope of restrictions as regards persons to "all and singular *ministers*," and enlarges it as regards places to "other places of public worship." The result is that the "persons" who are not "ministers" are not restricted as to the "other places." I do not say this was intended, but it seems to me a legitimate, if not a necessary inference from the variation in the terms employed, and from the sanction given by recent legislation to meetings for public worship in such "other places" conducted by laymen. If, on the other hand, this interpretation is rejected, then it follows that the Act of Uniformity and 18 & 19 Vict. c. 86 taken together, *require* the officiating layman to read *all* that a Deacon reads in church.

It may be worth while to note also, by way of precedent, that he, "having been requested by authority," officiates in his M.A. gown and hood.

Believing, as I do, that it will be the wisdom of the Church of England in this critical period of her history, (with the certainty, if she wastes her strength in miserable disputes between a Ritualism fantastic and reactionary, and a Protestantism ungenerous and unjust, and so fails to keep the ground which she at present holds, of having to face the ordeal which now lies before the Church of Ireland,) at once to stimulate, recognize, and organize the teaching-activity of laymen, I welcome all legislative changes, such as those I have traced, which make that organization more easy. I look with thankfulness on the substantial agreement in this respect of men who represent such different types of churchmanship as the Bishop of London and Archdeacon Hale, the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol and Dean Stanley, Lord Shaftesbury and Lord Nelson, on the practical sanction given to meetings for worship held by laymen in the diocese of Gloucester, in the single instance referred to, and on the special mention of this form of activity in the programme of the Association of Lay Helpers in the Diocese of London. It would, I believe, be one of the best signs of promise for the future stability and expansion of the Church if, not the Scripture-reader class only or chiefly, but men of culture and position and intellectual power were to throw themselves for their Master's sake into this work. I would fain hope that the time may come (though this, it may be, is reserved for a more distant future) when the door will be thrown open yet wider, and the practice of the ancient Church be restored, and the gifts of laymen who have the power to teach exercised in the congregation. It would not be difficult to provide all necessary safeguards against any breach of ecclesiastical order, by requiring testimonials and examinations, and making the licenses to preach depend, as the licenses of the clergy do now, on good conduct and soundness in the faith. Nor would it be the least advantage of such a system that it would enable us to recognize as *teachers* many whom the Church's law forbids us to recognize as *clergy*, and so to enlist in the Church's work those who are unwilling from one motive or another to seek episcopal ordination, while yet they would not refuse to place their teaching functions under episcopal direction. In this way, indirectly, and by leaving as open questions points that have hitherto rendered joint action impossible, it might be in our power to bridge over the chasm which divides us from the Nonconformist bodies in our own country, and from the Reformed Churches of the Continent. Our lost unity might be at least partially restored.

E. H. PLUMPTRE.



MR. GLADSTONE'S POSITION.

MR. GLADSTONE is now the central political figure in the country, and on the eve of a great constitutional struggle and a general election which, independently of any particular results, must remain a constitutional landmark in our history, a general survey of the position of the man who, above other men, has precipitated the constitutional crisis in which we now are, must interest most readers.

It may be thought that, to state broadly at the threshold of the subject that Mr. Gladstone is now the central political figure in the country, is rather begging the question. Many people—and not a few of my own friends—will tell me with a smile that they thought Mr. Disraeli, not Mr. Gladstone, was, on the whole, the central political figure at the present moment. Let it be granted that Mr. Disraeli, owing to his position as Prime Minister, occupies a more prominent position in the foreground. It is not upon him that the quiet and expectant attention of the country is fixed. For who, on the death of Lord Palmerston, without the loss of a moment, made Reform a necessity? I presume, Mr. Gladstone. Who resigned office rather than permit a measure of the utmost moderation to be turned into a nullity and a stop-gap to all Reform? Was it not Mr. Gladstone? Who compelled the Conservatives, after vehemently echoing Mr. Lowe's cry of "No Reform," to bring in a Reform Bill themselves with the very cry upon

their lips? Surely, Mr. Gladstone. (And I do not for a moment forget Mr. Bright, and the much-maligned—most unjustly maligned—Mr. Beales.) Who, when Mr. Disraeli and Lord Derby found themselves compelled, by the fatal *vis à tergo*, to commence their journey downhill towards that dreadful plain “where every ant’s-nest is a mountain, and every thistle a forest-tree,” and they devised all that craft could invent and subtlety design to hoodwink the political world, and convert an extension of the suffrage into a diminution of popular rights; who compelled them to swallow all their professions, and to concede a larger measure than they had rejected the day before with scorn and insult and calumny?—the very men, too, who, in the words of Mr. Mill, had cried halves for the whole, and then cried halves for the remainder? Was it not Mr. Gladstone? At least, so Lord Cranborne said, in that celebrated speech of his, in which he went through the well-known “ten points.” But I hear my reader telling me that my style is rhetorical, and my temper not the judicial temper; and I am told that there is Mr. Kebbel, for instance, a very judicially-minded man, who has just been looking at a good many statesmen—Mr. Gladstone among the number—through a highly achromatic glass, and Mr. Kebbel says, with calm superiority, that “it was bad management which wrecked the Reform Bill of 1866, and it was good management which saved the Reform Bill of 1867.” Well, that is a style which, perhaps, can be imitated. Let me try: “It was the constitutional honour of Mr. Gladstone which surrendered office in 1866, but refused to surrender the reality of popular right under the colour of a false success; and it was the generalship of Mr. Gladstone which converted the Bill of 1867 from a Conservative Hoax into a Popular Bill, and permitted Mr. Disraeli to cover the destruction of his party with the ignominious mantle of a sham victory.” No: I see I cannot imitate Mr. Kebbel. A colourless style and mechanical injustice are no compensation, in my eyes, for the absence of truth—no pledge of either a judicial mind or sincere impartiality. Is it not astonishing, at this time of day, when Mr. Gladstone is in a position to dictate nine-tenths of everything which Mr. Disraeli does or leaves undone, to hear—not party journalism fighting a hopeless cause with desperate unconcern, like my friend the *Standard*—but a man who professes high judicial impartiality, and is praised for it, accusing Mr. Gladstone calmly of bad management? Bad management in what? In not passing a Reform Bill in 1866? But was it bad management to give up the reins of a refractory team to make the coachman drive where you bid him? “Oh! but that was not Mr. Gladstone’s intention. He did not want to go *so far*.” “Indeed! Then you proclaim Mr. Gladstone’s ‘honour’—not his ‘mismanagement’—and you establish it to have

been the calumny of his enemies, who represented him as wanting to introduce the thin end of the wedge only to further what were then called his 'sinister designs.' " How can any honest man get out of this dilemma? Either Mr. Gladstone has succeeded in his secret aims—and then, whatever may be said of his motives, little can be said against his management—or Mr. Gladstone preferred his political honour to the mere management of Parliament; and, if so, the less said about his mismanagement the better (by honest men).

And here it is impossible not to pause for a moment and to reflect upon the very prevalent views afloat among politicians and in society concerning the relative capacity for management of Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone. In a great, a free, a constitutional country, is there not something melancholy in the praise we hear lavished on all sides upon tactics, which, after all, can only be compared to political thimblerrigging, and which differ only from the back-stair intrigues of the worst despotic court, by being, in fact, only not back-stair intrigues, but unblushingly public, and when most condemned, paradoxical as it may seem, most applauded? Can it be that the English nation is so deeply, so widely, politically-minded, that political sleight-of-hand extorts the admiration of politicians of all shades, and insures pardon—as conjuring and jugglery touch the imagination of ordinary men, and thieves and pickpockets admire extraordinary skill, even at the expense of their own pockets? I confess that I never hear of Mr. Disraeli's "management" without a sense of sickness and disgust. Talk to me of Mr. Disraeli's personal qualities, and I listen with respect and deference. Tell me of his noble ambition—if an ambition purely personal and not swallowed up in greater ends can be called noble—and I sympathize. Tell me of his faith in himself from early days, when in ragged devilry he wrote "Ixion," laughed the world to scorn, defied fate, and snapped his finger at the gods; tell me of his constancy, his patience, his genius (though I dislike the colour of his genius); tell me of his calm under ridicule, his almost impersonal independence of popularity, his cosmopolitan omniversality (for I admire that, even with the gipsy element of universal scorn and bedevilment); tell me all this, and I bow before a great personality.

But tell me of his marvellous management in the House of Commons, and all my admiration sickens (not at Mr. Disraeli's expense, but at the expense of his admirers). I have before me a copy of the *Times* of a few days ago. I read:—"The administration have covered themselves—with glory." "The most malignant demon could not have devised a greater humiliation than that which this unfortunate ministry have voluntarily taken upon themselves"—"consistent only in their admirable inconsistency." "They fought with

the greatest vehemence and with perfect justice against the Franchise Bill of Lord Russell's administration, because it was impossible that Parliament could assent to a measure which dealt only with one half, and that the less important half, of the problem of Reform. They were successful. They brought in a bill of their own. It was framed with strict regard to constitutional principles. It was such a measure as a constitutional party could approve, and none but a constitutional party could frame. Its leading features, which might have been carelessly forgotten by a nation not sufficiently alive to the strictly scientific and historical character of its construction, were pointed out with great care by Mr. Disraeli at Edinburgh last autumn, and reproduced with impudent emphasis by the same great statesman at the commencement of this session. Alas for his foresight! Mr. Disraeli must have known when he penned his first letter correcting Lord Russell, that every principle upon which he dwelt with so much satisfaction would be violated at his own instance before the session was over; yet he rushed into print as if his sole object were to impress on the nation the ease with which he could abandon his principles. The Scotch and Irish Reform Bills have scattered to the winds all the maxims he professed to hold essential. Last night saw the last pretence of constitutional consistency flung aside. 'The franchise must be based on rating;' the Scotch County Franchise has, without a division, been settled on another basis. 'No centre of representation should be abolished;' seven English boroughs have entirely disappeared, and it was proposed that some five or six Irish boroughs should be similarly suppressed. 'There must be a real Boundary Commission;' the elaborate recommendations of the Boundary Commissioners have been rejected, and in the case of all the boroughs, where the rectification of boundaries was material, no alteration whatever has been sanctioned. But the settlement of the Irish Reform Bill has conclusively disposed, not only of these glorious principles, but of much more. It was declared to be essential that the county representation should be considerably increased; no alteration in the county representation of Ireland has been adopted. The first and greatest principle of all upon which the educators of the constitutional party insisted was, that the measure of reform sanctioned by Parliament must be complete. This was the gist of Lord Stanley's 'unanswerable' speech. This was the secret of the accession of the present Government to power. On the very anniversary of its success it was contemptuously set aside. The Irish Reform Bill is now confessedly incomplete. The redistribution clause is postponed to a more fitting opportunity. The Government which obtains office because it had a just sense of the necessity of completeness in legislation—the Government whose chief

boast only the other day was that it had achieved the science of Reform, much as the Abbé Sièyes had achieved *la science de la politique*, has formally confessed its inability to overcome so small a difficulty as the redistribution of the Irish seats, and has withdrawn its redistribution proposals because they were so inadequate that they gave satisfaction to nobody. . . . The Conservative Ministry, having abandoned every part of their cargo piecemeal, and at last cut away their masts, are getting into harbour, where their crazy vessel may be broken up. *Everything has been lost, not excepting honour.* It is impossible not to feel some relief that the end is so near. The Chancellor of the Exchequer declared the other day that the position of the occupants of the Treasury Bench was not pleasant to themselves, and as this has been acknowledged, we may ask, to whom is it pleasant? Has any ministry ever held a similar position? The most charitable observer can discover no bond of union between them, except that they entered office at the same time, and are content to draw their salaries together. This is a spectacle of unity which is instructive, but it is purchased at a very high price. It is an 'awful dispensation,' that the constitutional party should be represented by a body of gentlemen who build up principles only to abandon them, and who repudiate with unruffled composure any professions, however loudly advanced, which may happen to become inconvenient."

I quote this passage because it expresses the tolerably exact opinion of nine-tenths of the country. And yet, in the face of this acknowledged ignominy, I hear politicians of all shades praising Mr. Disraeli for his wonderful management, and blaming Mr. Gladstone for his doleful mismanagement. If political ignominy is the special and lovely fruit of Parliamentary Management, save me from such a upas-tree. Far better live under the wholesome tree of Parliamentary Mismanagement, and feed upon substantial success, than be poisoned on sham victory.

But let me take another example—the Irish Church. I am not going into the merits of that threadbare subject. It is a subject upon which no two men of common sense and common humanity can possibly differ. I shall only use it as a test of Mr. Gladstone's management. It is a *multum in parvo*. Upon the question of the Irish Church Mr. Gladstone's triumph in the House of Commons this year has been complete. Now either he used the Irish Church as a stalking-horse for party purposes, or he acted upon sincere conviction. If he acted for party purposes, his success shows that management had nothing to do with it, but only the nature of the subject. In 1866 the Liberals were divided on the question of Reform, and agitation had not done its work. In 1868 the Liberals

were united upon the question of the Irish Church, and they followed Mr. Gladstone on that account. If so, what becomes of his mismanagement in 1866? Or take the other supposition. Suppose Mr. Gladstone to have been moved by honest conviction. How comes it that this ardent, honest, mismanaging statesman was supported, in spite of his honesty and temper, and want of tact, by majorities almost equal to the original Palmerstonian majority? In truth, it requires only a statement of the case to show the utter futility of the charge of mismanagement so constantly urged against Mr. Gladstone. To say that there are tricks, and tactics, and methods, to which he scorns to condescend, is true enough. Therefore, when I hear the praises on all sides bestowed upon Mr. Disraeli's "management," and skill, and parliamentary strategy, I am moved, not to admiration of Mr. Disraeli, but to pity for his admirers. A man, says Cicero, will often do things for his friends which he would scorn to do for himself. Certainly Mr. Disraeli has done things for his party which he would scorn to do for himself. I am sorry for his party.

Before I go further, there are two points which, in the face of a general election, deserve some attention. To those whose task, whether passionate or cold, it is to find some base motive still for every phase of Mr. Gladstone's conduct, it is waste of time to address myself. But for the sake of honest and puzzle-headed men who are bewildered by all the assertions they hear, and seem to lose their head and memory in the smoke of battle, amid all the different cries which salute them, it may be worth while to discuss two accusations which continue to be put mechanically forward against Mr. Gladstone without the shadow of an excuse. One relates to the question of Reform, the other to the Irish Church. Both are alike in their tenor, and both are alike unfounded—not to use a stronger word. It is the charge of recklessness and haste. No accusation was put forward with more anger in 1866 by anti-Reformers than that of Mr. Gladstone's "indecent haste" to press the question of Reform. No charge is more unjust. It was perfectly understood that Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party, properly so called, had consented for years to waive the question of Reform but only so long as Lord Palmerston's personal popularity should stop the way. Nothing is better known in political circles than the constant irritation and impatience which was expressed among the Liberals, especially the Oxford Liberals, at the obstructiveness of Lord Palmerston's influence. So far from the introduction of the Reform Bill in 1866 having been a party move, it was in fact but the tardy redemption of a long-deferred pledge. So again, and at the present moment, this is even more important; nothing can be more unfounded than to represent the

attack upon the Irish Church as a sudden inspiration for the sake of turning out the Government. I remember, of my own personal knowledge, that so early as three years before Lord Palmerston's death the leaders of the Liberal party looked upon the question of the Irish Church as likely to become a practical question at any moment, and that they were studying it diligently in all its bearings. And this is quite consistent with Mr. Gladstone's declaration, that he did not know *when* the question would turn up. At that time Fenianism was in the stage of early ridicule, and the momentous events which followed were not even dreamt of. But, even apart from this, how, after Lord Stanley himself so early as January last had stated publicly that the Irish question was the QUESTION OF THE HOUR; how, after Lord Mayo, in a speech of three hours, which appeared in the delivery almost to have cost him his life, had laid down a most elaborate policy of "creation" and "levelling up," as the remedy for the deplorable evils which he admitted; how it can be said, that Mr. Gladstone's conduct in opposing the Government policy was purely a party move in any other sense than that in which all parliamentary action is party action, it is difficult to see. We hear the stupid remark made from day to day, that Mr. Gladstone wanted office, and could not afford to stay out of office. And the very people who say so are those who laughed loudest when he resigned, in 1866, upon such a trifle as the vote of 70,000 workmen. The two cases, one would think, destroy one another. Do those who talk so persistently of Mr. Gladstone's need of office forget Lord Russell's evidence before the Committee of the House of Lords, when he stated that he was never in debt until he became prime minister? And is it not notorious that the salaries of the cabinet ministers are very inadequate to the performance of the duties thrust upon them?

On the whole, then, if there is any force in what I have urged, all that we hear about Mr. Gladstone's incapacity for parliamentary management arises either from confusion of thought or downright enmity. The accusation is groundless, although, like so many other false accusations, it has the tendency of repeating itself, even in the face of everything which can openly belie it. Nor can the charge of haste, and inconsistency, and insincerity, be better maintained. To say that Mr. Gladstone's opinions have changed since his youth, is only to say that he has slowly ripened in the service of the country until his tendencies and opinions, so far as they relate to legislative action, embody and reflect the tendencies and opinions of the vast preponderating majority. The man who has never changed an opinion is the man who never had an opinion to change. Mr. Disraeli is a far more consistent man than Mr. Gladstone. He is consistent and faithful to his bargain with his party

When he can educate them away from their own views he does so; when he cannot, he falls back upon Maundy Thursdays and similar clap-trap, and forsakes all his own convictions. And the man who twenty years ago described the Irish Church as the alien Church of an absentee aristocracy, who only a few weeks ago pronounced the main sentiment of that speech to be in his conscience right, is yet prepared to light up the dying embers of religious persecution, and to rouse the basest forms of religious fanaticism for the purpose of perpetuating an institution which he himself has utterly condemned, condemns in his innermost conscience at this moment, and knows, if any man in the world knows, to be the glaring monument of England's worst political crime and worst political blunder. I have not a word to say against Mr. Disraeli's personal honour. Those who think I assail that, mistake me utterly. No man in such a country as this could have risen to the position he now occupies without a personal honour above the shadow of a reproach. But I see in it the honour of the guerilla chieftain who, having made a romantic pact, adheres to it with chivalrous and romantic loyalty. I see none of those qualities which raise a statesman to the level of true patriotism, and enable him to sink party in the welfare of the nation. For patriotic purposes give me the inconsistencies of Sir Robert Peel or Mr. Gladstone.

Mr. Gladstone, then, is for many reasons the man towards whom all eyes in the coming crisis will be turned. He is the one man capable of holding the first position in the country whom the working classes will trust absolutely. They know that he was faithful and loyal to them in the day of small things, when his loyalty only exposed him to the ridicule of almost all but themselves; they know also that his has been no extorted loyalty, no pandering to popular passions, and that, so far as his own self-interest was concerned, he could have betrayed them, had he chosen to do so, and made his gain out of that as well as out of the course he adopted. They know that his loyalty to them arose from personal conviction and a general regard to the interest of the country. They know that if they are about to have household suffrage they owe it to his persistency and determination. On the other hand, they like him none the less because he has the ear of the educated classes, and can compete with the most highly cultivated on the ground of the highest cultivation. They like him none the less because he has gradually moulded his views to harmonize with the greatest welfare and the greatest freedom of the greatest number. They know, because they have seen, that he can throw up office sooner than betray their trust, and that, in the great questions which will arise concerning their interests, he will truckle to no one, either high or low, and bring to the task a mind of matured

experience, of the utmost capacity and subtlety, of the most curious adaptation of qualities for comprehending all the economical details which must be mastered before a truly national and satisfactory solution of the manifold problems involved between labour and capital can be obtained. They know that for these purposes nature, time, and circumstance have combined in Mr. Gladstone to fit and prepare a statesman to grapple with their difficulties, whom they would find in no other man in the country, and that to these special and peculiar faculties he adds a power of exposition and debate, of logic and eloquence, second probably to no man in the world. My reader smiles. Well, it is simply true. Deny it if you can. Mr. Disraeli has a fertile imagination, great powers of epigram, great histrionic faculties; but his business capacity, by those who know him most intimately, is known to be of the slenderest description—his scientific intellect *nil*. The power of the necromancer and the roving imagination of a god in disguise, loving to drape himself for himself in every adventurous drapery—for, as Ixion says, “adventures are to the adventurous”—that is not the character to which the country will look for the adjustment of the rival claims of labour and capital. “Remember,” Mr. Disraeli once wrote playfully to a friend in his youth, “my forte is sedition.” It was a joke, and yet, metaphorically, it is still true of him. If, during the last forty years, the Tories had not been in all things wrong, and in all things ever found resisting still, one might sympathize with them for having sold themselves into the hands of a man who, in the letter, has been absolutely faithful to them, but who, in the spirit, has been the instrument of their utter annihilation. If the irony of fate were not melancholy, one might almost smile to see the party who in all things always opposed progress finally stranded by the leader whom most of all they scorned, and who throughout, scorning them from the top of his universal genius, has slowly led them to destruction. It requires little spirit of prophecy to foretell that the next elections will know their place no more. Mr. Gladstone, with a Gladstonian parliament, will have very different cards to play from what Mr. Gladstone had with a Palmerstonian parliament. A few votes more or less for Government will make an infinitesimal difference. I hear people confidently predicting that, whatever majority Mr. Gladstone may have at the coming elections, he will have wasted it in a session. Does it ever occur to them to ask themselves, if so, how—even in a Palmerstonian parliament, and in the face of Mr. Disraeli's admirable management—Mr. Gladstone contrived to find majorities of fifty-four and sixty-five?

But if there cannot be a shadow of a doubt as to the view which the rank-and-file of the constituencies will take of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli's respective claims and capacities, on the other hand, there is

every reason to believe that the educated classes will, in time, see that Mr. Gladstone is not less truly their man than the man of the working classes. At no period have Mr. Gladstone's honour and dignity as a statesman stood on higher ground. His chivalrous resignation of office, and his general attitude since, have been beyond criticism. They may fear for the question of Church and State, but they know that if ever the connection of the Church of England with the State in England is endangered, its fate will depend upon causes beyond the reach of either Mr. Gladstone or any other statesman to control; whereas, in all the subjects respecting class interests, and the claims of civilization, property, and order, they will have a man in Mr. Gladstone who will stand by justice and right, who understands their views and shares their cultivation, who will never surrender truth to popular passion, and who will combine the advantage of having obtained the fullest measure of popular trust. It is in this happy alliance between perfect cultivation on the one hand, and perfect popularity on the other, that the key to Mr. Gladstone's future will, if he is spared, unquestionably be found.

Mr. Gladstone was much ridiculed for reminding Parliament that the working men were, after all, of the same flesh and blood as themselves. What led to the power of the clergy of the middle ages? Was it not their passionate zeal for the cause of the people?—their passionate yearning and striving in the twilight for the brighter light of civilization and every noble ideal, in the midst of a boozing, and fighting, and marauding barbarism, unawed by feudal tyranny or the savage elanship of wild beasts faithful to a stronger wild beast? And why have they lost it? Because, like so many other aristocracies, having become one, they have forgotten their early virtues, to hug the shadow of a power past recall, and in the worship of a shadow have lost their faith in their only talisman, "Excelsior," to fall in the mud of barren opposition under the wheels of their own Juggernaut, FINALITY. To them that gave had been given. They had fought the cause of the people and progress, the cause of their enlightenment, their education, their refinement; they had founded schools, were at the head of all the learning of the day; they had humbled themselves, sympathized with the lowly, and the more lowly the lowliest the more they yearned to raise him to a personal level with the highest. They taught him that his individuality was as precious in the eyes of God as that of the greatest emperor. They taught him that his virtues, if he cultivated them, his dignity, his self-respect, his self-control, his love of God, and his love of his neighbour, placed him on the same level with the proudest baron in the loftiest tower in the land. Sooner or later, a doctrine such as this, operating over so large an area, is sure to find many formulas. But none has embodied it in sublimer words than that of the cele-

brated Pascal: "If the whole universe," he said, "conspired to crush me I should be crushed; but I should be greater than the universe, for I should *know* that I was crushed—crushed by brute force." This was the doctrine which, so long as the priesthood acted upon it, gave them their power. So long as their policy was the *policy of elevation*, so long as they forgot themselves, and forgot their power, and were consumed with the desire to place all that was best within reach of the lowest in the land, so long a grateful crowd was never weary pouring power into their lap. The cup of their influence was filled to overflowing, till they got drunk, and forgot their talisman. Time has left them behind, and they have lost their cunning. But the lesson remains—and that is the lesson for the classes in power in this country to ponder.

We are, no doubt, on the threshold of a new state of things in this country, and of the adjustment of very momentous forces. There are those who think that the only hope of the country and of the propertied classes lies in some lucky chances of legislative tinkering, and that if we can only retain the services of bold and unscrupulous prestidigitators, we may weather the impending storm. That would be a base hope at best, if it were not so utterly idle. The only hope is in the radical reform, not of our legislation, but of the present *temper and ideas* of the middle and upper classes. What we want is the true and fundamental harmony of both ends of the political economy. What we want is a frank, full policy of confidence, and of absolute trust on the part of the upper classes. Upon them it devolves to prove, both in word and in deed without stint, that so far as they have any advantages over the million, however acquired, they hold those advantages, and confess that they hold those advantages, not as their inalienable property and prescriptive badge of ascendancy and superiority, but as trustees for the good of the million in particular, and the nation in general. And is it not plain from every indication, especially during the last few years, how far in every direction the upper classes have departed from such a spirit? What was their sympathy for the South, during the American struggle, but one great branch of that latent feeling, and secret aversion for the popular cause, which in Jamaica, where it thought itself hidden in a corner and sheltered from the public eye, whipped defenceless women with piano-wire for being black, and killed—killed? murdered—three hundred constitutional subjects of the realm when even what necessity there might have been was past? Was it not the same feeling which, throughout the whole of the Reform agitation in 1866, 1867, was never weary of sneering at the working classes? For what?—well, for pretty nearly everything in turn,—first, for their apathy, then for their agitation, now for their

stupidity, then for their ideas: at one time for being silly, at another for being dangerous, and at all times for being vulgar.

Vulgarity! That was the crying sin of the Reform agitation in the eyes of those who seemed all the while utterly unconscious that such an accusation on their part, levelled at those beneath them, was the most crushing proof they could give of their own vulgarity, moral and political. Well, it may be conceded that the working men of England are not modelled in form or behaviour on the pattern of Grecian gods or Spanish grandees. But I should like to ask those who lay such stress on the subject of the vulgarity of Reformers and their followers, what they themselves have ever done, or longed to do, to deliver those around them from the bondage of that dreadful thing, vulgarity? Have they striven tooth and nail to educate the lower classes? have they taught them courtesy of behaviour, and respect, and a little show of that affection which, as they lavish it on their very dogs and horses, they might, one should think—great sticklers as they are for Church and State—vouchsafe to human beings and Englishmen, like themselves, speaking the same language, and, I suppose—though here I speak with diffidence and under correction, but, I suppose—nearly of the same flesh and blood as themselves (I mean, more nearly than dogs and horses)? Have they spent the thousandth part of the thought on the question how they might improve the minds and manners of those at whom they are ready to sneer under the slightest provocation, which they have spent on pigs and sheep? Has it ever occurred to them that there is really no reason why a blacksmith might not perhaps, after all, have the mind, and temper, the manners, ay, and the cultivation of a peer? Have they ever considered the problem in their thoughts? If they have, have they ever got beyond a self-complacent and selfish smile, and the word “impossible?” Impossible! Why impossible? If a mechanic’s time is heavily mortgaged by his work, is not a peer’s time heavily mortgaged by his hunting, and fishing, and shooting, and the care of his estates? Between the margin of the one and the margin of the other there is not much to choose.

It was my fortune to spend three years at the University of Edinburgh. My private tutor had studied there before me. He was the son of a small Scotch farmer. A more gentlemanlike, high-minded, cultivated, and polished man, I have not seen. He told me that when he was a youth he followed his father’s plough barefoot, and attended to the farming, during the summer months. In winter he put on his shoes, to his great discomfort, and followed the courses of the Edinburgh Professors in Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Moral Philosophy, Natural Philosophy, Logic, and Metaphysics,—all this on oatmeal porridge and haggis! I myself sat on the same benches

with youths who did precisely the same thing. Some of these took up their father's plough where he left it—none the less, much the more contented with their lot;—others turned their learning to other uses, and easily found employment where opportunity offered. I confess that I look back upon that one lesson alone as being worth in itself a university career. I never pass through an English village, or through a back street in an English town, without a sense of shame and a sense of anger at the mingled baseness and apathy of the classes in power in this country, who, being the wealthiest, have allowed the education of the lower classes to be almost the lowest and most contemptible in the world. There is something to my mind insufferably base in the temper of the men who, while they glory in their Etons, and Harrows, and Rugbys, in their Oxford and Cambridge, have done nothing to found great schools for the bulk of the nation, except wrangle and jangle about the obsolete claims of rival religionists—how not to do it—who in three weeks showed more energy on a question connected with their cattle than in a whole century they have shown in the education of the people, whom they sneer at as vulgar, dread as dangerous, and finally bow to with ill-suppressed aversion, as, after all, omnipotent.

It is to men like Mr. Gladstone that I look for safety against the effects of this deplorable feeling and all its consequences. He, at all events, is not ashamed of his sympathy with the working classes, and their sympathy for him. He, at all events, had the courage to proclaim that they were of the same flesh and blood as himself, at the very time when his statement was certain to be received, as it was received, with a shout of derision by the majority of the educated classes. He, at all events, will not sneer at the working men as visionary and vulgar, because, in the sweat of their brow, they labour to solve problems upon which their well-being and the greatness of the country depend. He, at all events, will look with as great tenderness on the possibilities of new life from below, as on the preservation of true life and civilisation above the political centre of gravity. He, at all events, will not sell popular rights for a mess of pottage, or abandon the reality of civilization for the phantom of party victory.

One word in conclusion. I shall be told that I write in a spirit hostile to the upper classes. Far from it. I look upon the upper classes as trustees for the good of all. But I do see evidences of a spirit among them most dangerous to the future harmony and progress of the country. Perhaps in no country, and at no period within history, has an upper class been so large, so powerful, so firmly established, so splendidly circumstanced for fulfilling a great national trust, as the English upper class at this moment. But, on the other hand, at

O race, unwearied, full of war and toil,
 Fate is more strong than your contentious arms.
 Ye hate ; shall hatred then unsceptre Zeus,
 Or anger empty any throne in heaven ?
 I fear you not, and yet ye weary me ;
 That our old strife may therefore merge and die,
 I send this woman for a marriage gift.
 Let her accomplish peace for me with thine,
 Prometheus : be content ; I have forgiven.
 Thine old rebellions I have put away,
 And my reward outweighs the harm I gave thee.
 Shall not her love efface the thunder-scars
 Wherewith I drave thee backward from my realm ?"
 Therefore I joying led her to thy face,
 Here where the red cliff fronts the flats of sand,
 And short salt grasses cease in mountain sedge.

Prometheus.

Art thou a goddess or a human maiden ?

Pandora.

Of Zeus am I, and gift to thee, Prometheus.

Prometheus.

Is Zeus grown sudden-generous to his foes ?

Pandora.

Nay, but it irks him warring without end.

Prometheus.

Hast thou seen Zeus, O lovely one, at all ?

Pandora.

Nay, but I heard this message in a dream,
 Before thy brother's footsteps wakened me.
 From my birth-trance in wonder I arose ;
 But I have no remembrance of the past,
 I know not if I lived before this morn,
 Or in what fields I wandered other days ;
 Yet earth is half familiar to mine eyes,
 And in my thought old broken images
 Mix with the present and confuse me wholly.
 I am as one who, eating some strange herb,
 Forgets his days before the hour he tasted.

Prometheus.

I praise thee nothing, brother, for thy joy.
 If thou hast found a marvel, to thy harm
 This crafty Zeus hath brought thy feet to find,
 And stumble on his most pernicious gift.
 Wiser have left it in the meadow grass,
 Gotten thee home again, and had no heed.
 Doth Zeus repent and love us, O unwise ?
 Shall we not rather weary out the stars,

Eons and Eons, with this feud of ours,
Till one prevail? Conquest alone is Peace.
And now, forsooth, he overflows with gifts.
Much careth he, the crafty, how I wed.
Nay, this is some delusion of his own
To work me death: this thing being wonderful,
Specious, a fair trap to hold bound men's eyes,
Since she is smooth and pleasant as a wave,
Fresh as a sea-flower, polished as its sea;
With a sweet subtle sadness haunting her
And ruling all her beauty with a calm
That is the crown of beauty; being fair,
As the gods give their daughters to be fair,
Still grace divine disdaining much to weep,
And far above all laughter. Such an one
As this beholding the fool human heart
Leaps greatly, is suffused with blind delight,
As tho' it stumbled on some mighty good
Entreated long of the deaf gods in prayer.
But this soft creature with her gracious ways,
And warmth and perfume and light fugitive glances,
Whence is her birth, my brother, whence her charm?
Who wove the amber light into her hair,
Who gave her all the changes of her eyes?
Who framed the treasures of her breast, and carved
The balmy marvel of her throat, whose hand
Fashioned the silver curving shoulder down?
Who clothed her limbs with colour like soft fruit,
Who wrought and rounded her swift gleaming feet?
Come, let us reason this, desire is blind,
And brief is love that follows of desire;
Yea, very brief, but often at the end
Treason and fire and poison, death and harm.
Titans are we, not wholly gods, but more
Than gods in this, if we possess our souls.
Why should we hanker after her sweet hands?
Let her be lovelier than the birth of light,
Why should the incense of her presence move
The soul-engirdled Titan from resolve
To have no dealing with the false arch-god,
But to let always the clear flame of hate
Burn steadily between his house and ours?
Can Zeus being evil give good gifts at all?
Can he renounce his nature in an hour?
Can he be piteous even to harmless men,
And these have done no insult to his throne?
But we the Titan seed endure alone,
And quail not, when he thunders in a world
Where all things else are chained beneath his feet.
We toss defiance to his arrogant face
While all sweet nature grovels at his heel.
Us he detests, us he abhors, us fears:
Wilt thou have gift of such, for I will none.

Pandora.

Cruel art thou, Prometheus, being wise
 And yet not greatly cunning after all.
 Art thou no match for one weak girl that weeps,
 Thou Titan that would mate thyself with Zeus?
 Tears are my wisdom, and my speech alone
 To kneel and put my cheek upon thy hand
 And weep a little over it and say,
 "Fear me, my king, for I am terrible."
 I, utterly broken, weaker than a weed,
 Am God's strong vengeance whom these Titans fear.
 She is worth trembling at, this girl that weeps,
 And awful, being melted into tears,
 Sighing she threatens and entreating slays.
 Zeus and his fire ye fear not, but fear me.
 Alas, this arch-god's glory, woe his throne,
 Where shall he get him comfort for his reign,
 How shall he build his cloud-pavilions sure,
 Seeing he rests his vengeance in mine hands,
 When these great Titans do him scathe and scorn?
 Thou sayest this Zeus is evil, let him be;
 How should a woman reason of the gods?
 Yet are they fierce and strange and sullen lords,
 As thy word goes; they faint not, neither weep.
 Shall they repent, be broken, bow them down,
 Surely they shall not falter or remove,
 Tho' they rule blind, and stay themselves on fear?
 Revile them, what have I to do with these?
 Heal thou my tears, I care not how they rule.
 I only know that I am desolate,
 Since thou dost turn away thy gracious eyes
 In anger saying, "This woman means me death."
 Excellent Titan, O great king, my light,
 To whom my nature blindly feels for love,
 Hath not some strange and fateful power supreme
 Impelled me to thy presence, laid mine arms
 With their weak claspings at thy mighty knees,
 Saying, "Lo thy lord and king, him love, him serve?"
 Do I resemble Death and Vengeance so?
 That thou must put me off and stand aside
 Gloating on me with pain unbeautified,
 With hard eyes reasoning on each tear I shed;
 Weighing my weakness, watching my despair
 With wise incurious musings, careless cold?
 Lo, I will speak my word, and make an end;
 I that am held this subtle and terrible thing,
 This utmost curse Zeus' fury can invent,
 I, even I, strewn in this dust, demand;
 Doth the vine, feeling for her elm to stay
 Her weakness and reach upward her frail rings,
 Mean death to that which saves her—on whose strength
 Her feeble arms may lean and live and thrive,
 Since lonely and without him she must die?
 Ah, such a death, ah, such a loving curse

Would I be round thee, my great elm, my king ;
Ah, such a trouble my warm arms, such fear
My love, such hate my kisses. Let Zeus be ;
Can he turn my love backward if he choose,
Can he command desire as babes are led ?
God is not strong against a woman's love,
And tho' Zeus lust to crush thee and thy race,
If I love thee, no Zeus could make me harm thee.
Nature is more than any god of them,
Therefore have mercy on me at the least,
And from thy presence thrust me not away.
If thou repellst me where shall I turn ?
Thou wilt not love me, for thou art so wise ;
I dream not thou wilt love me, being so great,
Leave me to love thee lonely, for I faint
In this sweet nature, mateless and alone.
The splendid mountain, rapid cloud, slant meadow,
Are in their beauty strange and terrible ;
They crush me with a power that from them flows,
Till my weak soul in their enduring eyes
Seems to usurp in daring to live on.
Yea, the large Heaven unclouded luminous
Closes about me full of voice and whisper.
Let me from these old dread existences
Creep to thy shadow and assuage my heart.
Let me lie down with thy strong hunting dogs
And guard the curtain fold before thy tent ;
Make me no more than these, thy help, thy slave ;
Find me some petty useful thing to do,
Watch thee asleep, or throw red lion skins
Warmly about thee when soft equal night
Alters to chill touched by sweet scent of dawn.
Or I have old-world harmonies to sing
And fill thy wakeful eyes with folded sleep.
But in keen day when thy wise thought has wing,
I will not break thy musings with vain words,
But I will sit and love and be most still.

Epimetheus.

Wisdom is much, my brother : be content :
But to strain wisdom over far is folly.
Can this white creature, perfect excellent,
Clothed in the lovely colour of pale light
With scent of new-rained forest pines about her,
With hair like soft bents full of seed and flower,
Lie with her mouth against her sacred form ?
Most holy is she, brother, being fair,
Most true, being chiefly fresh and beautiful.
To dare make weep a thing of such strange sweetness,
Lo, this I hold intolerable wisdom ;
Let her be false, I am content to be
Unwise and scorned for such delicious falseness.
If such perfection be incarnate evil,
I am content to take my chance and perish.
For how should I endure in after-hours

If she should prove divine as she is lovely,
 If now, in noisy arrogance, I set
 The clumsy heel of scorn upon her sweetness,
 Sealed in my blinded wisdom thrice a fool ?
 But thou art ever railing on this Zeus ;
 How art thou clothed and haunted with vague fear
 Of his perpetual vengeance. Dream thy fill,
 Thou wakest up with Zeus ; feast sweetly, still
 There is thy Zeus in every cup. So now,
 This spectre Zeus affrights thee from the joy
 Held holiest, highest, best, and awfulest.
 Wilt thou refuse the glowing fruit of love
 Lest Zeus should put thee poison in its rind ?
 I charge thee, brother, it is a fearful thing,
 Worthy of endless pity, terrible,
 If thou shalt dare to maim and stunt thy soul
 In a perpetual fast, always denied
 The crown and prize of time. For so shalt thou
 Take thy delight upon her fruitful lips,
 So make her nature blossom with thy love,
 So bind her with strong influence wholly thine,
 So strengthen thee at the springs of her fresh life,
 Till thou wax more Titanic, and expand
 Thy lordly nature to new stateliness ;
 Till thou redouble might, and scoff at fear,
 And the arch-father of thy fear above ;
 Till thou may be in comfortable halls,
 No longer roaming, Titan, under heaven,
 With vengeance eating down thine heart, and climbing
 The sterile forest border-fields knee-deep
 In the lapsed mountain's ruins — warmly at home
 Shalt hear the light wail of the nursling child ;
 Shalt hear the mother murmuring over it
 Her song of sleep, with cradle kisses broken.
 And if eternal conflict must prevail
 With thee and thine against the thunder-masters,
 Let us breed offspring nobler than ourselves
 To make a better battle ; tear their thrones
 Away like withered branches out of heaven,
 Efface them, and sit calmly where they ruled,
 And teach man better comfort than their reign.

Prometheus.

Thou hast said, my brother, yet no joy is mine
 In all the sounding of thy voice. A cloud
 Is over all thy soul and all thy words.
 Art thou, too, blinded of this subtle Zeus ?
 O tremble then ye Titans for your house :
 These shall prevail, their hour is at the doors.
 Yea, let them go and pluck the garlands soon
 To deck the forehead of their victory.
 Let us put down our necks for them to tread.
 Let us prepare our faces for their heels.
 Ay me, the lordly race, so proud it was,

Totters before them ; let them scorn and laugh.
No worm turns now against them under Heaven.
And I will show thee how this thing shall be.
But thou confusest blindly my plain word.
Mine eyes as thine pronounce her beautiful,
And she may be as true perchance as lovely ;
But this "perchance" is a wide slippery word.
I will not hold a thing of such pure grace
Means any evil in herself against us ;
Her could I love, if over all this strong
And ruling hatred, with its wakeful eyes,
Held not unslumbering watch to vanquish us.
If this prevail, no mercy will be ours
But extreme hurt and exquisite cruel pain.
Therefore who sets his face to cope with Zeus
Hath little hour for pastime, must lay by
Forever all that goodly dream of love ;
Will fight more surely childless, since each child
Is a new wounding place that he must guard
Against the subtle vengeance watching him.
He too that would not bend to save himself
Will crawl to save his children ; I will none.
Therefore, tho' true, I will have none of her ;
Tho' fair, I take her not : since Zeus has made her,
And guides her also, his blind instrument.
As we could train her in all gracious ways,
So he distorts the fair sweet hands to harm,
She guileless all the while. O brother, fear her ;
Blind are her steps, and Zeus is terrible,
And hungers with the famine of his hate
To crush our race beneath the fiery darkness.

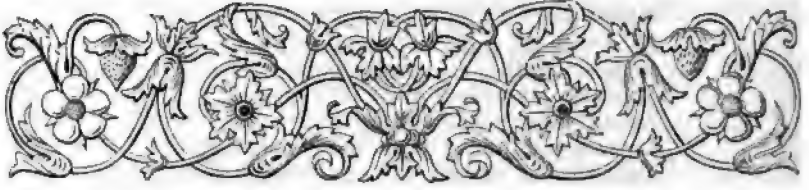
Chorus of Nymphs.

Queen of every grace and gift,
Perfect thou and lovely queen,
Hail, Pandora : from each rift
Of our secret rock, unseen
We will hymn thee, and rejoice.
Earth with us she is so glad of thee,
That at this thy coming, love and fairest,
All her old dried fountains waken free,
And her pale swards flush with petals rarest.
For thee the forest heaves with eager leaves,
And bows its stately branch and yearling tree.
The fleet, unresting waters of the sea
Are shaken in their light continually :
There is no thing that grieves.
The shadows pass away because of thee.
A large deep music gathers from the land ;
The grey cliff-head, the burnished island-spire,
Are trembling with desire.
The small waves spend their foam and push the sand,
Crested in rolling gold and arched with emerald fire ;
Thy loveliness is as the moon's command

To sway them as she will, and make them flow ;
They are amazed at thy imperial brow.
The fear of thy sweet beauty, and the love
That changes fear till fear grow strangely sweet,
Make nature listen if thou dost but move,
And thrills the meadow-grasses at thy feet ;
The watery saffron, gentian, bloom of light,
The lilies of the moorland amber-eyed,
Sigh toward thee passing ; the dew-spider weaves
Weak webs to tangle thy bright steps aside,
The woodbine reaches ineffectual leaves.
Beautiful sister, let us come to thee,
Fear not our worship, flee not, holy one,
Be thy sweet breath about us like the sea,
Be thy pure brow above us as the sun.
Be to us breath and ocean, light and spring,
Reward us only with thy presence, bring
Thyself, and be the deity of these ;
Rule us, and love us, and there shall not cease,
O queen, thine adoration. Let thy hands
Be near us for our worship, and thy hair
Unfolded for our wonder ; as the sands
New washed of tide are coloured, when waves spare
Some of their liquid glowing as they go
To leave them bright a little. But thy brows
Have bound bright heavy sunlight on their snows
For a perpetual spoil. Thou dost not know
The stint and fluctuation of the tide ;
For thou art clothed with fair on every side ;
Thou art no cloud with but one hour to glow.
Nay, for thy lord who stablished thee so sweet
Hath put all change beneath thy perfect feet,
Hedged thee with excellent honour and made Praise
A drudge to hew thee wood, and Love to watch and wait
A slave beside a lute-string to make thee easy ways
Of sleep, when tired with pastime, and serve beside thy state.
Yea, and thine eyes shall see meek Love beside thee,
And smile a little, as not over-glad,
Being too royal, with no joy denied thee,
Than to be otherwise than grandly sad.
As the gods laugh not overmuch, indeed
They laugh or weep not ; what is worth their weeping ?
Sweet youth fails not beneath them like a reed,
The shadow and the shine are in their keeping.
The large deep flows on under them, the cloud
Is strewn along their tables, and the light
Is broad about them, when the wind is loud ;
And the deep gates of sunset in their sight
Burn with the broken day. But these maintain
High state as always. Their hands reap and slay
Nor render any reason. They are fain
Because their rule cannot be put away,
Because their arrows swerve not when they draw,
Because their halls are winter-proof, their hate

Mighty and fat with store of death, their law
Shod with the iron permanence of fate.
Being cruel, they can glut their cruel wills ;
Wrathful, allow their wrath its utmost way ;
Insatiate, can almost lust their fill ;
Listless, can drowse on tinted cloud all day,
Lulled by the nations wailing as they pray—
Nay, let us break our song, nor think on these.
To thee this conflict, Titan, doth belong ;
We are but weak as ineffectual seas,
That roll and break their foam-lines all day long—
She is as lovely, lord, as thou art strong.
To us she cometh as some strange desire :
As a bird's voice thro' distance in the night :
Like scent of oaken woods : like perfumed fire
Floated among the pines in curling spire :
The loosening of her ringlets is like light.
Refresh thy lordly spirit at her lips,
They shall renew thy soul with subtle power.
Turn thee, O lord, to thy desired repose ;
Time hath made ripe for thee this perfect flower,
And folded up her fragrance like a rose.
Arise and take thy joy and dream no wrong ;
Who shall assail thee in thy mighty hall ?
Ours let it be to sing thy nuptial song,
Until some beam auroral touch the trees,
And wake thy palace with an ouzel's call ;
And morn, on stress of mist-wreath borne along,
Arrive in sweet light cloud and shaken breeze.

WILLIAM P. LANCASTER.



NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—THEOLOGICAL.

Analytical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. By Rev. JOHN FORBES, LL.D. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1868.

THE key to the peculiarity of this Commentary is expressed on its title-page, "tracing the train of thought by the aid of parallelism." It is not a work to be judged of hastily, nor to be dismissed summarily, and we can aver from experience that a second perusal will well reward the thoughtful student. In every point of view it is a valuable addition to critical Biblical literature, and possesses many attractions even for the unlearned reader. It has little of the repelling dullness which invests many attempts to analyze the text of Scripture, and to arrange in their true connection the various doctrines which are elucidated by the textual arrangement.

The author modestly, but needlessly, justifies his appearance from the conviction that

"in *Parallelism* we possess an instrument of analytical investigation, the powers of which have hitherto been very imperfectly appreciated, and which, if used aright, enables even ordinary minds frequently to trace the sequence of thought, when it has escaped the penetration of the most highly gifted . . . The object is not to furnish an exhaustive commentary, by repeating in my own words what has already been so much better expressed by others; but to illustrate those passages alone which *Parallelism* seems to place in a new and clearer light."

The intricate and much-disputed passage, chap. v. 12-21, is set forth by the aid of parallelism with order and perspicuity, as containing the central animating thought of the whole epistle. The writer maintains that the leading idea of the epistle is not justification by faith

"presented as has been objected to the bare forensic theory, in the cold lifeless form of *imputation*,—as if by a legal fiction and mere outward reckoning of Christ's righteousness believers were justified without any necessary change passing immediately upon the heart. The grand truth here enunciated is the warm living reality of a personal Union with Christ (contrasted with the previous union with Adam) by which, in place of the "SIN" and "DEATH" communicated by the first head of humanity, Christ's "RIGHTEOUSNESS" and "LIFE" are communicated to the believer, and become the inward quickening mover of every thought, feeling, and action. Thus is the distinction preserved, yet the indissoluble connection always evinced between *justification* and

sanctification, as being but two aspects of one and the same *union* of the believer with Christ. . . . In short, the result to which I have been brought by that strict comparison of different passages to which parallelism compels the student, is that our views of Scripture language, as of Scripture truth, are in general too limited and one-sided, and that in Scripture as in a diamond with many facets, each reflecting a different ray of light, visible singly, to the exclusion of the other, to him who looks only on one side—he who would form a just appreciation of the whole, must turn it round and round, and survey it on every side."

The author begins by applying to this grand Epistle the test of parallelism first applied to the Old Testament prophecies by Bishop Lowth. The reader cannot fail to find in the arrangement and analysis of the words and sentences of each chapter a wonderful elucidation of the argument, which in no degree suffers by the almost poetical rhythm into which its expression falls. In the modest words of the author:—

"If any still demur to the reality of parallelism existing in the New Testament, let them accept the present arrangement as a mere *tabulated form*, convenient for making the successive stages in the apostle's reasoning, and assisting the student to perceive the mutual relation of the various parts of the argument, and let them judge impartially of the present attempt to facilitate the study of this most difficult Epistle irrespectively of the question whether or not the *form* in which it is here presented was in the mind of the writer at the time of its composition."—(P. 89.)

A remarkable instance of the added light and force afforded by this arrangement, and especially by that form of it which Bishop Jebb pointed out as *epanodos*, is found in chap. xi. 33-36 (p. 375).

The volume consists of (1st) an analytical arrangement, (2nd) an expansion of this in the form of a commentary, and (3rd) a dissertation on Predestination and Free-will, in which some of the popular dogmas of the extreme Scottish school, as set forth, e.g., by Dr. Hodge, are boldly controverted, and the subject treated in a more practical manner than by many ultra-Calvinistic writers, while the doctrine of Augustine is separated from the supralapsarian views of writers both British and American.

In the second and largest portion of the work the various and tangled threads of St. Paul's arguments are tracked in a skilful and frequently original manner. The parallelistic arrangement elucidates (1st) the comparison between Adam and Christ; (2nd) the various meanings attached to the word "righteousness," with the theory of the Abrahamic and of the Christian justification by faith, including by a personal union with Christ by faith not *imputation only*, but *impartation* of the holy nature (p. 192, *seqq.* 217, *seqq.*).

The parallelistic elucidation is nowhere applied with greater force than on the question, Who is the *husband* of St. Paul's simile? (p. 274). Dr. Forbes argues (and we think with convincing force) that it is *not the law* first, but *sin*, as the law does not die, but sin is crucified first in Christ and secondly in the believer. If the law had been the husband, it must have been the law that generated fruit unto death in the sinner. But the whole of this chapter well merits the closest study from the theological student.

It is not, however, by the theologian alone that this work will be read. We believe that it will be read with deep interest by many whom dry theological disquisitions would deter, and that it is calculated to bring rest and satisfaction to minds which are apt to be disturbed by the difficulties of reconciling conflicting doctrines. Such readers will find—in the place of verbal contentions, attacks on opposing theories, or weak defences of doubtful hypotheses—a masterly system of comprehension, but expressed in its author's own words, "All the contending interpretations are right in their measure, all are defective." If Dr. Chalmers succeeded in popularizing the main threads of St. Paul's arguments, yet he has left many thoughtful readers who were capable of appreciating its intricate structure, and valued with a personal experience its doctrinal truths and practical lessons, but who have found difficulty in tracing, for instance, the true relations of the parallels he draws between the justification of Abraham, and of the Christian disciple; of the fall in Adam and the restoration in Christ; of the legal marriage, and of the Christian's union with Christ. For full satisfaction on every difficulty we have referred with complete satisfaction to this modest, yet learned and exhaustive work.

Observations on the Conversion and Apostleship of St. Paul. By Lord GEORGE (sic) LYTTTELTON. With an Introductory Essay by HENRY ROGERS. London: the Religious Tract Society.

THE argument of George, Lord Lyttelton, is one of those inferences from psychological probabilities and analogies which it is much the fashion of the present day to set aside as superseded by deep reaching theories. Mr. Rogers's prefatory essay, occupying nearly half of this little book, goes thoroughly into that matter, and shows, what few sober thinkers would be disposed to doubt, that such arguments remain in their cogency and their cumulative force, unaffected by the elaborate sceptical systems of Paulus, or Strauss, or Renan.

His book is one of the neatly-printed and bound works which are continually issuing from the useful Society whose name it bears. It is strange that the title-page should contain the error pointed out above. We hope it will not lead careful buyers to distrust the complexion of Mr. Rogers's essay. Probably he is in no way accountable for it.

Origin of the Four Gospels. By CONSTANTINE TISCHENDORF. Translated, under the Author's sanction, by WILLIAM L. GAGE. From the Fourth German Edition, revised and greatly enlarged. London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder. 1868.

THIS translation, though published in London, was evidently printed in America. There is no mistaking transatlantic typography, spelling, and diction. Here are specimens:—"Irenæus, from 177 on, Bishop of Lyons, &c." p. 31. "From the closing decade of the second century on," p. 35. "As to only prove," p. 38. "An inextinguishable canon of historical criticism."

The English in some places reads very roughly, and suggests to us mistranslation. Possessing only the first edition of Tischendorf's pamphlet, we are unable to verify some of the most prominent examples. Such a sentence as this can hardly be a faithful transcript of any sane man's thoughts:—

"What shall we think of the supposition that the dreary landscape of Judæa—with Jerusalem, the sacred centre of the Jewish faith and worship—drove the thoughts of the Galilean to the luxuriance of his own country's hills, and added to his grief?"—(P. 30.)

Our readers will remember that Dr. Tischendorf's pamphlet was noticed and its main argument explained, in a previous number of this Journal. In this later and rewritten edition, the argument remains the same, but the proofs are filled out, and references to the works of modern impugnors of Christianity are given.

It is a pity that the translator in his preface has given himself the somewhat supererogatory trouble of blowing a trumpet before Professor Tischendorf. Our good friend, whose valuable services to biblical literature none will question, always takes care to perform this office quite sufficiently for himself:—

"Tischendorf, like all really great men, is as approachable as a child. . . . In talking, his countenance lights up pleasantly, his style becomes sprightly, his action vivacious; he jumps up, runs across the room to fetch a book or document or curiosity, enters into his guests' affairs, speaks warmly of friends, and evidently enjoys with great zest his foreign reputation.

"His relations with the great English scholars and divines are very intimate; and archbishops and deans and civil dignitaries of the highest rank are proud to enjoy the friendship of this great and genial German scholar."—(Translator's Preface.)

We had marked many curious blemishes indicating either great carelessness or great ignorance on the part of the translator. Some of these are:—In p. 152 we read of the Christian Apocraphy (sic). In p. 156, "an old Latin translation, greatly incomplete, supplies the deficiency." In p. 183, we have the "Juda-Christian" heretics twice spoken of. In p. 186 we read, "as we learn of Catenen and Ammonius." The writer evidently thinks that "Catenen" is a Christian Father (we suppose an ambassador in bonds), and is quite innocent of its being the German plural, equivalent to Catene. In p. 193, the "Hypotyposis" of Clement is mentioned, for "Hypotyposes" or "seis." In p. 204, "the learned Parisian printer Robert Stephens" is mentioned, but a few lines down "the Robert Etienne Edition" occurs, apparently with no suspicion that the name is that of the same man. In p. 223, we have "Epiphany" and "Irenæus" in the same sentence; and in p. 231, "Hegesippus" and "Eleutherus." Despite these inaccuracies, the book may be very useful, as conveying fairly to English readers the substance of Tischendorf's argument.

The Book of Moses; or, The Pentateuch in its Authorship, Credibility, and Civilization. By the REV. W. SMITH, Ph.D. Vol. I. London: Longmans, 8vo. 1868.

THE appearance of such a work as this by Dr. Smith, of which the first volume gives excellent promise, is specially opportune at the present time. The immediate interest excited by the Colenso controversy, so far as it concerned the first five books of the Old Testament, has indeed died out. By some the Bishop's conclusions have been thankfully accepted as tending to make more and more incredible what in point of fact they had long ceased to believe, and destroying the last vestiges of authority traditionally supposed to be due to books which from some accident or other had got bound up with less questionable parts of the Bible, such as the Psalms and the New Testament. By others they have been with as little hesitation rejected, not because they saw their way in every instance to a satisfactory answer to the alleged objections, but because these objections were not even held permissible within the circumscribed limits of their creed. They have pre-judged the questions involved to the disadvantage of the Bishop; and have contented themselves with counterbalancing the feebleness of their reasons for differing from him by the violence and vehemence of their denunciations. And again, as in most cases, there are others who have believed that the maintenance of a middle position was still possible, that neither of these extremes was a fair representation of the truth, and that the Bishop was after all very likely no less wrong, if they could only prove it, than the most virulent of his assailants. For the justification of such a belief as this, Dr. Smith's book will supply not a little. We shall, however, mislead our readers if we give them occasion to suppose that the work before us is only one of the numerous answers to Colenso in a more pretentious form. It obviously and necessarily bears upon the subject, but in scope, purpose, and execution, it is something very much more than this. It may fairly lay claim to being a scientific inquiry into the specified matters, of which on the title-page it professes to treat. The first volume is occupied solely with the discussion of the authorship of the Pentateuch, and the consideration of this question alone will, we are given to understand, demand another volume. The credibility and civilization of the Pentateuch are matters which the writer reserves for yet future treatment. If, then, the *authorship* of the so-called books of Moses is to be discussed in two octavo volumes, of which the first contains nearly 600 pages, the reader may form some idea of the exhaustive manner in which this is done thus far. Not indeed that we have here an imperfect work, strictly speaking: the points dealt with are handled in detail, but others remain to be handled which bear upon them.

"Although I have endeavoured," says Dr. Smith, "to round off the part which I now publish, and to give it, as far as I could, a certain character of completeness, there remains yet much in that department to be added—a full refutation of the Separatist Theory; which, not satisfied as it should have been, with pointing out in Genesis pre-Mosaic documents, breaks up the whole Pentateuch into un-Mosaic fragments, contributed chiefly by post-Mosaic writers."

The writer must speak for himself as to the way in which he has endeavoured to treat his subject:—

"I take up the records of the Old Testament simply as furnishing the historic data on which the argument is to proceed. I make no account either of their inspiration or their infallibility. I do not even assume that they are trustworthy. I merely consider them as the only works that give us any information on the matter; then examine what credence is due to their historical statements; and, lastly, draw the inference naturally deducible from the simple and unmiraculous facts which they contain."

That is, he takes the records simply as he finds them, leaving them to stand or fall on their own merits, only not approaching them with the foregone conclusion that they cannot have been written by Moses, and that they cannot be true. As indeed is only just and fair, he considers the burden of proof to rest upon the deniers and impugnors of the narrative. He does not believe that a work professing to be from a particular author, to whom from time immemorial it has been assigned, is on *a priori* ground to be regarded as proceeding from some one else. He keeps his own convictions and conclusions out of the argu-

ment, and we are willing to admit more successfully than many of those who have written on the opposite side.

After a brief introduction, in which the scope and method of the proposed work are set forth, and the abstract possibility of a book like the Pentateuch having been committed to writing so early as the age of Moses is discussed, the writer enters upon his twofold task of examining the question before him positively and negatively. The first part treats of the positive criticism of the subject under its two heads of external and internal evidence. The external evidence that is adducible is by no means insignificant either in bulk or quality. First there is, of course, the New Testament, with the evidence which it affords. Now though this cannot be appealed to as demonstrative, from the fact that many would refuse to admit its authority; yet, at the same time, it has a substantive value that cannot be disputed, for it contains unquestionable evidence of the opinions which were entertained by Jesus and the first teachers of Christianity. Those opinions may be worthless, but they are clearly ascertainable, and so far are to be reckoned as opinions for what they may be worth. The testimony of Christ himself will be received with deference or neglect varying in proportion to the estimate or conception which we entertain of him. But that testimony has an abstract and independent value of its own so far as it represents the uniform and consistent opinion of the day, and this is capable of being determined by the sense in which the language of Christ was manifestly understood by his own disciples and by the Jews.

But in addition to this, there is the evidence furnished by the Old Testament itself, which, so far as it lies outside the Pentateuch, is fairly to be reckoned as external. In the accumulation of this evidence, which as a whole is very great indeed, the writer has been most successful. He approaches the evidence for the Pentateuch through Deuteronomy, for it is certain that the writer of the fifth book must have been acquainted with the other four. If, therefore, the fifth book can be shown to have been in existence in the time of Joshua, it is clear that the probability of Moses not having written the Pentateuch is reduced to a minimum. Working backwards, therefore, from the age of Ezra, we are able to detect plain indications of the existence of Deuteronomy through Josiah, Jehoshaphat, Solomon, and David, till the time of Joshua. The evidence is as strong as it well can be in such a matter, indeed far stronger than one might believe possible without having it fully brought out as Dr. Smith has done. But having traced the Pentateuch, as a whole, to Moses, he reverses the process, and, first testing the value of the existing authorities which meet us in the historical books, he traces its influence downwards till the captivity, thus strengthening the argument by corroborative evidence. The internal evidence of a direct nature would probably be thought conclusive in any other work than the Pentateuch, since in particular sections of it the Mosaic authorship is implicitly asserted; but the want of this assertion in other parts is construed into evidence on the opposite side, as if one would be justified in concluding that Thucydides did not write those parts of the Peloponnesian War in which he has dropped the accustomed formula of subscription. Perhaps, however, the internal evidence, which is of an indirect character, is the most valuable as being of necessity undesigned. We are able to discern in almost every page that the writer of Deuteronomy was familiar with Egypt and Egyptian customs; we find that he had a share in the Exodus, was present at Sinai, was the lawgiver of Exodus, and wrote from the stand-point which that event gave him. We can see also that the legislation of the Pentateuch bears the impress of the Desert, is full of Egyptian memories, has Canaan only in prospect, was drawn up in the lifetime of Aaron and Eleazar, and grew with the nomad life of Israel: that this legislation claims Moses for its author, while at the same time the historian writes as the lawgiver, and writes in the last year of the Exodus as acquainted with Egypt, and the Arabian Desert, but not with Canaan; that he is master of the minute statistics of the Exodus, and presupposes in those for whom he writes a knowledge of Egypt and the Desert, but not of Canaan. Each of these several points is well brought out by Dr. Smith, and the result is one that is worth the notice of those who are incredulous of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. The latter part of the first volume is concerned with the negative criticism, and with special examination of the particular difficulties alleged. These are treated under the various heads of historical, geographical,

archæological, legislative, and linguistic difficulties; and, lastly, the supposed incongruity of the Pentateuch with the person and character of Moses is considered with reference to the special objections raised. Such is a brief sketch of the plan and character of this really valuable book, which we heartily commend to the attentive study of our readers. Dr. Smith is eminently qualified for the important work he has undertaken. His learning is very extensive and also accurate, and though he writes in submission to the Holy See, it would scarcely be possible to discover this fact if he had not himself acknowledged it. He writes dispassionately and with moderation. We anticipate positive services to biblical criticism from the publication of this work; it is by far the most masterly work that has yet been produced, at least in England, on the subject of which it treats; and it is to be hoped will do something towards stemming the tide of rash and precipitate disparagement of "the Book of Moses," which in many quarters has already attained undisputed ascendancy. If the authorship of the Pentateuch is proved to be doubtful, its historic authority becomes questionable; and if its authority is undermined, a very large portion of the historic basis on which Christianity rests is destroyed. At least, it seems to us that Christ and his Apostles are so far implicated in questions which are bound up with the authenticity of the Pentateuch, that they must be held to be seriously compromised if that authority can be disproved. At present we believe this has not been done, and Dr. Smith has at least shown that now it will be more than ever difficult to do. We wait with heightened interest for the appearance of his second volume.

Choice Notes on the Gospel of St. Matthew, drawn from Old and New Sources.
London: Macmillan & Co. 1868.

THESE notes are selected, by permission, from those illustrations of the Gospels published some years ago by Prebendary Ford, of Exeter. They form a catena, principally of the rhetorical and devotional kind, of striking remarks on the sacred text, drawn from a very wide range of authors. We wish more attention had been paid in making this selection, to humble honest explanation of Scripture. There was not enough of this in Prebendary Ford's Catena: there is still less in this one. Surely we have had more than enough of epigrammatizing on texts: and many of these notes are hardly better. And some are mere misapplications: as for example that on "*He went out*," Matt. xxvi. 75, "'It is not enough to break with sin, unless you break with sinners too,' *Sam. Lavington*." But who does not see, that no such thought was in the mind of the mourning apostle? The action was but parallel with that of Joseph—"He sought where to weep." The one chose the privacy of his chamber; the other, that of the outer night.

We have spoken reluctantly of this, the chief blemish in this little book, because the fault which it exemplifies is, we fear, on the increase among a certain school of Scripture students and commentators in the Church of England: the fault which has blemished so widely the otherwise valuable Greek Testament of Archdeacon Wordsworth, that of imagining that a striking antithesis can establish a doubtful exegesis.

A True Portrait of the Primitive Church. By E. D. CREE, M.A., Incumbent of Upper Tooting, Surrey. London: John Murray. 1868.

MR. CREE draws a picture of the primitive church such as he supposes it to have been about the middle of the second century, and therefore more or less representing the church of the first three centuries. He calls the portrait a *true* one, which reminds us of some writers of fiction, who, when they tell something incredible, inscribe on the title-page that this is a *true story*. Mr. Cree is an Anglican High Churchman, not high enough to be a Ritualist, and yet too high to be classed either with Evangelicals or Liberal Churchmen. He takes his own idea of what a church should be, and after the pattern of that idea he models a church which he calls the *primitive*. This is only what is done by the Roman Catholic, the Ritualist, the Evangelical, the Dissenter, and in fact by every sect and party, and on a subject where so little is known with certainty, Mr. Cree is as much entitled to his ideal as other people are to theirs. We are not disposed to enter into discussion with the author, though we are far from

agreeing with many of his positions. We do not think that it is in any way proved that the Primitive Church made that *essential* distinction, for which Mr. Cree contends, between the canonical books of the Bible and some other writings. We do not think that a layman never preached, and that there was nothing in Christianity answering to the Jewish synagogue; we should rather say that Christian Churches had more in common with the Jewish synagogue than with the temple. We do not believe that vestments of any kind were divinely appointed to be used by the ministers of the Christian religion, whatever may be said of St. Paul's chasuble, biretta, or whatever it was which he left at Troas; neither do we believe that the white garments of the Pagan priests were imitated from those of the Jews any more than we believe that the vast systems of Indian and Egyptian mythologies had their origin from the histories of the Jewish patriarchs. Mr. Cree, like all moderate High Churchmen, supposes that he is teaching sound doctrine, and avoiding the errors of the Church of Rome when he is simply using words to which ordinary people cannot attach a definite meaning. It is in vain that we try to understand what is a "commemorative sacrifice," or how we can receive the "body and blood of Christ" and yet not receive them *materially*. A *sacramental body* is to us incomprehensible. Dr. Pusey has pointed out its meaning, if it means anything, where he tries to show that the doctrine of the "real presence" does not differ from transubstantiation when rightly understood, that is, when transubstantiation means not the change of the accidents of bread and wine, but of that spiritual substance which the idealist metaphysician supposes to be the real essence of all matter. We ought to add that Mr. Cree's little book is elegantly written, and that the spirit of it is in every way commendable.

The Parables of Our Lord Explained and Applied. By the Rev. FRANCIS BOURDILLON, M.A., Rector of Woolbeding, Sussex. London: The Religious Tract Society.

THIS is a little book likely to be very useful to simple and unlearned students of the Lord's wonderful parables. It is written by one who, although he speaks as a plain man, yet evidently has been to the fountain of interpretation, and has drawn for himself. His language is intelligible and to the point; and we are much mistaken if the reader, who reads for profit, do not carry away active and permanent benefit from his pages.

The Tables of Stone: a Course of Sermons preached in All Saints' Church, Cambridge. By HERBERT MORTIMER LUCKOCK, M.A. London and Cambridge: Macmillan & Co.

THESE sermons are for the most part characterized, as regards their style, by a weak, second-rate egotism. We meet on every page with "I think," "I do not hesitate to say," "I am thoroughly satisfied," "I will state the arguments as they stand arranged in my own mind," "an interpretation which I can fully justify," "it has not escaped my notice." Mr. Luckock seems unable to recognize how easy it would have been to turn these phrases into impersonal equivalents, and so to avoid the ever-recurring presence of the personal pronoun. Nor do we see, though the substance of the sermons contains much quite up to the level of the better class of parochial discourses, any special *raison d'être* for the publication of the volume. And when we come to special points which distinguish them from most parish sermons, we are compelled to note that the difference is for the worse, and not for the better. There is a strange contentment with an ignorance which half an hour's reference to any history of Christian art would have dispelled in Mr. Luckock's confession, speaking of the worship of the Virgin, that he "cannot tell" under what visible form "*my* forefathers" (even here the love of the first person singular shows itself) "worshipped her" (p. 25). There is a strange return to abandoned views of history in his accepting the open vision of the Cross, of which Constantine told Eusebius many years after its alleged appearance, as an "immediate revelation from God" (p. 28). There is a strange and, we must say, uncharitable bewilderment of ideas in the casuistry which looks upon the tectotaller's pledge as a "violation" of the third commandment (p. 40); while in speaking of his own decision between conflicting obligations, he seems disposed to obey man rather than God. He is willing, at

least, to take part in what he describes as the "awful mockery, if nothing worse," of reading the Burial Service over the grave of one who has committed suicide in a state which a coroner's jury finds to be "temporary insanity," rather than face the consequences of "myself resisting the law" (p. 80).

Pastoral Counsels; being Chapters on Practical and Devotional Subjects. By the Rev. JOHN ROBERTSON, D.D., late Minister of Glasgow Cathedral. With a Preface by the Author of "The Recreations of a Country Parson." London: Longmans.

DR. ROBERTSON, though not known as a writer on the south side of the Tweed, seems to have been characterized by original and courageous thought. The man, as described by A. K. H. B. in the Preface, appears to have been genial, well balanced, loveable; the preacher manly and clear, free from the rhetorical flourishes of some pulpit orators and the self-pumped excitement of others. The sermons in this volume deserve more than a single reading; and though chiefly ethical rather than doctrinal in their character, nearer the Blair type of sermons than many we commonly meet with now, there is manifestly, underlying the morality, a deep conviction of the central Christian truths. We note, too, with satisfaction that Dr. Robertson may be classed with those Presbyterian ministers who have borne their testimony against some of the narrower views which prevail in the kirk; has asserted the legitimacy of kneeling as an attitude of public devotion (p. 204); of the use of pre-composed forms of prayer and "beautiful church music," even of the organ (pp. 202, 203); of a "quiet walk for an hour on a Sunday evening" (p. 185).

The Introduction, by A. K. H. B., has some points of interest. We note, in particular, two instances of Scotch phraseology which, unexplained, might puzzle a southerner. With our neighbours of the kirk it would appear that a "fast-day" is a day "on which (especially in the dwellings of the clergy) there is a better dinner than usual" (p. xi.), and that a "collegiate church" means simply one with two incumbents. We are thankful for these scraps of philology; but why on earth, except as a specimen of the art of book-making, should A. K. H. B. have thought it necessary to give the dimensions of half the cathedrals and some of the larger parish churches of England as compared with Glasgow, by way of a biographical introduction to a volume of sermons?

From Seventeen to Thirty. The Town Life of a Youth from the Country: its Trials, Temptations, and Advantages. Lessons from the History of Joseph. By T. BINNEY. London: J. Nisbet & Co. 1868.

"THIS little book is the expansion of a lecture delivered in Exeter Hall to the members of the Young Men's Christian Association." This opening of the Preface will serve to describe the character and object of the work. It is needless for us to repeat what every fair notice of Mr. Binney's writings has long pronounced—eulogies on his manly and thoroughly Christian tone. His style, like himself, is broad and massive. There is something of the gigantesque in the fine far-seeing counsels and dissuasives, as of one who towers above all pettinesses of principle and of conduct. It would be impossible but that such a writer and such a speaker should have wide influence for good over young men. At the same time, every word and every phrase come warm from the heart, and fresh from the forge of original thought. There is no commonplace, no "goody" talk.

We could not help being reminded, as we read, of the style and tone of one who was Mr. Binney's intimate friend, and, with certain notable differences, his like—we mean the late John Hampden Gurney. The exquisite vein of real ore, even where Gurney's passages were roughest, was often struck when it was least expected, by working into characters and circumstances as other preachers did not. Here is a sample of something of the same kind in Mr. Binney, in the section in which he finds "something to be blamed," even in Joseph's Egyptian career:—

"We have seen in Joseph nothing to censure; and it might seem as if we thought and wished to make out that his character was faultless. So far as his conduct, as a young man, in his relations to city life, has been brought before us, there really has been nothing to advert to but what was honourable and exemplary. There is one thing

however about him which needs explanation, and which, whether it admits of satisfactory explanation or not, suggests a fault against which I must kindly but earnestly *protest* to you young men. Never, for one-and-twenty years, eight of which were spent in freedom, honour, and opulence,—never, for all that time, does Joseph seem to have written home, sent any assurance to his father of his safety, or taken means privately to satisfy himself that the old man still lived. Now, I can only account for this on the principle that Joseph's case was altogether exceptional; that God had purposes to answer by him in relation to the posterity of Jacob, which might have been interfered with had Joseph sooner communicated with the patriarch. Still, unless some mysterious restraint was exercised over Joseph's feelings, which might account for his behaviour, it is not to be concealed that his persistent silence is utterly out of keeping with that filial reverence and affection for which we are willing to give him credit. How could he look on the splendid accommodations of his palatial residence, and taste the delights of mingling in the best society of the Egyptian metropolis, without thinking often and painfully of the bereaved old man at the far-off cattle station,—crushed, as he must have felt he would be, by the loss of a favourite child,—and living among a set of rude, graceless sons, whose story, whatever it was, even *he* might have learned to suspect, and whom Joseph himself knew to be relentlessly cruel and capable of anything? Let us hope that Joseph had some vague notion of divine restraint, or divine guidance, in what he did; that he felt as if raised up for some ulterior purpose which he did not clearly understand, which he somehow had the impression might be frustrated if he followed his human and natural impulses; that these were kept back *by an effort*, and the pain of that submitted to, from the force of an impression for which he could not account, but which he dared not disobey.

Even, however, should such an apology be possible for the silence of Joseph, there is none for that of any young man in London who never writes home, or whose letters to the old folks there—whose dreams are ever of their son—are few and far between, and not worth much even when obtained. It is sad to think that there are young men who let weeks and months pass away without a letter to their parents, or their brothers and sisters; who, when they do write, only send a line or two with some lame excuse for their not doing more; a line or two saying nothing, just containing some stereotyped statement, or vague utterance, which gives no information. Why, the value of a letter from a young man in London to the far-off town or village home, consists in its little details; its affectionate gossip; its account of any circumstance or incident that may have promise in it of advantage; its story of hopeful struggle, of dawning success; or its references to new-formed friendships,—to books read, churches attended, lectures listened to, with a thousand things beside, which may be small in themselves, but which show an interest in the members of the home-circle, and manifest the beating of 'the child's heart within the man's.' Young men are not aware what pain they may inflict by apparent neglect; how letters, brief and infrequent, may give rise to fear and doubt, and occasion anxious days and wakeful nights! Now, don't neglect home. Don't seem indifferent to your own family, as if all your interest were transferred to strangers. Keep the chain of communication bright by use, and write freely and fully, with unrestrained confidence, that it may be felt that there is neither blight on the affections nor error in the life, which is too often the cause of that lapse in filial or fraternal correspondence, which, though the result also at times of mere thoughtlessness, is always unkind and sometimes cruel."—Pp. 87—90.

Here is a droll little bit, which shows Mr. Binney in the character of a *censor morum minorum*:—

"He was careful, indeed, not to approach the king without a becoming attention to his dress. 'He changed his raiment, and trimmed his beard,' and was soon ready for presentation. Our translators tell us that 'he shaved himself.' I used to say it would be a good thing if some of you young men would do the same; but it is no use saying that now; though I still think you might follow the example of Joseph, and so 'trim the beard,' especially the moustache, that it would not be necessary on certain occasions, at table for instance, for those who sit opposite to you to have to look the other way!"—(P. 78.)

We heartily recommend the book to young men, and those who care for young men, of all ranks and denominations.

II.—HISTORICAL.

Vestiarium Christianum: The Origin and Gradual Development of the Dress of Holy Ministry in the Church. By the Rev. WHARTON B. MARRIOTT, M.A., F.S.A., sometime Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, &c. London. 1868.

MR. MARRIOTT'S "*Vestiarium*" fills a blank in English literature. The notices of ministerial vestments in Dr. Rock's "*Church of our Fathers*" and "*Hierurgia*," in Mr. Palmer's "*Origines*," and some other works, by no means supplied the want of a special treatise on this subject, and recent controversy has rendered the history of sacerdotal garments in the Church both interesting and important. Now, in the very complete work before us, Mr. Marriott has given us not only his own view of the history of Christian vestments, but a series of passages relating to their history, ranging from St. Jerome in the fourth to Symeon of Thessalonica in the fifteenth century, and a collection of photographs and engravings of the principal art-monuments which illustrate the subject. The notes on the passages quoted, and the descriptions of the plates, are full of valuable suggestions, and explain many difficulties. We have a little quarrel with Mr. Marriott, because so much of his valuable learning is scattered and hidden in these short notes and descriptions, that it does not illustrate his leading thesis so fully as it might have done; but the notes and descriptions themselves are excellent. The ordinary reader, however, is apt to miss the gems of criticism which are deposited in nooks and corners.

Two theories have been maintained with regard to the vestments of Christian ministers when engaged in Divine Service: that they were modelled upon the dress of the Aaronic priesthood; or, that in the Apostolic age there was no essential difference between the dress worn by Christians in ordinary life and that worn by clerics in holy ministration, but that after the lapse of three or four centuries the dress of ordinary life changed, while that of holy ministration remained the same in form, though ever more and more richly decorated. The first of these opinions, once popular, has yielded to the force of historical evidence, and is now defended by few; the second has already been maintained in the pages of this Review (vol. ii. pp. 557—573). Mr. Marriott proposes a modification of this second opinion: that, "in the Primitive Period, of about 400 years, the dress of the Christian ministry was, in form, in shape, in distinctive name, identical with the dress worn by persons of condition on occasions of joyous festival or solemn ceremonial" (p. iii). As this is Mr. Marriott's leading thesis—the point on which he differs from other investigators—we propose to examine it somewhat in detail.

With regard to the civil dress of the first century, Mr. Marriott lays down the following proposition:—

"The *χιτών*, or *tunica*, the *chetoneth* of Holy Scripture, is the dress of activity. That same *χιτών*, or *tunic*, with the addition of some full and flowing *supervesture*, is the dress of dignity or solemn state."—(P. viii.)

It is not quite clear whether it is intended here to be implied that the "dress of activity" consisted of tunic *without* *supervesture*; if that is intended, we think it is no more true than it would be to say that a Highland shepherd does not wear a plaid. What is said of the "dress of dignity and solemn state" is no doubt true in what it asserts; but not, we think, in that which it implicitly denies. It is true that the dress of solemnity was such as is described; it is not true (as it seems to us) that such a dress was used only on such occasions. The opinion of so able and candid an investigator as Mr. Marriott carries great weight, yet we cannot altogether assent to his proposition. It would, in our opinion, be more accurate to say, that persons whose occupation implied constant activity (as soldiers and slaves) wore a short tunic, reaching barely to the knees, with or without a "*sagum*" or other *supervesture*: that free citizens commonly wore the long tunic, reaching to the middle of the calf of the leg (easily shortened, in case of need, by drawing it up and allowing it to form a fold over the belt), with or without some *supervesture*—as *toga*, *pallium*, or *penula*: while the yet longer *trailing* garment, the supposed garb of old Rome, was appropriate to high solemnity, and, if worn as an ordinary dress, brought

on its wearer the reproach of effeminacy. The question is—Is there any reason to believe that the dress of pagan solemnity, rather than the ordinary civil dress, furnished the original type of the dress of Christian ministrations? Mr. Marriott thinks it did. We must own that we are not quite convinced by his reasoning.

With regard to the first four centuries, the literary evidence seems to show no more than that Christians in general, and no doubt Christian ministers, wore "Sunday-clothes;" for Clement of Alexandria complains that they put off their church-thoughts with their church-clothes; and the decree of Pope Stephanus (which Baronius, ad ann. 260, seems to recognise as genuine) against wearing the sanctuary-vestments in daily life, seems to indicate that the ministerial vestments were not very unlike those usually worn. Another pope, Sylvester (if we may trust Anastasius), caused the Roman deacons to wear "dalmatics" instead of the sleeveless tunics which had been their usual dress; and at the end of the fourth century, the "Statuta Antiqua" of the African Church ordered the deacons to wear albs at the time of oblation or lection. There is in all this no trace of the "dress of solemn state" for which Mr. Marriott contends; even if we were to concede, without a shadow of proof, that the dalmatic was in the first four centuries a dress of solemnity, it is not the dalmatic (if we understand him rightly), but the long tunic and toga that he regards as the ancient "court-dress," and of the adoption of this by Christian ministers in the first four centuries we find no proof in literature.

But Mr. Marriott probably relies more upon artistic than literary evidence; and here we can by no means accept his conclusions. The evidence which he produces to show that the old Roman dress was also the dress of the Christian ministry, seems to us to prove another and very different proposition: that the early Christian painters clothed the Lord himself and the great saints in the dress which was associated in their minds with the expression of dignity—the old toga and tunic, generally descending to the feet. In this, as in many other matters, they did but follow the example of their pagan predecessors and contemporaries, who had for many generations adapted the same garb in representations of distinguished persons whose fame was rather civil than military. It is an interesting fact that they did so, but it does not, so far as we can see, bear upon the question of ministerial dress; no one dreams of contending that the conventional dress in which saints are often clothed by painters of the Renaissance represents the ministerial dress of the fifteenth century. Mr. Marriott has pointed out—and the plates (xxii.—xxiv.) which illustrate this matter are perhaps the most interesting in his series—that the dress given to Gregory the Great, virtually the chief magistrate of Rome, in a diptych of about the year 700, hardly differs from that of a consul, whether in East or West; but this proves nothing as to the ministerial dress, whether of St. Gregory or any other bishop. If a representation were produced of a Saxon bishop sitting in court in a dress resembling a sheriff's, we should by no means infer that he administered the sacraments in that dress: we should learn with interest that when acting as a co-ordinate power with the sheriff, he wore a similar dress. In one representation of an act of holy ministry, the ordination of a deacon (pl. xvii.), the ordaining bishop and his assistants do indeed wear the old Roman garb; but here Mr. Marriott has pointed out, with equal candour and acuteness, that we have "an *ideal* representation of ordination, as proceeding ultimately from our Lord;" and so the Lord and His Apostles, SS. Peter and Paul, are represented in the usual garb of dignity, while the person receiving ordination is clad in the usual alb, with *lora* descending a little below the knee. On the whole, there appears to be no proof that toga and tunic ever formed the dress of Christian ministrations.

On the other hand, it appears to be shown conclusively, that the tunic, with a supervesture—called variously *planeta*, *paenula* (*παυόλιον*), or *casula*—was a common dress of all classes in the Roman empire in the first four centuries. It is certain that before the Reformation the common dress of the celebrating priest, in East and West, had included, for many centuries, the white tunic or alb, with a supervesture, which, however stiffened and ornamented, was still in the main the old *planeta*, *paenula*, or *chasuble*, both in form and name. The inference seems irresistible that the "sacrificial" vestments of the fifteenth

century were derived from the ordinary civil garb of the Romans in the fourth. Mr. Marriott has warned us, indeed, that we must not regard the words *planeta*, *pænula*, and *casula* as synonymous; they do not, he thinks, designate any appreciable difference in the *form* of the garment referred to, but a distinction in richness of material or ornamentation; a cobbler's upper garment, for instance, is spoken of as "*casula*" at a time when a senator's was styled "*pænula*."

It is not very easy to decide on what principle the several words are used; but, looking carefully at the evidence produced in the "*Vestiarium*," we think the usage appears to be something of this kind. "*Pænula*," the old classical word for the Roman poncho, is also the generic word, used alike for the fine soft garment which a man might desire to wear for its beauty even in summer, and the coarse great-coat of the soldier or the poor Christian; the "*planeta*" was in the beginning of the fifth century too costly a garment to be worn by monks, and generally it seems to have been a fine and somewhat stately garment; the word "*casula*," on the other hand, appears generally to designate a coarse garment, worn by persons of the lower class as a protection against cold and rain. There is, indeed, a notable exception. Pope Boniface (A.D. 606) mentions a *casula* which he was sending as a present, made of silk and the soft down (*lanugo*) of goats, a material which reminds one of a Cashmere shawl; but here the word "*casula*" was perhaps chosen for the convenience of designating by the same word the hair-chasuble (*villosam*) which he was sending at the same time for use as a door-mat, much as a modern bishop might send a bear-skin. Now, with regard to the ecclesiastical use of these terms, "*pænula*" is not found to designate a ministerial vestment until late in the middle ages, when its introduction may have been a consequence of the renewed study of classical authors; but the corresponding terms *φαινόλη* and *φαινόλιον* are constantly used from a comparatively early date—Mr. Marriott does not enable us to determine how early—in the East. In the West, from the sixth century, "*planeta*" is the word constantly used to designate a vestment of ministration; while "*casula*" does not occur until the ninth. The explanation of this may very possibly be that writers chose the word of dignified associations to designate the ministerial vestment, rather than the undignified "*casula*"; but it may indicate—what is probable enough in itself—that the churches procured for the use of their ministers as fine a vestment as their means permitted, and this would naturally be called a "*planeta*"; and we find some confirmation of this in the fact, that the substantive "*alba*" seems to be used by profane writers for a finer and more festal dress than the ordinary tunic, and that the "*clavi*," indicative of rank, are frequently found in the dress of Christian ministers as represented in art-monuments. And if this be the case, part of Mr. Marriott's case, that "the dress of the Christian ministry was . . . identical with the dress worn by persons of condition," is rendered probable, though that dress is not the garb for which he seems to contend; nor does it appear to be that which was worn especially "on occasions of joyous festival or solemn ceremonial," whether in the first four or in later centuries. The word "*casula*," on this supposition, was applied to the vestment of ministration when it had lost its early meanness of association.

On another point Mr. Marriott seems to have expressed himself somewhat incautiously. He says (p. v.) that

"When, after the revival of ancient learning, the Church of England reformed her faith and her discipline upon the authority of Holy Scripture and the model of the primitive Church, considerable changes were made among ourselves in that Mediæval and Roman type of dress. And the result has been that the ministering dress of the English clergy, during the last three hundred years, has been, in colour and general appearance, though not in name, all but exactly identical with that which we find assigned to the Apostles in the earliest monuments of Christendom, and which, upon similar evidence, we shall find reason to conclude was, in point of fact, the dress of the Christian ministry in the primitive ages of the Church."

We have already said that we have *not* seen reason to come to this conclusion with regard to the dress of the Christian ministry. But, independently of this, Mr. Marriott seems to insinuate, though he does not state, that the Church of England, as a consequence of the revival of learning, returned to the classic type of Christian vestments. It is true that one of the Apostles, in plate xx., looks

very like an English clergyman in surplice and stole; but we cannot help observing that the Church of England made no such change as Mr. Marriott describes. So far as we know at present, alb, chasuble, and dalmatic (or tunicle) have been legal vestments in the Church from the days of St. Augustine to the present time, with the exception of the short interval between 1552 and the death of Edward VI. The revisers of 1552 did prescribe the surplice—not stole nor hood—as the dress of priest or deacon “at the time of the Communion and at all other times in his ministration.” This was, doubtless, like many other arrangements in the English Church, a compromise. The Commissioners had to hold the balance between the party that wished to retain the old church-vestments and the party that wished to strip off altogether the Babylonish garments, and adopt some kind of cloak or gown. The middle course which they hit upon was, to give up alb, vestment (chasuble), and cope, which, however absurdly, had acquired a sacrificial significance, and to adopt, for all ministrations, the well-known choir-dress—the surplice, an ancient garment, not offensive to the conservative party, and not carrying with it the sacrificial associations which were an abomination to the Puritans. The Canons of 1604 sanctioned the use of the academic hood; the stole, perhaps,—though this is by no means certain—continued in use from pre-Reformation times, and so the ordinary ministering dress of the English clergy was formed; whether the vestment and cope were the legal vestments or not during the last three centuries, the instincts of the Church rejected them in favour of the much more graceful surplice, hood, and stole. We are not, however, so much struck by the resemblance of this dress to the primitive type—whether that were alb and toga, or alb and penula—as Mr. Marriott seems to have been. The ordinary ministering dress of early times was, no doubt, white, frequently with dark stripes, called *clavi* or *lora*; the surplice of the English clergyman is white, and the black stole forms stripes upon it; farther than this, the resemblance does not extend, and we cannot help wishing that plate xv. were somewhat clearer; it is difficult to trace in it the arrangement of the robes.

We have dwelt at so much length on the points in which we differ from Mr. Marriott, that we wish again to bear testimony to the excellence, completeness, and learning of the work as a whole. Not merely the ordinary dress of the Christian ministry, but the garments of the Aærenic priesthood are fully illustrated; not only alb and chasuble, but amice, chimere, cardinal's hat, crozier, mitre, rochet, and the rest, receive their due share of attention. Mr. Marriott's theories, right or wrong, never warp his statement of the evidence; and we know of no other work whatever which gives at length *all* the principal passages of ancient writers relating to vestments, Levitical and Christian, not barely transcribed, but carefully translated and explained. No one interested in the subject of ancient vestments can fail to derive instruction from Mr. Marriott's book, or to admire the industry and ability of the author.

Political Sketches of the State of Europe from 1814-1867 [sic], containing Count Ernst Munster's Despatches to the Prince Regent, from the Congress of Vienna. By GEORGE HERBERT COUNT MUNSTER. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1868.

Of the 287 pages of which this volume is composed, 150 belong to the living author, Count George Herbert, and only the residue to his father, Count Ernst. The former has thought that, since “the political edifice erected at the Congress of Vienna has been destroyed . . . naturally everything relating to the Congress and to that time deserves more than ever our attention.” Most readers, one fears, would “naturally” be of the exactly opposite opinion, that where a political edifice has crumbled into dust after little more than half a century, it becomes less interesting than ever to inquire how such a crazy concern should have come to be reared up. For the historian, however, whose business it is to grope and grub amidst ruins and rubbish of all sorts, if haply he may thereby recover and restore some shape and effigy of the past, Count Ernst Munster's despatches of 1814-15 will not be without a certain value. As the Prime Minister for Hanover, though residing “nearly continually” in England, and as possessing the “most unlimited confidence” of his successive sovereigns, when sent as a representative for Hanover in 1814 to Paris and afterwards to Vienna, he

both enjoyed peculiar opportunities of insight into diplomatic transactions,—forming the third member of the confidential conferences (the plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia being the other two) by which the proceedings of the Congress as respects Germany were virtually managed,—and was also enabled to take up a point of view differing at once from that of an English or of a merely German diplomatist. Although considered in England, as his son writes, a high Tory, he was amongst his countrymen at Vienna a comparative Liberal. His despatches give a faithful, though on the whole decorous picture of the mutual treacheries, the low rapacities of the continental powers in the hour of their triumph. Now and then, even when addressing one who was so little capable of responding to any of the higher feelings as the Prince Regent, disgust gets the better of the diplomatist; as when, on the escape of Napoleon I. from Elba, complaining of the “indifference . . . manifested in Congress in all that ought to be done to strengthen the excellent spirit of the people who have brought about these happy results, by which we have profited so little,” he says (March 18, 1815):—

“On all sides it is evident that war was made rather against the success of Bonaparte than against his principles. No justice has been rendered to the feeble. The oppression of many of the princes of Germany has been continued, and the burdens laid on the people have in many cases been augmented. . . . All the complaints of the abuse of power in Southern Germany, especially in Würtemberg and Baden, have been fruitless, and for four months the Congress has scarcely troubled itself about the Germanic Federation. . . . The worst is that the Powers, united only in appearance, will remember that the distrust which has failed to hinder * the success of the last year’s negotiations, has been only too well justified by events. If Austria feared the progress of Russian domination in Poland, whilst distinct treaties prescribed its boundaries, how will she look on the invasion of Germany by the Russian army? And can the Poles themselves be trusted, to whom anticipations and promises are alike unfulfilled?”

Nearly two months later (June 11) he writes in like manner:—“It is time that the system according to which *soi-disant* Great Powers are permitted to stipulate for advantages to themselves at the expense of feeble states should cease.” Anything more revolting indeed than the manner in which the populations were bandied about from one sovereign to another can hardly be conceived. Human beings were literally kept in hand to be traded with, if not gambled with, like fish at a game of cards. What more insolent contempt for the feelings of men can be evinced than what is implied in a sentence like this—“Prussia has reserved besides a possession of 100,000 souls, for the purpose of making exchanges with Hesse”?

Count George Herbert’s portion of the volume, consisting of very one-sided narrative and much disquisition, is by no means of the same historical value as his father’s despatches. As expressing, however, the views of a Hanoverian who frankly accepts Prussian supremacy, and who, after the extinction of his state, referring to the fact that “the King of Prussia, if war were to break out, would be the commander-in-chief no longer of Prussia merely, but of Germany,” can write, “So far we have come; and, God be praised for it! a foreign foe cannot tear Germany asunder again,”—it has an interest at the present juncture. He criticizes with good sense and some acuteness the unworkable nature of the present North German Confederation—“nothing but a German empire *incognito*”—and, though looking apparently on radicalism as synonymous with all devilry, justly censures the folly of the German ultra-Conservatives.

The work, we are told, was translated by the author’s wife, the late Countess Münster, known in England as Lady Harriette St. Clair. There occur in it, however, two or three curious blunders in translation (one of which we have pointed out in a note), and a few marks of singular haste—*e.g.*, “south” for “north,” or “Prussian” for “Federal.” One of the best things in the volume occurs in a passage on the political effects of railways in Germany:—

“Railway travellers began to open their eyes to the small extent of many German principalities. States through which it took a day to drive, on not particularly good roads, are now literally flown through. *You can hardly smoke through a cigar from*

* This must mean “all but hindered;” probably a mistranslation of the Gallicism, “*manqué empêcher*.”

beginning to end of a single State. The good impressions produced by the patriarchal mode of life, and the love of subjects towards their princes, are changed on the railway into a smile at the rapidity with which a whole State is traversed."

Political mensuration by tobacco-smoke will be probably a new idea to some of the Count's readers.

A Vindication of the Character and Administration of Sir Thomas Rumbold, Bart., Governor of Madras in 1778-1780, from the Misrepresentations of Colonel Wilks, Mr. Mill, and other Historians of British India, including an Examination of Mr. Hastings' Relations with Sir Thomas Rumbold. By his Daughter, the late ELIZABETH ANNE RUMBOLD. London: Longmans. 1868.

THE circumstances under which this work is published are such as almost to disarm hostile criticism. The (unnamed) editor tells us that the youngest daughter of the late Sir Thomas Rumbold (who died in 1791), whilst residing in France, an invalid of many years' standing, not many years before her death became aware that her father's memory had grown to be, from the publication of Colonel Mark Wilks' "*Historical Sketches of the South of India*" in 1817, a name of scorn amongst Indian historians. For six years she devoted herself to the task of making herself acquainted with all the facts relating to his administration, and to the accusations which had been brought against him, mastered blue-book after blue-book, minutes of evidence taken at the bar of the House of Commons, reports of the "Committee of Secrecy" of the House "on the Causes of the War in the Carnatic," manuscript copies of speeches and correspondence, folio volumes of briefs for counsel, &c. &c. In the latter part of 1866 she had completed her collections; they were submitted to Mr. Marshman, who was then bringing through the press the first volume of his "*History of India*," and who was so struck by them that he added to it an appendix declaring that the statements regarding Sir T. Rumbold's proceedings, "which are now received as historical facts," and "the authenticity of which" he had himself "never suspected, are not, as it would appear, to be relied on, and this chapter of Indian history requires to be written afresh." On the last day but one of January, 1867, Miss Rumbold "read for herself, ill as she was, Mr. Marshman's appendix. The day following she died. Some of her last directions related to corrections of her MS."

The present volume is edited by a gentleman who confesses to "an entire want of previous familiarity with the matters of history involved," and who has of course been unable to enhance its value by any illustrations. To the general reader it can offer but little interest; yet no one can peruse it without feeling, as Mr. Marshman has said, that the chapter of Indian history to which it relates will have to be "written afresh." Not indeed that the value of it will lie for others, as it did for a daughter, in the clearing of Sir Thomas Rumbold. She has shown indeed that, with the most singular historic carelessness, an indictment has been treated as equivalent to a verdict of guilty; and the charges in a Bill of Pains and Penalties, which was dropped after the completion of the defence, have been assumed to be proved, when many of them had been expressly abandoned at an early stage of the prosecution. She has shown that Sir Thomas continued to sit in the House of Commons, taking his full share in Indian debates, till his death in 1791, and was spoken of by so high-minded a politician as Burke, in direct contrast to Warren Hastings, as a "worthy Baronet." She has not explained how, if Sir Thomas Rumbold was really at all points the uncorrupt administrator, the wise and patriotic statesman whom she believes him to have been, he could have rested satisfied with the poor vindication afforded by the mere dropping, after a second reading, of a Bill of Pains and Penalties. Nor can we fail to observe that Burke, whilst praising his "manliness of spirit and decency of behaviour," carefully abstains from pronouncing him innocent. "Whatever the merits of the worthy Baronet's defence might have been," is the guarded language of the speaker. On the whole, we fear that, although cleared by filial piety from the darker charges which have been heaped upon him, Sir Thomas Rumbold can hardly be considered to have risen above the level of Anglo-Indian morality at one of its most discreditable eras, but simply not to have deserved to be made its scapegoat.

But whatever shades are cleared from Sir Thomas Rumbold's memory, a still blacker one must henceforth rest on that of Warren Hastings. It remains clear from Miss Rumbold's work that Hastings had, as Francis observed in his *Diary*, a personal antipathy to Rumbold; that he resented the latter's disapproval of his senseless Mahratta war, and sought to lay upon him the blame of his own blunders. Nay, Miss Rumbold, in a supplementary chapter, fully proves that Macaulay's famous account of the "signal triumph" of Hastings' "fertile genius and serene courage" in saving Madras after Baillie's disaster, during the war with Hyder Ali, is little better than a myth; that Hastings' conduct in the matter amounted to nothing but a skilful *coup de théâtre* to disguise his own shortcomings; that he had been deaf for months to the warnings of the Madras Board, and of its "incapable" governor, Mr. Whitehill, first as to Hyder's preparations, then as to his approach with a large army, then as to his actual invasion of the Carnatic—deaf to their applications for succour, deaf to their remonstrances against his neglect of them; that Lord Macaulay's "swift ship, flying before the south-west monsoon," which reached Calcutta on the 25th of September with the tidings of Baillie's defeat of the 10th, had been preceded since the 4th by Hastings' opposition even to his own commander-in-chief, Sir Eyre Coote's, express proposal to despatch immediate succour to Madras. In short, it may be said that all the "machinations" which Mr. Mill has justly stigmatized in Hastings' conduct towards Lord Macartney had been equally used by him towards his predecessors, Rumbold and Whitehill.

But how is it that public opinion has been hitherto so completely deluded in the one case and not in the other? An acute suggestion of Miss Rumbold's supplies the clue to the mystery. The received historical picture of her father's administration is derived from Colonel Wilks' work. In the preface to his second volume Colonel Wilks apologizes for "a revision not sufficiently careful of a certain portion of the contents"—an apology which Miss Rumbold shows to be fully justified by contradictory statements in the narrative—and speaks of a liberal "extension of aid in the researches connected with those volumes, and some of which he is restrained from making a particular acknowledgment" (*sic*). Now, if Hastings (whom Colonel Wilks fulsomely eulogizes) was the person to whom the writer was "restrained from making a particular acknowledgment," the whole thing is explained at once. Hastings died only in 1818; the second volume of Colonel Wilks' "Historical Sketches" was published in 1817; Sir Thomas Rumbold was dead since 1791. If we consider the distortions of fact which Miss Rumbold shows in Colonel Wilks' revised text, and the spirit in which these are invariably conceived, we shall find it difficult to resist the conclusion that, by a last act of unscrupulous vindictiveness, the devastator of Rohilkund, the plunderer of the Begums of Oude, the judicial murderer of Nuncomar, succeeded thus in palming upon his countrymen a pseudonymous chapter of Indian history, in which a long-dead opponent is made the scapegoat for his own blunders and misdeeds. Miss Rumbold (or her editor) speaks of its having been "unhappily necessary to expose the policy and conduct of Mr. Hastings." There can be nothing "unhappy" about such an exposure but the apology for it.

The Past and Present of New Zealand, with its Prospects for the Future. By the Rev. RICHARD TAYLOR, M.A., an old Zealand Missionary, Author of "New Zealand and its Inhabitants." London: William Mackintosh.

THIS is a book which has everything to recommend it, except its style. It affords copious and authentic information on several subjects of growing importance. As a personal narrative it has a good deal of interest, and as a record of missionary labour it is valuable and convincing. The reader feels in this instance the accounts are not cooked. But the style is very faulty indeed, deficient in construction and arrangement, laboured, verbose, and dull. The opening pages, instead of striking boldly into a description of the scenery and characteristics of the country, and thus securing the reader's attention, are devoted to dreary platitudes about the duty of instructing the heathen, and the wide field now opened for missionary work. There is a simplicity about the author's style occasionally which contrasts oddly with the very tall talking in which he usually indulges. He is particularly forcible on the subject of can-

nibalism, of which he gives horrible details; and then winds up with the following, which provokes a smile amid its horrors, by the strange *naïveté* of the tone:—

"Up the Manganui, a tributary of the Wanganui, next the road across the central plains to Botorna, a lonely path, running through dense forests, there is a large cave, formed by an overhanging cliff, which gives a space of twenty-one feet sheltered from the weather, and nearly one hundred feet long; this is situated on high ground, and commands a view of the road which runs below. Those parties were accustomed to lie in wait for the unsuspecting traveller, who was thence pounced upon, killed, and cooked in that cave. When I first visited it, the ovens were still fresh, with charred human bones lying around them; and a man in my party was pointed out to me who had a narrow escape of being there killed and eaten by a party who had been three days waiting for him. This cave I frequently made my resting-place for the night; and twice it has afforded me a dry resting-place when it was raining heavily outside. I first slept in it in 1843, and when I found for what purpose it had been used, and that I had actually one in my party who had a narrow escape of being there killed and cooked, I held a prayer-meeting in that old den of cruelty, and for the first time it resounded with praise to Him who came to make man love his neighbour as himself."

The experiences of the hero of the beanstalk in the giant's castle were hardly more sensational than this. One very creditable convert, who had been an "out-and-outer" in point of cannibalism, but renounced eating men and took to teaching children instead, acknowledged that he had had an insatiable appetite for human flesh. That civilization should have made so much progress, and Christianity gained such a footing among such deplorable natures as the Maori in so short a time, is truly wonderful. The author's account of the progress of the mission, and of Williams, its patriarch, is interesting, though ill-written; and he sums up the effect on the morals of the converts in this satisfactory sentence:—

"Their faith was the simple belief of the child in the words of its parent—that God has spoken to us by His word, and that we are bound to yield implicit obedience to it; and the fruits of that faith were evident to all. The Sabbath was not more strictly observed in any part of Britain, or the Scriptures more diligently perused. As a race, they became moral. Wars became less frequent and barbarous; cannibalism ceased; theft became rare; polygamy was given up. They manumitted their slaves long before slavery ceased in Christian America, and they became remarkable for their honesty and sobriety. The true light shone upon the land; the natives saw it, strove to walk in it, and became the children of light: many died in it, declaring they were 'Marama,' light, or happy."

There have been some fallings off, and the conduct of the authorities, inclined rather to study the political interests of their position than the spiritual interests of the natives and the success of the mission, excites the indignation of Mr. Taylor very strongly. There is less information of a topographical and otherwise scientific kind in this book than the reader would desire, but Hochstetter's invaluable monograph being now accessible in English, there is less to regret on that score, and the missionary zeal of Mr. Taylor naturally induces him to treat this portion of his subject as of incomparable importance. A chapter entitled "The King Movement," gives us an insight into the cause and commencement of one of those harassing and wearisome "little wars" which, from our imperial centre, we are apt to regard with somewhat contemptuous disdain, but which have their deeply tragic aspect, and their wide-spreading results too. There is more loveliness and less confusion in this portion of the book than in the foregoing and the ensuing sections; and Mr. Taylor sustains his argument that the ignoring of the Maori race, and the treating of the island as altogether European, was a disastrous blunder, very conclusively. He believes that the present cumbrous form of government cannot possibly last, and dwells upon the terrible burthen of taxation laid upon the island, and the immense expenditure on the maintenance of a number of provincial governments, for which, he contends, municipal institutions might be substituted with advantage. On this point the author appears to have reason on his side. Then he argues warmly the necessity for defining without delay the future status of the native race. In Swainson's "New Zealand" a remarkable admission is made, which seems very like a policy of extermination. "It has been admitted," he says, "by the Colonial Department that the New Zealand constitution was framed in forget-

fulness of the large native tribes within the dominions to which it was intended to apply." Mr. Taylor asks—How is it to be for the future? Are the natives to be viewed, not only as being subject to our laws, but as British subjects so incorporated with ourselves as to be entitled to all those rights and privileges which we possess? In such a case, the native head chiefs will sit in our legislative council, being entitled to it by their rank and influence, and the others will have the General Assembly and the provincial councils (if such continue to exist) open to them as well as to ourselves. The author adds—

"Four nations are to be added to the General Assembly. Great credit is due to Mr. Maclean for this measure; it is a pity it did not also extend to the admission of an equal number of the head chiefs to the Legislative Council. When this is done, those chiefs will feel there is no longer any benefit to be derived by their letting large blocks of land remain unoccupied merely to keep the European away, but that it will be far better to lease or sell what they cannot profitably use."

A proposal to meet the increasing demand for labour by the importation of a number of comparatively virtuous convicts from England and the other colonies, will not find favour, we imagine, either here or in New Zealand. The author contends that the labourers now sent out, being chiefly the product of the union workhouses, are more demoralizing than ticket-of-leave convicts, as they possess all the characteristics of the latter, and are free from convict discipline; besides which they become entitled to vote at elections in about six months, a circumstance which seriously affects the tone of society. Some practical advice to intending emigrants and newly-arrived settlers forms the concluding section of this dull but useful book.

III.—PHILOSOPHICAL AND SCIENTIFIC.

God in History; or, The Progress of Man's Faith in the Moral Order of the World. By C. C. J. BARON BUNSEN, D.Ph., D.C.L., and D.D. Translated from the German by SUSANNA WINKWORTH; with a Preface by ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D.D., Dean of Westminster. Two vols. London: Longmans.

WE reserve a full review of the wide range of topics embraced in this work till the third volume, which Miss Winkworth promises as likely to appear in the course of next year, completes the author's treatment of his great argument. As it is, the portion of it which now lies before us calls for notice as being part of that which its illustrious author looked on as the great task of his life, to which all his manifold and varied studies converged, in which he believed he was helping men to solve, more or less adequately, the problems of the world's history, and meeting the wants of the generation in which he lived.

Reserving, as we have said, a discussion of the views of which Baron Bunsen was the exponent, and referring our readers to the reviews of Mr. Max Müller's "Essays on the Science of Religion," and of Baron Bunsen's "Memoirs," which have appeared in these pages, as containing in part our views on the subject of which both works treat, and our estimate of the life and character of the latter writer, we content ourselves for the present with indicating the range of the great enterprise to which he consecrated all the stores of his knowledge and all the energies of his mind. This, as the title indicates, is nothing less than a Theodicea. To "vindicate the ways of God to man"—to trace God in history, without merging the divine personality, with its attributes of volition, righteousness, sovereignty, in a pantheistic identity with the Kosmos—to help men to recognise a divine education of mankind, while he admits that whole races have for long periods thwarted that education, and forfeited the blessings which they were meant to inherit—to help them to see that, through all the slowness and delay and retarding influences, there has been a progress, and that even in the darkest times and among the most degraded races God has not left himself without witness,—this was the task which Baron Bunsen set before himself, and which, working with the moral earnestness that characterized his nature, as in the sight of God, and as in the spirit of one who prays for illumination, he lived to com-

plete. In accomplishing that task he had to examine the varied forms in which man's consciousness of God had manifested itself with more or less distinctness, to survey once again the religions of the world. With far more system and with a more deliberate effort at completeness than Mr. Max Müller—with a greater love for wide generalizations, and, in some regions of inquiry, with less of original and independent knowledge—he goes over the same grounds as that traversed in the "Essays on the Science of Religion." The views as to the date, authorship, meaning of the law, the Psalms, the prophets of the Old Testament, which are developed fully in his "Bibel-werk," are here (with hardly sufficient proof in some cases) assumed. Barnich meets us as the author of the latter half (chaps. xl.—lxvi.) of Isaiah's prophecy; Jeremiah as the servant of the Lord, who is its central figure. The Book of Job is referred to Egypt as the place, and to the period of the Babylonian exile as the time, of its composition. The late date of Daniel is taken for granted. Here and there, as specially in the explanations given of the perplexing prophecy of Agur to Ithiel and Ucal in Prov. xxx. 1—6 (i. 76), and in the hypothesis as to the Azazel of the scape-goat ceremonial of the Day of Atonement (i. p. 100), in which he opposes the prevalent notion of German commentators that it was the name of an Evil Spirit, we note suggestions that promise to throw light on some of the obscurities of Scripture.

The survey of Semitic religion is followed by an inquiry into that of the Aryan and Turanian races. The systems of Confucius and Lao-tse, of Zoroaster and the Vedas, of earlier and later Buddhism, contribute their share to the great result. We note, in passing, that in dealing with the latter Baron Bunsen distinctly maintains, in opposition to M. Burnouf and Mr. Max Müller, that the *Nirvana* of Buddhism is not identical with annihilation, not even with the loss of consciousness, which approximates to it. As he views it, Nirvana is simply an eternal life—an immortality divested of the burthen of egoism, of self with its hatred and its cares—an existence in which all is life, and love, and peace. Copious extracts from Buddhist devotional works, and a complete translation of the Sutra of the forty-two sayings of Buddha, give a peculiar interest to this portion of the inquiry, and present the English reader with more authentic materials for forming a judgment on the points at issue than are easily accessible to him elsewhere.

The second volume enters on the religious history of the European branches of the Aryan races; and here, of course, that of Greece occupies the first place as the great "prerogative instance" of the inquiry. The theogony of Hesiod, the underlying thought of the *mythos* of Prometheus, the religion of Homer, the various phases of the doctrine of Nemesis in the Greek tragedians and in Herodotus, the foreshadowings of a higher truth in the teaching of Socrates, the anticipations in the dialogues of Plato of the doctrine of the *Leyos* and the "only-begotten" developed in St. John's Gospel—all this is brought before us (illustrated here also by numerous quotations from the best current versions) in a manner which, if wanting as compared with more elaborate treatises on each separate portion in accuracy and completeness, is yet at all times pregnant and suggestive. The second volume ends with a comparatively brief notice of the religious consciousness of the Romans as manifested in their political institutions and their literature, and of the pre-Christian religious thought of the Teutons as seen especially in the Edda and the "great prophetic poem" of the *Völuspá* (the *Seeress*), which treats of the *genesis* of the world, of the combat of the gods with the giants, of the final victory of good over evil. Of the latter, in its earlier and later forms, a complete German version is given. We hope that in any future edition Miss Winkworth will add to the many claims which she has already on the gratitude of English readers that of translating these also for their benefit.

We have said enough of "God in History" to show that no work of equal width and depth and richness of knowledge, dealing with this great subject, has appeared for a long period (if indeed any such has ever appeared at all, Mr. Maurice's "Religions of the World," and Archdeacon Hardwick's "Christ and other Masters," being the nearest approximations to it); and we can desire nothing better for the cause of those who seek to unite reverence and freedom than that it should be read and thought over. We do not profess to adopt all its conclusions on special points of inquiry. The unwillingness to acknowledge the power of a created will, human or superhuman, to originate and perpetuate

evil, seems to us to embarrass Baron Bunsen's philosophy of religion, and to omit one important element of the solution of the problem of the world's history. But it is a gain for any thinking man or woman to come into contact with a mind so lofty and so pure; and this is precisely one of those books which we should wish our readers to have studied for themselves before we enter on a more complete review of it.

Pelicotetics; or the Science of Quantity. By ARCHIBALD SANDEMAN, M.A.
London: Macmillan & Co. 1868.

In the volume before us the author undertakes to examine the first principles of algebraic operations, and to settle them on a secure and logical basis. It is written by a prominent member of that great university, where the study of mathematics forms a considerable part of the education provided for not a few of the *élite* of our nation. Such an attempt, therefore, by any competent writer has at all times a natural claim on our respectful attention; but never in the history of Cambridge could such an attempt be more opportune than at the present moment, when many among the leading minds of the university are engaged in remodelling the curriculum of those mathematical studies for which she has been so long and so deservedly famous.

The object which our author sets before him is expressed as follows in the first sentence of the preface:—

"This book seeks to make Arithmetic and Algebra a science,—a piece of knowledge to wit everywhere reasoned out in an orderly way from principles expressly laid down,—and toward that end has to run wide of the track of the common books."

Speaking of the way in which the writers of these common books have hitherto handled their subjects, he says they

"Miss the operations that are the very heart and life of arithmetic's every part that therefore abide ever the same under all systems of notation and that therefore before aught else have a right to the name of arithmetical operations. . . . In symbolic arithmetic the books with all the mistakes confusions and falsities above spoken of thick upon them plunge headlong into downright contradictions."

This description of the books in common use is at least as decided, not to say as disparaging, as language can well make it. But there is much more of a similar character to follow; for our author, having thus expressed his convictions relative to the arithmetical delinquencies of his predecessors, proceeds in a similar strain to describe their alleged failures in the matter of algebra also. He very modestly declares that

"The algebra of the books is quite of a piece with the arithmetic. . . . Notwithstanding all the strays tumbles and flounderings of algebra writers some conclusions reached by them are nowhit less than wonderful. . . . Algebraers thus run away with by their overmastering symbols are at last driven to the strange and wild shift and outrageously overtowering extravagance and absurdity of finding and raising high as a principle that a chain of reasoning to be strong and good need not have meaning to every link. . . ."

Our author then concludes his preface with a peroration—or, as he more elegantly terms it, "*a wind up*"—quite in keeping with the modest exordium with which it commences. He writes as follows:—

"Small need then to say as a wind up that arithmetic and algebra in their wonted setting forth cannot but be educationally bad and mischievous scientifically misleading bewildering unhelpful balking stunning deadening and killing and philosophically worthless."!!

We regret to add that language such as this is then dated from Queen's College, Cambridge.

Now we have no hesitation in stating our conviction that these sweeping charges against the books in common and extensive use for the purposes of education in the first principles of analytical science are as groundless in fact as they are grotesque in expression. In this country, the two most popular and extensively used treatises on the elements of arithmetic and algebra, are written by Professor De Morgan and Mr. Todhunter. It is almost unnecessary to say

* For the punctuation, or rather the absence of punctuation, in the several quotations, the author himself is responsible.

that the former gentleman is well known for the acuteness of his logical perceptions, and for his writings on logic itself; whilst the latter has established a high reputation for philosophical acumen, by his recent works on the histories of the Calculus of Variation and of the Doctrine of Probabilities. Moreover, neither of these writers can fail to be well acquainted with the admirable investigations of the late Dean Peacock on the foundations of algebra; and each of them is well able, if so disposed, to carry to a still further extent the researches of that eminent mathematician, whose memory is among the fondest recollections of a generation of able university writers now fast fading away. On the other hand, it may safely be affirmed that in the four hundred and odd pages of Mr. Sandeman's volume, there is very little or nothing of importance which has not been at least as well and, in general, more philosophically expressed by Dean Peacock. Nevertheless, we have failed to find the slightest allusion to the name of that author, to whom Mr. Sandeman, in common with all other students of analysis, is so deeply indebted.

Our author dwells, with an amount of care often bordering upon prolixity, on the meanings which may or must be logically attached to the ordinary

symbols, $+$, $-$, \times , \div , a^m , $\sqrt{-a}$, $a+b\sqrt{-1}$. No doubt, less than half a century ago, there was a haze surrounding these and similar symbols, which consciously oppressed the minds of the few thinking men who directed their attention to a philosophical view of algebraic notation. Nevertheless, in spite of these hazy views, thus grotesquely caricatured by our author, Lagrange, Laplace, Gauss, and a host of other men, by the aid of these symbols achieved conquests in analysis which are at once the glory and the hope of the powers of human intellect.

In the year 1806 M. Buée, in the "Philosophical Transactions," made the first successful attempt towards removing the haze which had hitherto attached itself to one of these symbols. He showed that the symbol $\sqrt{-1}$, which, in an arithmetical point of view, is simply an *imaginary* or *impossible* quantity, might or must, under certain simple geometrical conditions, indicate the *perpendicularity of one line to another*.

This, at all events when viewed in the light of a suggestion, was a most important step. The ground thus first broken by M. Buée, was more successfully cultivated by Mr. Warren, Tutor of Jesus College, Cambridge, who, in 1828, showed that a geometrical interpretation of the roots of unity, whether *arithmetically* imaginary or not, consisted in the successive rotations of a line through that portion of an entire circumference denoted by the order or number of the root.* Mr. Peacock, in 1830, at that time Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge, published the first edition of his memorable treatise on the foundation of algebra and algebraic notation, which has ever since contributed to throw so much light on many points heretofore obscure. The student in philosophical analysis cannot do better than to consult the preface to this most original work. A second edition, with many improvements, appeared in the year 1845.

Whether the last edition of Dean Peacock's work is now exhausted or not, we gladly acknowledge that Mr. Sandeman has rendered good service to the cause of good logic, by calling attention to that philosophical part of a much-cultivated science, which is too frequently overlooked. It is herein we conceive that the chief value of this book upon the science of algebra consists.

We shall now give one specimen of the style which generically pervades the volume before us. The author's wrath against the *common books* is especially directed against the common doctrine of proportion. Let us hear Mr. Sandeman on the subject. Here is his definition of *ratio* :—

"*Def.* That definite numerical relation of any magnitude to any magnitude of the same kind in virtue of which the former either is a fraction of the latter or is greater than the one and less than the other of two fractions of the latter differing from one another by less than any given fraction however small is called the ratio of the former magnitude to the latter."

We do not impugn this definition on the ground of inexactness, but on the

* Peacock's Algebra, Art. 459, Ed. 1.

ground of want of simplicity. The definition in our school-boy days, that given by Dean Peacock, and as old as the age of the Greek geometers, is as simple as it is brief. Thus, "Ratio is the relation between two magnitudes of the same kind with respect to magnitude;" and then the *common* books—books as old as the "Wood's Algebra" of half a century ago, proceed to discuss the symbolical method by which this ratio can be represented, by no means failing to point out those limitations which the *incommensurability* of certain quantities may require, and on which Mr. Sandeman indulges more than ordinary prolixity.

We should have expected that a writer who expresses so much anxiety to be logically exact, for the sake of the good education of the young student, would have endeavoured to free him from that state of embarrassment which never fails to envelope his mind when he comes to the geometrical *definition of proportion* as given in the fifth book of Euclid. To the present hour this definition perplexes the student, not so much from any difficulty in apprehending its meaning, as from the difficulty of conceiving *what could have put such thoughts originally into the mind of the Greek geometer*. We have not ourselves seen any direct and simple solution of this difficulty, either in Mr. Sandeman's volume or in the writings of any other author, and we shall conclude this notice by laying before the reader what has occurred to our own mind upon the subject. But we must necessarily be very brief.

"The first of four magnitudes has to the second the same ratio as the third has to the fourth precisely when any multiples whatever of the first and second are in the same order of greatness as the like multiples severally of the third and fourth."

So says Mr. Sandeman, and so also virtually says Euclid in Def. 5, Book v. But how came such a thought as this into the mind of a Greek geometer as a *definition of proportion*? Let us try to explain this order of thought. Proportion, says Euclid, is the similitude of ratio; and ratio is the comparison of magnitude in respect of quantity. Now in what way would a thoughtful person naturally proceed to compare two magnitudes, A and B, of the same kind, in respect of quantity? Would he not say, I perceive five times A to be exactly equal to (say) seven times B, or less or greater than seven times B? Or else that four times A is exactly the same as (say) three times B, or less or greater than three times B? This, in fact, is the most obvious way in which he could compare A and B in respect of quantity. Now if the ratio of C to D is the same as that of A to B, then it follows, as a matter of course, that five times C *must* be exactly equal to seven times D, or less or greater than seven times D; or else that four times C is exactly the same as three times D, or less or greater than three times D.

Now it will be observed that we have here taken those very equimultiples of the first and third, and of the second and fourth, of which the Greek geometer speaks; and we then proceed to compare the order of greatness of the multiples of the first and second, and of the third and fourth. Such, then, is the spirit and the obvious order of thought in that remarkable definition of proportion which is generally a stumbling-block in the way of the student. When really understood, nothing can be simpler, more obvious, more lucid, or more direct.*

We conclude by commending Mr. Sandeman's volume on *Pelicoetetics* to the diligent attention of all such mathematical students as may not find ready access to the late Dean Peacock's simpler enunciation of very much the same principles.

Synopsis Filicum. A Synopsis of all known Ferns. By the late Sir W. J. HOOKER, K.H., F.R.S., &c., and J. G. BAKER, F.L.S. London: Hardwicke. 1868.

SCPTICS who would deride the advantages afforded by such magnificent establishments as that at Kew, and reformers who would pare down its expen-

* It is impossible from Euclid's definition to deduce logically the algebraic definition, viz., $\frac{A}{B} = \frac{C}{D}$, because the geometrical definition includes incommensurable as well as commensurable magnitudes, whereas the algebraic tacitly excludes the former. It is here that we think Mr. Todhunter is at fault in Art. 409, Algebra, Ed. 2. See Peacock's Algebra, Preface, p. xxv. Ed. 1.

diture to the meanest limits and convert the gardens into "a people's park," are sufficiently answered by the production of such a work as that before us. It would have been strange indeed if the labours of two of the most able botanists of modern times, aided by a collection as perfect as it is unique, had not produced a work which must for many years be the standard manual of all pteridologists. Sir W. Hooker did not live to see the conclusion of this great work. But the botanical as well as the general scientific world may well be congratulated that the mantle of the late director of the Kew Gardens has fallen on so worthy a successor as the present assistant curator in completing the work. Mr. Baker has endeavoured to carry out this Synopsis to a conclusion in accordance with Sir W. Hooker's original plan, and he has thoroughly succeeded.

The Synopsis does not profess to be either a compendium of, or a supplement to, the author's great work, "*Species Filicum*," but rather to be an independent manual of all known ferns. It is, in truth, an invaluable *aide mecum* for the travelling botanist and the cultivator of ferns, and is equally adapted for ready consultation in the herbarium.

Several cryptogamic sub-orders of plants, as the Lycopods and Equisetums, are excluded from this work, but all true ferns are included, from the *Osmundaceæ* to the *Ophioglossaceæ*. Of every known species there is a clear and accurate description given in English, together with references to the work (if any) in which the plant has already been described, and also to any plates which represent it. A short paragraph follows, giving its geographical distribution, and pointing out its distinctions from closely-allied species. With like brevity and distinctness the generic characters are given at the head of each group.

The confusion which has long existed in the science and nomenclature of ferns will be greatly reduced by the judicious arrangement which the authors have followed. The careful multiplication of species is as much avoided as the careless conglomeration which is almost an equal, if less common, evil. The clear and trenchant differentiation of species throughout the work well illustrates the fact, that the more extensive the range of scientific investigation, the sounder are the views formed on each special branch.

The plates show Mr. Fitch's usual care and accuracy, and illustrating seventy-five important genera, are a valuable addition to the text. They possess all the clearness and neatness of diagrams. The authors have taken care to give all credit to the industrious explorers and travellers who from time to time have enriched the national herbarium.

IV.—CLASSICAL.

Aristophanes: the Acharnians and Knights. Edited by W. C. GREEN, M.A., late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Rivingtons. 1867.

IN beginning a new edition of Aristophanes for their series, the editors of the *Catena Classicorum* have done well, and given a ground of hope that, in due time, the eleven plays will be attainable in a readable and useful form, without the necessity of young students having to recur to foreign editions. And there is this advantage, it may be, in the part-after-part system, which is to characterize this series, that an editor like Mr. Green will see, as his work advances, what to alter and amend in his plan and details, and be able to gather, from the comments of his readers, what to add and what to leave out. Of the latter we have found very little. Some few feeble puns, and a quotation or two from Mr. Charles Dickens, might make room, if omitted, for references to some good syntax (Mr. Jebb, in his *Electra*, has adopted Madvig's, and it would give unity to the *Catena* if the references to Greek syntax were to be made, in all its publications, to one and the same grammatical text-book); but otherwise we have found next to nothing that was not pertinent in the short, practical, helpful notes at the foot of each page. For the matter of them recourse has been had to the stores of the scholiasts—of Bekker, of Meineke, and of Mitchell; but it is a comfort to

find that a sifting process has been adopted, and that the chaff has been diligently cleared out of the way. The editor also deserves credit for his honest help to his readers in deciding the conflicting claims of doubtful texts or clashing interpretations. In almost every case he ventures to pronounce an opinion; and thus the more timid reader and student has assistance in arriving at a decision, while the bolder or more independent judgment is left at liberty to take, or not to take, at second-hand, the arbitration so pronounced. We may also add that the choice of plays, in this instance, appears to us soundly made. The *Acharnians* and *Knights* are the earliest extant plays of Aristophanes—his *Banqueters* and *Babylonians* having perished. The order of time is generally the best rule in this matter; but were it not so, we should still approve of the preference to these two plays as fitted to show Aristophanes as he was—at one time a playful, genial, almost wanton, broad-faricist—at another, a stinging, unsparing master of bitter satire. In the *Acharnians*, merriment and fun appear to predominate, and to be the first consideration: in the *Knights*, a comic garb disguises some very aggressive onslaughts upon the evils of democracy, and the rascality of Cleon. In the former the poet is, as he has taught us in the *Parabasis* to the *Knights*, exhibiting a drama in the name of another; in the latter, he is sailing under his true colours, and writing *in propria persona*. The date of the first play is probably B.C. 425, and that of the second, B.C. 424. Thus they make an appropriate couple; and as with the couples in human life unlikeness is often a better bond than likeness, so perhaps here. Everything that could have been done to bring the reader to the consideration of each play with a clear view of its political aim and its general plot, has been done in Mr. Green's prefaces; and the few points which we shall have space to notice as having struck us in the perusal of his notes, will, we think, serve to show that he has well conceived, and well carried out, the duties of a modern-day editor of classical works. It is, no doubt, by thorough study of an author, and careful comparison of him with himself, that an editor gets an insight into his mind and manner, and attains to a due confidence in the interpretation of his meaning. In this process Mr. Green shows considerable skill. Turning to the 708, 709 lines of the *Knights*, we find, in his notes, a hint which aids the settlement of the meaning of a word in the second verse. Before they knock at the door of Demus, Cleon and the sausage-seller have been outdoing each other in taunts and threats; and to the threat of the former—

ἔξαρπάσομαι σοῦ τοὶ ὄνυξαι πάντερά,

the latter retorts—

ἀπορυχιῶ σου τὰν πρωταγίστην αἰτία.

The scholiast here explains ἀπορυχιῶ by "tearing with the nails," though its usual meaning is "to pare the nails;" and this, if we were to be very matter-of-fact, would be the safer course of interpretation. But Mr. Green brings to bear upon the passage a parallel from the *Acharnians*, and shows, from the similar way in which, at vv. 346, 347 of that play, the word σιστρὸς is taken up and referred to in ἀνασιμῶν of the next line, that here, too, ἀπορυχιῶ is used "without any strict regard to the exact propriety of applying ἀπορυχιῶν to αἰτία." In each case the retort is based upon a catching of sounds. Here, as he says, the spirit of the passage would be about this: "I'll tear out your entrails with my nails!" "Nails, indeed! I'll pare yours pretty close—your town-hall commons, I mean." And in the *Acharnians*, above referred to,—

Χορ. ὥς ὅδε γὰρ σιστρὸ ἄμα τῇ στροφῇ γίγνεται.
Δικ. ἐπὶλλετ' ἀρ' ἅπαντες ἀνασιμῶν βοήν,

the word ἀνασιμῶν similarly answers the sound, not the sense, of σιστρὸς, "a shaking," and, with βοήν after it, means "to raise noisily a cry." Mr. Green lifts off the force of the lines as follows:—

"The Chorus say, 'See, we've shaken our aprons empty.' Dicaeopolis rejoins: 'Shake! ah, I thought I should make you shake, and shout to save your coats; and they were within an ace of destruction.'"

This is one sample of acumen resulting from research. A reference to the 545, 547 lines of the *Knights* will introduce our readers to a specimen of the workmanlike way in which Mr. Green tackles a difficult passage when he comes

upon it. It is a bit of the Parabasis, in which the Chorus invites the applause of the audience for the playwright:—

τούτων οὖν οὐνεκα πάντων
ὅτι σωφρονικῶς κοῦε ἀνοήτως ἰσπηδήσας ἰφλυάρι
αἶρισθ' αὐτῷ πολὺ τὸ ῥόδιον, παραπέμψατ' ἰφ' ἑνδεκα κώπαις
θόρυβον χρηστὸν ληναίτην.

On γ. 545 the editor simply points out the need of supplying at σωφρονικῶς some such word of simple in-coming as προσῆλθιν, to answer "the boisterously-foolish in-coming expressed in ἰσπηδήσας ἰφλυάρι," a kind of "zeugma," in point of fact; but he goes more at length into the unravelling of the nautical metaphors in which the applause of audience is signified in the two following lines. The difficulty lies in the seven concluding words. The Chorus says, "Let the plashing (or clapping) for your poet be great—convey him to the stroke of eleven oars—ay (raise), even a good Lenæan applause." Mr. Green takes θόρυβον χρηστὸν ληναίτην to be in apposition to ῥόδιον, and παραπέμψατ' ἰφ' ἑνδεκα κώπαις (at which last word, by the way, there should be a comma) as parenthetical; and furthermore shows that ἰφ' ἑνδεκα κ. is used, naturally enough, of a galley with eleven oars on either side, "for the eleven oars of one side plashing simultaneously in the water is the striking sight to the eye." It would seem that this demonstration was equivalent to a naval cheer or salute, there "being some well-known use of such vessels as an escort of honour on occasions of cheering." The only doubt which we have as to the soundness of Mr. Green's annotation of this passage is, as to whether θόρυβον need be taken as in apposition to ῥόδιον. Might it not be a sort of accusative of kindred signification after παραπέμψατε? (See Madvig's Gr. Syntax, § 26 b). But this is a matter of detail.

Equally helpful is the note at 608, 610 (*Equites*)—

ὥστ' ἰφ' ἑωρος εἰπιῖν καρκίνον Κορίνθιον,
λεινά γ', ὦ Πόσειδον, εἰ μὴδ' ἐν βυθῷ ἐνέησομαι
μήτε γῇ μήτ' ἐν θαλάσῃ διαφυγῖν τοὺς Ἰππίδας,

where it is clear that there is some allusion to a nickname which has not come down to us. Mr. Green explains the general sense: "Theorus flatteringly said that a Corinthian crab said, 'Tis a shame if—run away as I will—I can't, either on land or in sea, escape the Knights.'" He is equally successful in discussing the senses of particular words. At *Knights*, 358, λαρυγγῶ τοῖς ῥήτορας, it has been an open question whether λαρυγγίζω meant to "shout down," or to "throttle." Both Frere and Walsh, in translating, accept the latter sense; but the quotation which Mr. Green gives from Demosth. De Coronâ, 323, ἰπάρας τὴν ρωνήν καὶ γεγηθῶς καὶ λαρυγγίζων, appears to us to decide the question in favour of the former. In 491, ἐν' ἑλοισθάνειν εὖνυ τὰς διαβολὰς, we cannot doubt but that he has rightly interpreted διαβολὰς of some trick in wrestling, such as is alluded to also in γ. 262, διαβαλὼν, ἀγκυρίσας. As Mr. Green justly observes, it would be out of place to use διαβάλλειν in γ. 496—

μέμνησθ' οὖν
δάκνειν, διαβάλλειν, τοὺς λόφους κατισθίειν,

in the sense of "to slander." "To bite, to slander, to eat his crests," would be hardly sense here; but the sense is clear and consecutive, if διαβάλλειν is taken to mean "to cross legs in wrestling," "to come to close quarters."

It remains to add that full justice is done by Mr. Green to all political, historical, and social allusions, in his edition of these two plays; which is saying a great deal for an editor of that dramatist's remains. He is very apt at times in his illustrations, as where in commenting on *Knights*, 313, τοὺς ῥόρους θυννοσκοπῶν, he cites Yarrell's "British Fishes," describing the tunny fishery on the coasts of Languedoc, and mentioning the look-out sentinels (θυννοσκόποι). "Similar watchers," he adds, "are posted on the heights for the mackerel and pilchards on the south of Devon coasts." Happily, too, does Mr. Green parallel the force of ἐνὶ in the 707th line of the *Knights* (ἐνὶ τῷ—ἐνὶ βαλαντίῳ, "With what relish or sauce?" of *Acharn.* 835) by comparing it to the French *d* in cooking, e.g., veau *d* la sauce tomate. The illustration of 702, 703, αἶον ὀφρομαι σ' ἐγὼ | ἐκ τῆς προιδρίας ἐσχατον θιώμενον, "Cleon was to be,

as it were, kicked from the dress-circle into the pit," is, perhaps, a little too homely.

On the whole, this edition of the *Acharnians* and *Knights* will be found serviceable in a high degree, and we unfeignedly envy those students who have to take their first impressions of the first of comic poets from a text and commentary so clear and unencumbered. The tires of this generation, if they did but know it, are "felices ter et amplius" in the clearing that has been effected by recent pioneers.

The Medea of Euripides. Literally translated into English verse. By AUGUSTA WEBSTER. London and Cambridge: Macmillan & Co. 1868.

MRS. WEBSTER is right in seeking the finest models of Greek tragedy when she essays to translate. It was a right instinct that directed her to the *Prometheus* of Æschylus, and certainly she could not have chosen a finer drama of Euripides, or one more deserving of good translation, than his *Medea*. For it is, indeed, one of his noblest dramas, and one which, by the skilful and natural delineation of his heroine, entitles a dramatist, whom it is too much the fashion to abuse, to a place beside Æschylus, Sophocles, and even Shakespeare. We are glad that Mrs. Webster has not been deterred from translating it by the ill-savour of the poet's "mysogyny," and that she has not taken fright at such sentiments as *χρὴν γὰρ ἄλλοθὲν, κ.τ.λ.* (573-5)—

"'Twere a goodly boon,
If men could raise their children other whence,
And there should be no woman-tribe at all:
So would there be no mischief in the world;"—

or at Medea's admission (928),—

γυνή δε θῆλυ καπὶ δακρύοις ἔφν.
"But woman's a poor she-thing, born to cry;"—

but, by giving them very much as she found them, enabled English readers to connect them with the context and with the character and drift of the speaker; a process which, in the one case, takes the sting out of the taunt, and in the other demonstrates its baseness. On the whole, she has asserted for herself a better place among translators of the *Medea* than amongst the many whom the *Prometheus* has drawn to it. We have compared her with Potter and Cartwright, whom to excel is not a very great feat; and we have also tested some of her choruses by comparison with versions by far better hands than Cartwright or Potter, and the result is in her favour. In faithfulness and accurate interpretation she is second to none, and this in itself is saying a great deal for a lady-translator. We have, indeed, only lit upon one, and that an excusable mistake, in her whole play, where she takes *ἀραία* passively instead of actively (in v. 608)—

καὶ σοῖς ἀραία γ'οῦσα τυγχάνω δόμοις,
"And I, through thy house, verily am cursed;"

a misinterpretation which Paley's note on the passage, and a glance at the sound though inelegant rendering in Fix's Latin version, "*Et tuze etiam mala imprecaus sum domui,*" would have prevented. On the other hand, we have constantly found reason to admire the skill which she shows in arriving at the most direct and natural expression of the force of some Greek metaphor or simile. Jason, for example, is fond of "talking shop" (or "ship," if any one likes better that we should so put it); and so, in a wrangle with Medea, he draws upon his nautical knowledge for a simile. He says of himself that his tactics are—

*ὥστε ναὸς κινδὸν οὐκασιτρόφον
ἄκροισι λαίφους κρυσπίδοις ὑπικέραμιν
τήν σὴν στόμαργον, ὦ γύναι, γλωσσαλγίαν* (523-5);—

and Mrs. Webster realises quite sufficiently the allusion to reefing up the mainsail, so that only its edges catch the wind, when she makes him say—

"It seems I'd needs be not unapt at words,
But, like a skilful pilot, sheer away,
Woman, from the jangling of thy wordy tongue." (P. 35.)

And when Medea, earlier in the play, uses a metaphor which she might caught from her seafaring husband,—

ἰχθῆροι μιν ἐξιδῶσι πάντα δι' ὁρίων (253),—

the Greek is satisfactorily rendered—

"For now my enemies crowd on all sail."

Felicity, united with accuracy of translation, meets us, indeed, constant little turnings of Euripidean phrases. The comparison, *πρόθυμος μᾶλλον ἢ σοφός* (485), comes out in, "I, not so wise as loving," *ἐν γὰρ σ' ἵστανεὶ σ' ἔπος* (584) turned exactly in "One word o'erthrows thee." And the expression, *τὸν κόσμον*, applied by the Chorus to the deadly nuptial presents, is very happily translated, "The signet-jewel of Orcus" (v. 985). It may be added that Mrs. Webster in some cases shows a scholarly soundness of judgment in decisions between various readings, as where, in v. 737, she reads *ἀνέμοτος*, with Poindorf, and Elmsley, in preference to *ἐνέμοτος*, which is Paley's reading, translates—

"But only bound by words, not sworn to the gods,
Thou might'st become their friend, mayhap be won
By herald proffers;"

and that, except where, as in v. 646, a little alteration in punctuation is necessary, she is generally worthy of all imitation by that sex which is supposed to be stronger, as in most other points, so in matters of scholarship.

We are somewhat surprised, however, that she is less faultless in matters of rhythm and smoothness, where the feminine ear should have stood her in stead. In some of her blank-verse translation of the Euripidean iambs, and in many of her substitutes for the Euripidean anapaests, she is decidedly rugged, and, indeed, we should doubt whether her forte is so much sonorous elegance as vigour and energy of expression. For instance, in the famous passage (190-204, see pp. 17, 18) where the old nurse argues that the men of old would have done better to devise music for funerals rather than for feasts, it would have been possible to throw more rhythmical elegance into a translation, might still have preserved some smack of the original in metre and sense, as Mrs. Webster has done. Grotius turned them into Latin much more metrically, though, perhaps, it is hardly fair to cite a Latin version as against an English one. But who will take pleasure in verses so hard to read as these that follow?—

"And sure ye would not err if ye said
The men of old times were rude and nought wise
Who fashioned for revels and wassails and feasts
Songs that make life by listening delight,
While no mortal has yet devised to lull
By music and chants many-toned the loathed pangs
When death and strange fates tread down homes," &c. &c.;—

or in those which represent, vv. 119-130, of the Greek, and begin, "Dress the humours of princes." The truth is, that any attempt to imitate strict metres requires thorough mastery of rhythm, and so perfect an ear as does not fall to the share of one person in a hundred, however cultivated. For ninety and nine rhyme is the safer ground. Herein Mrs. Webster shows better advantage. We cite the first antistrophe of the Chorus beginning, *θεῖδαι τὸ παλαιόν ἄλβιοι*, as a specimen of lyric translation with which the critical can scarcely find any fault, except, perchance, an accent wrongly placed.

"There too, the ancient lay runs thus,
Once Cypris, quaffing from the wave
Of crystal-flowing Cephissus,
O'er all the land her soft breath drave
In tender wafts of scented wind:
And donning ever her sweet crown
Of rose-bloom in her loose locks twined,
Her vassal loves, assigned
Kind ministers to wisdom, she sends down,
And helpmates in all deeds of good renown." (833-46, p. 4)

If this passage is examined, with the original alongside of it, there will be in it just those justifiable poetic touches which distinguish an imaginative

a matter-of-fact translator. And, everywhere, Mrs. Webster throws herself heartily into her author's spirit and meaning—in iambic passages as well as in the choral passages. Saving an exception which we take to the word “dour,” which is a Scoticism, we can find no fault in point of accuracy, vigour, versification, or spirit in this conclusion of one of Medea's most passionate speeches:—

“Oh, then I erred when I went forth and left
My father's house, lured by a Hellenic's talk,
Who, with the gods' help, shall pay forfeit yet.
For neither shall he more behold alive
His sons by me, nor shall his new-made wife
Bear to him other sons, since the ill wench
Shall die an ill death, doomed by my dragged salves.
Let none believe me weak or lethargic,
Nor tame in spirit, but far other-souled:
Dour to my foes, but to my friends most helpful:
For the loves of such do wear the nobler grace.” (P. 53, vv. 800-10.)

Mrs. Webster has achieved enough success in this and many kindred passages to make us hopeful that she will do yet more for Euripides in the way of translation.

Translations of English Poetry into Latin Verse. By FRANCIS W. NEWMAN.
Emeritus Professor of University College, London. Trübner & Co. 1868.

PROFESSOR NEWMAN is convinced that “the whole question of Latin teaching must shortly be reconsidered from the foundation,” and, if we understand him, proposes to obviate the difficulty of squeezing into a tiro's curriculum a large quantity of high-quality Greek and Latin by providing them with his own free-and-easy Latin versions of various pieces of English poetry as a substitute. That his plan will do famously as to quantity is probable; but as to quality, it occurs to lookers-on, trained on the old plan of accurate familiarization with the best models, and desirous to have their children trained after the same manner, to pray earnestly that, in despite of Mr. F. W. Newman's ready road and its recommendations, the common sense of tutors and pupils may long maintain the pursuit of a “little and good” in the time-honoured classical course. For the result of a full draught of this new mixture is sure to be some such facility with dog-Latin as school-girls have with French, when it is penal to do otherwise than speak it during school-hours. And questionable Latin is a poor make-weight, however liberal its quantity, for the grace, taste, and beauty to be gathered from less copious draughts of the most faultless models. Indeed, as boxes of Chinese toys are objected to by some mothers, because the grotesque beasts and birds in them are likely to give children distorted ideas of natural history, so we think Mr. F. W. Newman's Latin verses ought to be kept out of the way of incepting verse-writers, lest their style should suffer therefrom. Our best Latin verse may not be Ovidian, our prose such as Cicero might disclaim; but there is a vast difference between faithful study of the best models, and approximation to their manner and matter, and the professor's off-hand translation, in which, “stans pede in uno,” he throws precedent to the winds. No words are strong enough to deprecate such practice as these translations authorize. To begin with, our rules about elision are kicked over, as may be seen in this line from p. 3—

“Sancte virum! hæc quem viridis tenet insula; dextros.”

Our theories as to “cæsure” go next. Here is an instance:—

“O quam cara mihi hora revertit, quâ moritur lux.” (P. 5).

And the quantities of syllables are turned topsy-turvy in such lines as

“Et dum contueor ut lucida linea mollem,”

and divers others of like calibre.

Nor is the case better in regard to metres. Virgil, Ovid, Horace, enjoy no reverence at the hands of the professor. Contrary to all precedent, he adopts, in translating Longfellow's “Rainy Day,” a mixture of hexameters and pentameters in the proportion of two of the former to one of the latter, such as was

never seen in Latin verse pretending to be classical. This barbarous innovation is varied by increasing the proportion of hexameters to three to one in rendering "The Exile of Erin," and when we have, in due course, been favoured with a sample or two of mixed hexameters and iambic dimeters according to the prescribed proportion, our would-be originator of new ways treats us to a system of two iambic dimeters to each hexameter. He plays like tricks with choriambics: claps a line of some other metre at the end of three or four of these, and is as likely to tag an Alcaic line to a choriambic as a fourth line of some alien metre to the end of an Alcaic stanza. In short, he glories in having shaken off the trammels of Horace and Catullus in lyrics, and in going to the Greeks for a foundation, and then compacting his lines into stanzas fitted to the material before him (see Pref., p. vii). Our readers will hardly care to be introduced to the wilder eccentricities of versification into which his erratic theories lead an able but misguided man, nor indeed should we have cared to unveil them even thus far, except that crotchets, which are harmless when confined to their originator, occasionally mislead the unwary. There is no compensating value in the professor's Latin, which is often slipshod, and always such as comes uppermost. He has himself drawn attention to one slip—"minor tibi" for "minor te." Those who do not want to follow him into others, and to get into the pernicious habit of using commonly licenses which the Latin poets did not use above once in five hundred lines, had better keep clear of Professor Newman's translations from English poetry.

IV.—POETRY AND FICTION.

Poems of Rural Life in Common English. By WILLIAM BARNES, Author of "Poems of Rural Life in the Dorset Dialect." London: Macmillan & Co. 1868.

MR. BARNES confesses to a "misgiving" that what he has done in this volume "for a wider range of readers" than he has had hitherto "may win the good opinion of fewer." Perhaps he is not far wrong. It is seldom wise for a man to leave a lower walk in which he is absolutely pre-eminent, for a higher one in which he has to measure himself against the acknowledged excellence of others; if he be the Orpheus of the flute, he will do well to eschew the bow of the violinist. "Poems of Rural Life," moreover, can hardly be too redolent of the soil; and the appropriation to the idyl of a comparatively rustic dialect is sanctioned for us by the high example of the idyllist *par excellence* of classical antiquity, Theocritus; whilst with all Burns's genius—the most idyllic of lyrists—it must be confessed that the instances are but few in which his English poems rise to excellence, or even reach beyond mediocrity. Nor is this to be wondered at. It is practically impossible that the same shoulders can wear with equal ease the smock-frock and the dress-coat, and if Mr. Barnes showed himself a quite first-rate idyllist in "common English," we should be justified in suspecting him of having been only a sham first-rate one in his own beloved "Dorset." It is therefore really no disparagement to Mr. Barnes to say that his "Poems of Rural Life in Common English" have not generally the same relish, the same raciness of flavour, as those in the "Dorset dialect." But comparisons are odious, most of all those of a man with himself. It is but fair to Mr. Barnes's new volume that it should be judged by itself. Let us therefore forget for the nonce the Dorsetshire poet in the English one.

Very various are the appreciations which the volume in question will give rise to. Perhaps the first impression it may produce on most minds, if opened at random at any but a very few pages, is that its matter is simply childish; and, with the greatest possible good-will towards the author, it would be hard to deny that the verdict must remain for many a page a true one. And yet the childishness is everywhere artistic, as of playthings deftly carved in finest ivory, bubbles subtly blown of rich-hued glass. In command of pure Saxon-English

Mr. Barnes may claim to stand quite unrivalled. Even the "Northern Farmer" cannot compete in this respect with many of his pieces. Whole pages may be found with scarcely one single non-Saxon word in them—in one case, a whole four-stanza piece without so much as one (pp. 110-11). The volume has thus a real scientific value, and is sure to live in the memories of philologists, apart from whatever purely literary merits it may lay claim to. These, it must be said, are not always enhanced by its over-fastidious Saxonism. From this source, for instance, proceeds in great measure the constant abuse of monosyllabic readings—so great, that as many as a dozen pages may be found at a stretch (*e.g.*, 133-144) without a single line closing on a dissyllable; a practice which ends by giving a fatiguing pebbly rattle to the metre. Another result is the use of words absolutely unfamiliar to the great bulk of readers, which is carried so far that in Christian charity Mr. Barnes should have appended a glossary to his volume. "Knap," "tump," "parrock," "kern"—these and others are terms far more unintelligible to most educated Englishmen and Englishwomen than might be their equivalents in Latin or French, Italian or German. And whilst indeed we are on the chapter of words, a protest must be entered against Mr. Barnes's elisions, which are sometimes excruciating:—

"A fairy ring as *round's* the sun
 So *long's* my life shall hold in flight
 And high on the cliff, where no foot ever wore
 A path to the threshold, 's the sand-martins' door,"—

as also against his abuse of mere gibbering ejaculations, as "teeh hee," "heeh hee," "ooh oo," &c. But Mr. Barnes has very high qualities of style. Without a tinge of servile imitation, he is in his rendering of nature often quite Tennysonian:—

"Or when the wind, upspringing keen,
 From eastern slopes would fling about
 The snow, or overlay the tree
 And ground with hoar-frost grey
 At times, when leaves were dead, and fell
 Down-scattered, brown-red; or spun
 In windy rings around our feet
 While summer days might slowly run
 Through noons of shrunken shades, and heat
 And pale-green scales of elm-trees strew
 The road below the dusty shoe
 In fall, when ash-tree keys fly free
 To whirl below their mother-tree."

Surely these are lines (and dozens of the like might be quoted) which—except perhaps the fourth specimen, and that on grounds of metre and not of style—the astutest of critics would not have detected as imitations in a volume bearing Mr. Tennyson's signature; which the Laureate himself would not repudiate, since they evidence a power of observation, a truth of word-painting, akin to and—within their range of exercise—equal to his own. In his metre, too, Mr. Barnes often shows much curious felicity, sometimes enhanced by certain artifices of style, as the constant repetition either of one or more words, or of a form of expression. This, however, is a habit which savours too much of a literary trick to be safely indulged in, and Mr. Barnes has not avoided the pitfall of over-indulgence. Thus, for instance, his opening piece "Autumn," the six stanzas of which close with the lines—

"Brook upon brook, and brink by brink
 Tip after tip, and rick by rick
 Dip after dip, and swing by swing
 Fall after fall, and shoal by shoal
 Reef after reef, at shot by shot
 Face upon face, and smile by smile,"

may by its form tickle the reader's fancy, but when, twenty pages further on, he finds "The Bars on the Landridge" constructed on precisely the same pattern, and so again, a few pages later, "Melhill Feast" or "The Duet," the trick at once palls upon him; though indeed he may find a new relish in it when he meets it again, expanded into two lines with greater wealth of alliteration (for which Mr. Barnes has also a besetting crave), in "A Wish fulfilled."

It may be thought that we are dwelling too much on style and metre. But in this case style and metre make up a good two-thirds of the poet. There is in Mr. Barnes's volume much sweet and tender sentiment, but neither his thoughts nor his feelings have the masterful strength which towers above mere words, the fiery life which glows and burns through them. His dwelling is upon the lower slopes of our English Parnassus, amid the glades and leasowes, not upon the summit; if he ever ventured up there, it would only be to see how the wind blows. But he has by this volume established his right to reckon among the *De Minores* of our literature, and there is nothing in our language, nor perhaps in any modern one, to equal the truly antique grace and spirit of one piece in particular, too long, unluckily, to be here quoted, "The Prize-Winners"—a tale of a village feast, told by a teller, with a double chorus—from henceforth the English idyl, to be measured against Theocritus, though with a dash of Pindar about it. Yet, on the whole, though he not unfrequently recalls antique models, his affinities are rather with the Spanish poets, and, but for his apish tech-heings, one of his pieces, "The Surprise," strongly resembles the best samples of Gongora, whom, indeed, in his trips of style and verse, Mr. Barnes singularly recalls, though his close familiarity with nature carries off much that in the Spanish court poet would be mere offensive *Gongorismo*.

But Mr. Barnes may lay claim to be judged otherwise than by detached lines, and the following four out of five stanzas of "The Child Lost" (the fifth being inferior) will afford one of the best specimens of his pathos:—

"When evening is closing in all round,
And winds in the dark-bough'd timber sound,
The flame of my candle, dazzling bright,
May shine full clear: full clear may shine,
But never can show my child to sight.

"And warm is the bank, where boughs are still
On timber below the windward hill;
But now, in the stead of summer hay
Dead leaves are cast—are cast dead leaves,
Where lately I saw my child at play.

"And oh! could I see, as may be known
To angels, my little maid full-grown,
As time would have made her, woman tall,
If she had lived—if lived had she,
And not have died now, so young and small.

"Do children that go to heaven play?
Are young that were gay, in heaven gay?
Are old people bow'd by weakening time,
In heaven bow'd?—all bow'd in heaven?
Or else are they all in blissful prime?"

The following reaches deeper still:—

PLORATA VERIS LACHRYMIS.

"O now, my true and dearest bride,
Since thou hast left my lonely side,
My life has lost its hope and zest.
The sun rolls on from east to west,
But brings no more that evening rest
Thy loving kindness made so sweet,
And time is slow that once was fleet,
As day by day was waning.

"The last sad day that show'd thee lain
Before me, smiling in thy pain,
The sun soar'd high along his way
To mark the longest summer day,
And show to me the latest play
Of thy sweet smile; and thence, as all
The day's lengths shrunk from small to small,
My joy began its waning."

"And now 'tis keenest pain to see
Whate'er I saw in bliss with thee.
The softest airs that ever blow,
The fairest days that ever glow,
Unfelt by thee, but bring me woo;
And sorrowful I kneel in pray'r
Which thou no longer now canst share
As day by day is waning."

"How can I live my lonesome days?
How can I tread my lonesome ways?
How can I take my lonesome meal?
Or how outlive the grief I feel?
Or how again look on to weal?
Or sit at rest before the heat
Of winter fires, to miss thy feet
When evening light is waning?"

"Thy voice is still'd I loved to hear,
Thy voice is lost I held so dear.
Since death unlocks thy hand from mine,
No love awaits me such as thine;
O boon the hardest to resign!
But if we meet again at last
In heav'n, I little care how fast
My life may now be waning."

With these two beautiful pieces should be classed "The Mother's Dream," "The Wind at the Door," and "The Window." The best of the remaining poems (beyond the splendid "Prize-Winners," already mentioned) are little else than choice word-pictures, speaking more to the fancy than to the heart.

Morte d'Arthur. Sir Thomas Malory's *Book of King Arthur and of his noble Knights of the Round Table.* The Original Edition of Caxton revised for modern Use, with an Introduction. By Sir EDWARD STRACHEY, Bart. London: Macmillan & Co. 1868. *The Globe Edition.*

Two simultaneous editions of the "*Morte d'Arthur*" have just been brought out, whilst an exact reprint of the original Caxton is promised by the Early English Text Society. Is the age of chivalry returning? Utilitarians may take heart when they read in the valuable chapter of Sir Edward Strachey's edition on "The Text and its several Editions," how, just half a century ago, the like fit of literary chivalry was upon us, when "two independent editions appeared" in 1816, and were followed in 1817 by the well-known one of Southey. Probably the real fact is that Sir Thomas Malory's work is one of those which have sufficient value to rekindle popular interest from time to time, but not enough to keep it alive. Was indeed "Sir Thomas Ill-hour"—for such would be the interpretation of one spelling of his name, preferred by Mr. Furnivall, Maleore, Male-ore—a real personage? He remains unidentified with any flesh-and-blood Malory. Could the name be the mere pseudonym of some luckless lover of the old tales,—perhaps Caxton himself, who felt himself from the first to have fallen on degenerate days? If so, it is to be feared the luck of the book has not changed, and that "Sir Thomas Ill-hour" must prove "Sir Thomas Ill-hour" still.

The plain truth of the matter is—First, that the Arthurian cycle of romance is itself late, artificial, wire-drawn, and for the most part essentially inferior and immoral; next, that these prose romances, which the physiology of legend shows must always have been preceded by briefer compositions in verse, are at

best amplifications and dilutions, and when they aspire, like the "Morte d'Arthur," to cover a whole cycle, are sure to be put together more or less clumsily out of masses of heterogeneous materials. Such is essentially the case with the present work, as boys in their teens have discovered ere this whilst reading it, when imagination has not altogether overpowered in them all sense of chronological accuracy. The true use of such compilations, as of some barbarous edifice put together out of the ruins of nobler ones, is as quarries for the poet (call him Tennyson or Arnold), who shall detach from them here and there some precious sculptured fragment, some block of marble fit to be chiselled into a statue. That the book itself will ever become, as Sir Edward Strachey hopes, one for family use, it is difficult to suppose. The story of Jupiter and Alcmena may pass current in heathen mythology; but to find it reproduced in the birth of the "flower of Christian kings" is singularly repulsive. The fact is, that the Arthurian cycle, the pastime of the rottenest era of the middle ages, is ingrained with moral filth; you cannot set it out at length and yet wash it clean. In vain has Sir Edward Strachey excluded phrases or passages "not in accordance with modern manners;" he does not "profess to have remedied the moral defects of the book," nor could he have done so. You would ruin it by attempting to excise the adulterous loves of Tristan and King Mark's wife; but without those of Launcelot and Arthur's Queen it can have no existence.

The most curious matter in Sir E. Strachey's edition lies in his story of the text, which unfortunately he has cut in two, and which the reader will have to piece together again out of the introduction at the beginning of the volume, and the notes at the end. From this it appears that Southey's edition of 1817, which professes to be a reprint *with scrupulous exactness* from the first edition by Caxton, in Earl Spencer's library, contains no less than seventeen supposititious pages, most ingeniously put together (probably by Mr. Upcott, who had the superintendence of the press) from various sources, the first edition of Wynkyn de Worde, the "Colophons of Ames" and of the "Harleian Catalogue"—with slight alterations by the literary forger himself, whoever he may have been. The occasion for this imposture, which has passed unchallenged for half a century, was that Earl Spencer's copy of Caxton's first edition wanted eleven leaves (since supplied in fac-simile from the only other copy extant, the Earl of Jersey's).

The plan which Sir E. Strachey has followed has been that of modernizing the text, and replacing words "unintelligibly obsolete by others which, though not necessarily unknown to Caxton, are still in use;" a compromise which has been sharply criticized, and which perhaps can scarcely be justified otherwise than by success.

V.—MISCELLANEOUS.

The English Revolution. By JOHN BAKER HOPKINS. London: William Freeman. 1868.

MR. J. B. HOPKINS was, if we recollect aright, one of the editors of the deceased London Confederate journal the *Index*, and his book issues from the old *officina*. But how strangely altered are the tones of the oracle! The former advocate of the slave-holding oligarchy now speaks of "the fundamental principle of the equal, social, and political rights of all men," of "the divine and blessed doctrine of equality of right," and dwells with especial unction on the purity of the English press, and the need that journals should be "free from party engagements."

Substantially, Mr. Hopkins's book is one of those outpourings of political counsel which the late Reform Act seems to have irresistibly solicited, and of which Sir Edward Sullivan's "Ten Chapters on Social Reform," recently noticed in these columns, afford a far more original and amusing specimen. The difference between them is that the baronet is a *médecin Tant pis*, the journalist a *médecin Tant mieux*. Both would agree in the truth of the latter's title-page, and that England is at present practically passing through a revolution, but the former would probably stand aghast at one or two of the latter's proposals. As

these, it is to be presumed, contain in the author's eyes the substance of his views, we will give them at length:—

"In respect to the House of Lords we propose, 1. That the House of Lords shall no longer pretend to co-equal legislative power which it does not in fact enjoy, but instead thereof that it shall be a recognised Court of Review, with the power of returning bills to the House of Commons for reconsideration, the returned bills passing Parliament without further reference to the Lords, if re-voted in the Commons by a majority of twenty. 2. That the House of Lords shall transact the Private Bill business. 3. That the House of Lords shall be the final Court of Appeal from all the Home, Colonial, and Indian law courts.

"In respect to the House of Commons we propose, 1. The gradual equalization of the constituencies. 2. A plan to guarantee the representation of minorities without infringing on the legitimate rights of majorities. 3. The protection of the independence of the members of the House of Commons from the influence of penal dissolutions, by fixing the duration of Parliament. 4. Compulsory voting, that is, the State shall insist upon the citizen discharging this primary duty of citizenship. 5. The payment of voters. 6. The prevention of bribery by fining the candidate who bribes directly or through an agent.

"In respect to education, we propose an efficient and compulsory secular education, and a plan which will also insure due religious instruction. We have urged the redress of grievances that are justly complained of by the working classes; amongst which the law of debtor and creditor, the law with respect to trades' unions, and the law in respect to employers and employed, are the most injurious and irritating."

There remains to be said, that Mr. Hopkins is almost artificially moderate in his tone, profusely complimentary to her Majesty and to "Albert the Good," and too often excruciating in his grammar. "Lords" and "Commons," are almost habitually for him mere units:—"The Commons *is* determined. . . . The Lords must *volens volens*. . . . The Lords, so far as *it* specially represented any class, represented the peerage, but *it* did not, &c. . . . The Commons until now *has* been. . . . Very many of *its* members. . . . The Commons *was* virtually," &c. Nor is this a piece of wilfulness in respect to a couple of collective nouns, as is shown by sentences such as "The after events *has* fully justified," &c. On defects of style, mis-spellings, &c., it would be superfluous to dwell, except that when Mr. Hopkins says of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council that "*its personality* is uncertain," he should really be warned that "*personalty*" not only is not, but having a distinct meaning of its own, never can be made equivalent to *personnel*. And wherefore should "whyfor" ever have been coined?

A Night with the Yankees. A Lecture delivered in the Town Hall, Cambridge, on March 30, 1868. By ALEXANDER MACMILLAN. Privately printed, May 1, 1868.

MR. MACMILLAN in this lecture expressly confines himself to stating what he actually saw, and giving such estimates as he can of what came within the range of his own experience, or what he learnt at first hand from what seemed to him trustworthy authority, during an eight weeks' residence in the United States. Taken with these limitations, his sixty pages are very pleasant and sensible reading; and without perhaps containing anything that is absolutely new, put several things in their most telling light, e.g., the vastness of the country, as giving a relish for largeness in every way, so that "*a big thing*" is always a joy to the American heart. Mr. Macmillan illustrates this largeness of habit under some of its most opposite aspects—in the grandeur of the American hotel-clerk, with one of whom "once, at Chicago, on a second visit," he had "the honour of shaking hands," as well as in the habit among the rich of making munificent donations during their lifetime to benevolent purposes. To the stock of Lincolniana he contributes an excellent retort of Lincoln to Douglas, during the time that they were "stumping" Illinois for the senatorship against each other. Douglas having sought to cast a slur on his opponent by saying that he remembered him serving liquor behind a bar, Lincoln turned the laugh against him by acknowledging that when quite young and very poor he had for a short time earned his bread as the judge had stated; but half the story had been left out. Whilst he was serving out the liquor on one side of the bar, the judge was drinking it on the other!

VII.—GERMAN LITERATURE.

[The books noticed in this and the following section are chiefly supplied by Messrs. WILLIAMS AND NORGATE, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden.]

Friedrich Schleiermacher: Ein Lebens und Characterbild zur Erinnerung an den 21. November, 1768, für das Deutsche Volk bearbeitet. Von Dr. D. SCHENKEL. Elberfeld: Verlag von R. L. Friderichs. 1868.

WE are unwilling to dismiss this work with the brief notice to which we are limited in these pages. On the 21st of November this year a century will have passed since the birth of one of the greatest of modern theologians, Schleiermacher, a man who was as good as he was great, who followed truth above all things, loving her for her own sake. It is difficult to estimate his influence. He was a many-sided man. With a fearless hand he subjected the Biblical records to an unsparing criticism, and with an equally brave heart he stirred up the religious sense of the German nation, recalling them from a dead formal service to a spiritual worship. Nourished in the bosom of the Moravian Church, he learned from his parents a simple piety which was his guide through life. It made "heaven lie all about him in his infancy," and when his vast intellect was engaged in the great problems that occupied his life, it made him still feel that they were God-given problems to be solved in the light and in the sight of heaven. Schleiermacher, as much as any other man of modern times, knew the real greatness of the vocation of the theologian. To this science he reckoned all sciences subordinate and tributary. Theology, or the science of God, having drawn to itself the resources of all the sciences, becomes the crowning science of all. It does not fear knowledge, but seeks it. It cannot be limited by the thoughts of one age, but goes on widening its bounds and making ever nearer approaches to a perfect expression of absolute truth. Its subject is God and His universe, and one day, by the Divine assistance, it shall see light in that light which irradiates the throne of God. Schleiermacher's spirit was the genuine spirit of the Reformation going onward with the progress of the centuries. Catholicism, or the mode of thinking which goes by that name, was to him the dead past, and he left the dead to bury their dead. The new life—the life that is life—was the proper subject of study for the religious teacher. Schleiermacher had the true Protestant spirit. He had faith in truth, and in a living God who spoke not only in times past to the fathers, but in these days is still speaking to us. Of the work of Dr. Schenkel we can speak in the highest terms of approbation. It is by a long way the best life of Schleiermacher that has yet appeared.

Die Propheten des alten Bundes; erklärt von HEINRICH EWALD. Vol. I. Second Edition, improved and enlarged. Göttingen. 1867.

ALL that need be said of this new edition of so well-known a work is, that it bears traces of very thorough revision and expansion. What occupied about 350 pages in the first edition fills 537 in this; and the references to Dr. Pusey's "Daniel" (p. 85) and Mr. Tristram's "Land of Israel" show that the author has taken more notice than is the wont, for the most part, of German theologians, of the contributions to Biblical criticism made by English writers. In the former case, it will be understood at once that he notices only to condemn. Dr. Pusey's book seems to him to spring from the desire to crush all Biblical "Wissenschaft."

Das Christenthum und die moderne Naturwissenschaft. Von J. Frohschammer. Wien: Seudler & Co. 1868.

THE nearest approach that we have yet seen towards the construction of a scientific theology is this work by Herr Frohschammer. He boldly accepts the leading doctrines of Mr. Darwin concerning creation, the origin of species, and the development of man from some lower form of being, and he maintains that they are all in harmony with Christianity. The objection which is continually being urged against the doctrine of development is its tendency to atheism, but Herr Frohschammer holds that it as much supposes a Divine mind contriving and a Divine hand working as the hypothesis of an immediate and transient creation.

He seizes the idea which in our time is called Pantheism, but which enters, more or less, into all theologies; he looks at it in the full light of modern science; and by it he explains the Christian religion. The Bible records concerning the origin of the world, the garden of Eden, and the fall of man are necessarily regarded as myths. Nearly all that forms the present system of Church teaching is explained as the imperfect, temporary, or partial expression of truth, which will yet be more clearly seen and more perfectly expressed. The fundamental difficulty in the reconciliation of Christianity with science is to explain the miraculous. The Bible histories are full of miracles, while science knows nothing of any working in nature that is not according to fixed law and order; not that miracles are impossible, but that they cannot be scientifically proved. Jesus may have wrought miracles to convince the unbelieving in his time, but those in our day who have no faith in the miraculous are not to be called unbelievers. It is not surprising that with such views of Christianity Herr Frohschammer regards the Christian Church that now is as the great enemy to progress in science and civilization, and is looking and longing for a great revolution in theology.

Turan und Iran; Ueber die Entstehung der Schriftsprache. Von ADOLF HELPFERICH. Frankfurt: A. M. Christian Winter. 1868.

WE cannot explain this book much beyond what the title-page indicates. It is chiefly occupied with a comparison of the names of the deities of the ancient mythologies and the root-words of ancient languages, tracing in them all a fundamental identity. It is very learned, very ingenious, and sometimes more ingenious than sound.

Die Darstellungen des Troischen Sagenkreises auf etruskischen Aschenkisten beschrieben und nach den poetischen Quellen untersucht von DR. FRIEDRICH SCHLIE. Stuttgart: Verlag von Ebner und Seubert. 1868.

DR. SCHLIE gives an interesting and detailed account of the reliefs on the Etruscan ash-chests, most of which he finds in the museums of Volterra, Verona, and Perugia. They are arranged into six classes or groups corresponding to the different representations of the following poems:—the Cypria of Stasinus, the Iliad, the Æthiopis, the little Iliad and Iliupersis, the Oresteia, and the Odyssey.

Erinnerungen an Heinrich Heine und seine Familie von seinem Bruder MAXIMILIAN HEINE. Berlin: Ferd. Dümmler's Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1868.

THESE recollections of the poet are written with a brotherly fervour and partiality to which no utterance of his can appear trivial, no incident connected with him unimportant. Their author has, it appears, collected them with the view of partly redeeming a promise made, he says, in a moment of excitement—a promise to become the biographer of his gifted brother. In his opinion, however, the time for writing a completely fair memoir of such a man has not yet arrived; but he entertains a confident hope that some future author may interweave these fragmentary memories into a fuller work, and that their present publication may tend to remove prejudice and counteract certain distorted or exaggerated statements that have hitherto obtained credence. To us we confess such a hope appears disproportioned to the merits of the little book before us. As a rule, the detailed anecdotes of which it is composed are singularly pointless and futile, and there is but little new light thrown upon the career or character of the poet. His attachment to the members of his own family, more especially his love and reverence for his mother, and his cheerful endurance under great and protracted suffering, are, as might be expected, brought into due prominence; but these have ere now met with proper appreciation. It seems, however, to be less well known that his French wife, Mathilde Mirat, to whom Heine was married in 1841, was, if not a particularly prudent, a much-loved and congenial companion to the last. There are some pretty lines of his given, in which, well aware of the near approach of death, he commends to the care of angels her, who was to him both "wife and child," whom he would leave behind "widow and orphan both." There is also a letter from Madame Heine herself, indignantly repudiating the idea which seems to have gone abroad that Heine's relations ever suffered her husband to contend with privations and distress. On the contrary, they appear to have been remarkably liberal in ministering to his expenses; and how considerable these generally were Madame Heine bids us estimate from

the fact of his having once changed his Paris domicile nine times in eleven months, as well as from constant journeys in foreign lands and almost yearly visits to the sea-side.

The book contains very few letters written by Heine himself.

Goethe's Briefe an Christian Gottlob von Voigt. Herausgegeben von OTTO JAHN. Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel. 1868.

THE enthusiastic interest attached by Germans to everything connected with the name of their great Goethe will, perhaps, insure a welcome in its own country to a volume of letters which we suspect few English readers would care to wade through. They are addressed to Christian Gottlob von Voigt, minister at Weimar for many years; a man of intellect and high culture, and himself addicted to poetical effusions. Goethe's correspondence with Voigt, as given in this volume, began in 1780, when we find him dating from Rome, and continued up to the last day but one of the minister's life, in March, 1819.

In a preface by Otto Jahn it is admitted that these letters, now for the first time published, are distinguished by "no peculiar literary interest;" but, on the other hand, it is pleaded that they are "specially adapted to bring us acquainted with Goethe in his capacity of man of business;" that they "show how throughout his business relations there beat the pulse of cordiality, lending them warmth and life;" and that the "good, noble man here reveals himself under a new and peculiarly attractive aspect." Goethe's letters are prefaced by a memoir of Voigt, and supplemented by a collection of miscellaneous papers and correspondence.

Juniperus. Geschichte eines Kreuzfahrers, erzählt von JOSEPH VICTOR SCHEFFEL, illustriert von ANTON VON WERNER. Stuttgart: Verlag der J. B. Meckler'schen Buchhandlung.

"JUNIPERUS" is a modern story of the olden time, printed on thick paper, in the inconvenient form of a quarto, and abounding in rather clumsy illustrations. The author appears to possess the love and habit of archaeological research, and speaks of having enjoyed peculiar opportunities of studying the antiquities of that portion of Suabia which borders on the Lake of Constance. It was while rambling over one of its many ruins—the ancient Castle of Newenhewen—and meditating upon the state of society in the twelfth century, at which time its owners ranked high amongst the Suabian nobles, that the story of Juniperus flashed across his mind, and was written down as a "poetical answer to his historical inquiries." The most striking incident in it is the ordeal to which Juniperus and his youthful rival, Diethelm, subject themselves, in order to ascertain which of the two is to pretend to the favour of a fair and heartless maiden by whom they are both enthralled. Each being unwilling to take the life of a former friend, they resolve to shoot the falls of the Rhine in their fragile boats. Diethelm is seen no more, but Juniperus is rescued, only, however, to be sentenced by the Church and his own conscience to a new life—a life of exile and penitence—and wends his way from Newenhewen in Hegan to the Mount of Carmel in the Holy Land. Appended to the story are notes displaying much erudition, but of little interest save to genealogists and heralds. Some of the woodcuts are spirited enough, but in general the figures strike us as stiff and over thick-set, and, like the rest of the production, better adapted to German than to English taste.

Die Preussische Expedition nach Ost-Asien. Botanischer Theil. Die Tange. Von GEORG V. MARTENS. Berlin: Königlich. Ober-hofbuchdruck. 1868.

WE have here presented to us, sumptuously, as might be expected from a royal press, one portion of the botanical results of the East Asiatic Scientific Expedition. Our Teutonic brethren have consistently maintained their character for thoroughness in Dr. V. Marten's volume on the oriental sea-weeds. We are not aware of any other single volume which supplies to the student a comparative list of the *algæ* of the Eastern and Pacific Oceans.

The work is divided into three parts: (1.) The Atlantic marine flora as it occurred to the botanist of the expedition at the different ports visited from Portsmouth to the Cape. Though we do not see the utility of comprising an account of the sea-weeds of the Isle of Wight, excepting as a proof that the Prussian naturalists were always at work, yet the careful account of all the animal life discovered in the gulf-weed is most interesting. The second portion treats of the *algæ* of

the Indian and China tropical seas, and of the fresh-water *algæ* of the same regions, and the third, of the North China and Japan marine flora. All are exhaustively handled, definitions and descriptions given of the new species, and comparative tables of the geographical range of each species appended in a synoptical form. The Japanese flora, more analogous to our own, is described at much greater length. We may observe that while the tropical marine flora is more varied than that of the temperate zone, its species are for the most part much inferior in size. Admirably-executed plates are appended, with magnified dissections of the more important parts of these beautiful organisms.

Geschichte von England zur Zeit der Tudors. Von J. H. VON THOMMES.

Mainz: Druck und Verlag von Florian Kupferberg.

THESE two volumes are the first instalment of a work intended to embrace the history of England under the Tudors, and to correct all previous misrepresentations of that eventful period. Now, all students of history will doubtless agree with Herr von Thommes that an earnest love of truth, laborious inquiry into facts, and a power of vividly presenting them to the mind's eye, are fundamental requisites in the historian. They will assuredly regret with him that "partisanship" should ever wilfully pervert the dignity of history into a mere "vehicle for political struggle and ecclesiastical agitation," and censure as he does the "moulding of characters according to personal preferences," as historically unjustifiable. So far so good. But when they find that the flagrant instances of untruthfulness and partiality which Herr von Thommes denounces are all on the side of Protestant historians; that the "exclusive character of the Reformation, as well in life as in science and literature," has been the main-spring of the glaring partiality by them displayed; that the "fearful treatment" endured by Catholics during the last three hundred years, both in England and Ireland, is not more conspicuous in the eyes of the whole world than the baneful influence of Protestant illiberality over English literature, more particularly in its historical department;—our students of history will, we think, begin to doubt whether Herr von Thommes will, after all, prove exactly the man to supply that want of thoroughly impartial, thoroughly trustworthy guidance which he so feelingly laments. It will probably occur to them that Protestants neither had a monopoly of the power to persecute in former times, nor have one of intolerance in our own day; that if Mr. Froude has evinced an undue partiality for Henry VIII., that monarch is hardly likely to meet with a wholly unbiassed judgment from the author now before us; that if, as we are assured, Tetzel has been grievously misrepresented by Protestant historians, Luther will probably be painted in at least equally unflattering colours by Lingard and Herr von Thommes. In one sense indeed we may affirm it to be beyond the power of any man, however honest his intentions, to present us with an entirely impartial survey of any critical epoch. Personal convictions, constitutional leanings, and other still more subtle influences, must needs enter for something into the most resolutely objective method of treating the subject. But assuredly, if we desire to have the fullest tide of "white light" procurable thrown over the eventful period of the Tudors, and the great religious movements of their day, we shall not, despite Herr von Thommes' earnest denunciation of the one-sidedness of our English historians in general, hopefully turn for it to his own pages.

Das Burgundisch-Romanische Königreich. (Von 443 Bis 532 Nach Chr.) Eine Reichs und Rechts Geschichtliche Untersuchung von CARL BINDING, Professor des Öffentlichen Rechts zur Basel. Leipzig: Verlag von Wilhelm Engelmann.

THIS is a learned book which may honestly be commended to the learned or studious reader. He whom we call the general reader may very safely pass it by. It consists of two parts:—1, the ordinary history of Burgundy during those early times when it was either connected with or in antagonism to Rome; and 2, the history of the laws of the Burgundian people. We need not add that the religious element also enters largely into the history. We have Arianism opposed to what is already called here by the title of Catholicism.

The first volume, which alone lies before us, contains the history, commonly so called, of the Burgundian people and Burgundian monarchy. It contains also a Supplement, an Essay on the Language of Ancient Burgundy, written by Wilhelm Wackernagel. The history of the laws of Burgundy—that portion of the work which we presume has been most zealously elaborated by the author, who describes himself as Professor of Public Law, is reserved for the second volume.

VIII.—FRENCH LITERATURE.

Procès de Condamnation de Jeanne Darc, dite la Pucelle d'Orléans. Traduit du Latin, et publié intégralement pour la première fois en Français. Par M. VALLET (de Viriville), Lauréat de l'Institut, etc. Paris: Firmin Didot Frères.

THE process or trial—if trial it can be called—of Jeanne Darc is here published for the first time in full; it is also translated into French. All who are interested, therefore, in that most singular of heroines, who was at once patriot, visionary, and saint, may follow, step by step, the sad and cruel persecution that closed her extraordinary career. But perhaps the most novel portion of the present work will be found in the Introduction, where M. Vallet shows us that Jeanne Darc was not the only maiden of her time who thought herself inspired by Heaven, or the recipient of some Divine revelation. It is always thus. Neither nature, nor human nature, proceeds *per saltum*. Nothing comes suddenly full blown upon the scene. Be assured that where the great pyramid was built smaller pyramids had been built before; be assured that where the great prophet appears minor prophets had, in more senses than one, prepared the way before him. The Maid of Orleans was preceded and accompanied by other visionary maids solicitous to bear their miraculous revelations to their king, or even to the Pope. M. Vallet's sketch of some of these enthusiasts will be read with interest.

The fact also comes out very distinctly before us that the contemporaries of these gifted women were very capable of taking the most opposite views of the nature and source of their miraculous gifts. These were dangerous possessions. The miracle of one day might be the sorcery of the next. The prophet of one province might, in the next province, be the servant of the devil. The fluctuating opinion held of the Maid of Orleans herself was quite in keeping with the mode of thought prevalent in those times. It needed but a grain of malice to turn the scale. That the wonder was there—was certain enough to the multitude of men; but whether it was wrought by the devil or the Virgin Mary was an open question. We see plainly that the Maid of Orleans would not only be thought a witch in one camp, and a saint in another, but even amongst her own followers the first reverse, or the first censure of the Church, might convert her from an angel of light to a minister of darkness.

We learn that there was a certain "Frère Richard" who at one time was confessor to four damsels, each claiming to be favoured by special messages from heaven! Jeanne Darc herself was one of these. Of two others of them we have some interesting records. Catherine de la Rochelle is found at a later time in the ranks of the Armagnacs. She takes part against the Maid, and when the latter is in captivity in Paris, she warns her keepers that their prisoner will make her escape, *by the aid of the devil*, if she is not well guarded. But Pierronne, or Périnak, another early companion and co-visionary, was a faithful partisan and staunch believer in the Maid. Even after Jeanne had suffered death her faith was not shaken; and this faith in Jeanne, coupled with some private heresies of her own, brought her to the stake. She was burnt at Paris. "A côté du grand nom de Jeanne Darc," writes M. Vallet, "l'histoire inscrira celui de la fidèle Périnak. Détachons un rameau de la palme de gloire qui appartient à la Libératrice, et qu'il décore le souvenir de l'humble et constante Bretonne!"

Grammaire Comparée des Langues Classiques, contenant la théorie élémentaire de la formation des mots en Sanscrit, en Grec et en Latin, avec références aux Langues Germaniques. Par F. BAUDRY. Paris: A. Durand et Pedone Lauriel. 1868.

THIS promises to be an interesting work on comparative philology. Only the first volume is published, the subject of which is what the author calls *l'phonétique*, or that which relates to sound. The second volume will treat of roots in general, with the formation of nouns, and the last of the formation of verbs.

La Palestine, Ancienne et Moderne. Par E. ARNAUD. Paris: Berger-Levrault. 1868.

WE welcome this contribution to Palestine topography and Biblical illustration presented to the French reader in a well-arranged form. It is highly creditable to the spirit of critical research among the Protestants of France that M. Arnaud should, in a popular synopsis, have entered so fully upon questions of Hebrew philology.

He has here compressed into a compendious octavo volume a synopsis of the historical geography, physical geography, natural history, and lastly, and at great length, of the historical nomenclature of all places named either in Scripture or in ecclesiastical writers. But we shall find neither critical judgment nor originality in the book. Such a work must be a compilation of necessity. Still every compiler should be "posted to date," and M. Arnaud has gone neither to the latest nor the best of Palestine authorities, save and except Van de Velde and Robinson. Though Stanley and Porter are mentioned in the preface, they have not been referred to; and the author is evidently ignorant of Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible" and of Mr. Grove's exhaustive researches. His great authorities are De Sauley and Pierotti. Though M. Vignes is mentioned in the preface, he is never referred to in the text. Thus on Nebo, the site of which has been so clearly fixed by late explorers, we have no reference later than the vague notice of Eusebius. On the site of the cities of the plain we have M. de Sauley's ideas set forth at length. But it is useless to enumerate instances. The part on natural history is ludicrously replete with blunders, and there is no reference to any writers of the present century. Every discovery of our times is ignored. The papyrus only grew in Egypt, the wild buffalo is still found in herds in the Jordan valley! the hyrax, or cony, resembles the Alpine marmot; the blackcock is included among the birds, &c., &c. We trust that M. Arnaud may correct, not the plan, but the detail of his work in a second edition, by acquiring some knowledge of the results of scientific research in the Holy Land within the last twenty years. He may thus render his manual, what it certainly is not now, a trustworthy authority, as well as a useful compendium.

Mémoires du Comte Beugnot, Ancien Ministre (1783—1815). Publiés par le Comte ALBERT BEUGNOT, son petit-fils. Deuxième Edition. Paris: E. Dentu, Libraire Éditeur.

THIS is a delightful book; an excellent specimen of that most entertaining class of literature—the French memoir. Count Beugnot lived through the eventful period of the Revolution, shared the prisons of La Conciergerie and La Force, of which he gives most interesting details; was afterwards in the service of the Emperor Napoleon, and, like many others, transferred at a later period his allegiance to the Bourbons. He had seen much and come into contact with all the celebrated men of his own country and epoch. He writes throughout with unaffected good sense. The greater part of these Memoirs made their first appearance in the *Revue Française* and in the *Revue Contemporaine*.

Count Beugnot had, at least when he was young, that indispensable qualification for a writer of memoirs—a great curiosity. Known intimately to Madame de Lamotte, he tells us that he could not rest till he prevailed upon her to invite him to meet her great ally and miracle-worker, Cagliostro. Cagliostro, at that time at the zenith of his fame and overwhelmed with invitations, had given out that he ate with no one—not even royal dukes. Notwithstanding this, however, young Beugnot (who had some hold upon Madame de Lamotte for services rendered in her days of adversity) procures his invitation, and meets with the wonderful man, who comports himself as any other lion might do. He engrosses the conversation, and what conversation! In a jargon half French, half Italian, plentifully interlarded with quotations supposed to be Arabic, but which he did not take the trouble to translate, he discoursed of Memphis, and the *Grand Arcanum*, and transcendental chemistry, and of a town in the interior of Africa ten times as large as Paris, *where he had correspondents!* Like certain of our contemporaries, he could tell you what was taking place in London or Peking; and then as now there were men, sane enough in other respects, who followed the great spiritualist and believed in all his miracles.

Extracts we cannot make. But whether it be a *salon* where a mysterious adept is half worshipped, whether the interior of the dreadful prisons of the Revolution, or the cabinet of kings and emperors, into which we are introduced, we invariably find ourselves in the company of a keen, intelligent, and most observant man.

Actualités Politiques. Vienna: A. Pichler. 1868.

THE anonymous author of this pamphlet proceeds on the supposition that a European war is imminent; that the Emperor of the French finds himself compelled to choose between war or revolution, and that he will infallibly choose the former; and forthwith discusses what alliances ought to be made to protect

Europe against the ambition of France, or rather of its Emperor. The writer is anxious that Austria should be thoroughly *German* in its policy, and urges the three minor powers, Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland, to take part with Prussia in the ensuing contest. If they hug themselves in their neutrality, he suggests to them that they may lose the only opportunity given them to defend themselves from absorption into France.

As we do not share this alarm of immediate war, or this excessive distrust of France, we are not much interested in the hypothetical discussion to which has been given the not very applicable title of "*Actualités Politiques*." But there is one part of the pamphlet which will, we think, be read with some interest in England: that part which enters into controversy with the Papacy and with the Ultramontane section of the Catholic Church. It is something new in a pamphlet emanating from Vienna to hear it objected against the pretensions of the Papacy that they are not supported by the New Testament—that the New Testament is decidedly adverse to them. Not that our author is a Protestant: he has no design to controvert the body of doctrine of the Catholic Church; but he advocates National Churches, and Episcopal, not Papal Government. He would have the several Christian Churches of Europe held together, when necessary, by Synod and Council:—

"Il faut," he says, "que le catholicisme soit décentralisé afin de mieux être à même de répondre aux divers besoins de peuples si différents par leur nature et leur éducation. Il faut, en un mot, que pour devenir universelle, l'Eglise cesse d'être romaine, qu'elle en revienne à sa simplicité primitive, avec ses évêques co-ordonnés et sa constitution synodale."

Guide du Voyageur à Jersey, précédé d'une carte de l'île, et suivi d'un répertoire alphabétique de renseignements généraux. Par AUGUSTE DESMOULINS. Jersey: C. le Feuvre. 1868.

GUIDE-BOOKS are generally very humble camp-followers in the great army of literature, and seldom deserve to be noticed in its gazettes or orders of the day. The present little volume, written by a distinguished and amiable French journalist who spent many years in the island, may form an exception to the general rule, perhaps because of its 118 pages scarcely forty are devoted to guide-book matter properly so called, the rest being occupied with history, philology, and the political constitution of the island, with more or less of speculation on various points. Although spoilt as far as possible by the dialogue form adopted, it contains much that is really valuable and interesting. One chapter which will have the merit of novelty to most readers will be that on the neutrality of the Channel Islands, which (though occasionally violated) seems to have formed part of the international law of Europe till so late as 1780, and of which M. Desmoulin strongly urges the renewed recognition. To philologists M. Desmoulin's little volume will recommend itself as offering some by no means discreditable specimens of verse in the modern Jersey dialect. The peculiar relish of his work, however, lies in the fact that it shows us the quaint little queen of the Channel Islands from the point of view of an accomplished Frenchman, entirely free from national prejudice.

THE NORTH SIDE OF THE LORD'S TABLE.

To the Editor of THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

SIR,—I have no desire to return to the controversy as to the rubrical position of the priest during the administration of the Lord's Supper, but I will ask your permission to point out and correct a misquotation for which I am responsible.

In the first article on this subject—*Contemporary Review*, vol. iii., p. 267, October, 1866—I say in a note, "The priests who placed the shew-bread stood on the *south* side," and then give what I supposed was the Latin of Surenhusius. The fact, however, is that the *Mischna* describes them as standing on the *north* side of the table, with their faces to the south. In looking through the translation for another purpose, I had made a note to this effect, but before using it I wished to refer to the passage itself, and as I had no longer the book to refer to, I was at the trouble of procuring a transcript. Unfortunately it interchanged "*meridiem*" for "*septentrionem*," or rather, from an *homoioteleuton*, omitted a couple of lines and passed on to the description of the priests who removed the old loaves.

My suggestion as to the "more honourable side" falls to the ground, but the correct quotation is equally opposed to Dr. Littledale's assertion (*North-side*, 5th edition, p. 6) that the position of the priest was in front of the table of shew-bread.

T. F. SIMMONS.



THE LAST SUPPER OF THE LORD,

AS RELATED IN THE THREE EARLIER EVANGELISTS AND IN
ST. JOHN.

WHEN we call to mind the enormous amount of patient investigation and learned labour which has been expended upon the topic mentioned at the head of this article, it may well seem to many foolish and presumptuous in any new inquirer to enter the field. Yet, surely, a sufficient excuse may be found in the vast importance of the subject, and of the issues that depend on it. The perplexities that surround it are not yet removed. No clear and consistent chronological view has yet been reached by Biblical scholars of the events of the touching and memorable period to which it refers. No explanation, generally accepted as satisfactory, has yet been given which may at once reconcile the apparently discrepant accounts of the different Evangelists, bring them into harmony with what we otherwise know of the Jewish customs of the time, and fully explain, in connection with them, those Easter controversies of the second century, in which the later opponents of the authenticity of our Gospels have thought that they found one of their most powerful weapons of attack.

Let us listen for a moment to the language of one or two scholars of the later negative school of criticism,—

“The thorough (*durchgehende*) difference,” says Baur, “of the first three Gospels and of the fourth in their determination of the day of the

last supper and of the death of Jesus, and the impossibility of giving any exegetical explanation of the difficulty, are now so generally acknowledged, that the only point remaining for discussion is, which of the two narratives is worthy of our confidence, or whether we must leave the whole question undecided."^{*}

Taylor, in his recent work on the Fourth Gospel, is not less decided in the expression of his opinion. After quoting the statements of the Evangelists, he goes on—

"The two narratives, therefore, are utterly incapable of reconciliation. If the account of the Fourth Gospel be the true one, it is impossible that Christ should have eaten the Passover with his disciples, as he was crucified before it could be legally celebrated; and we have thus the three first Evangelists, with the Apostle Paul, convicted of gross mistake as to a matter of historical fact, which it is hardly conceivable how they could have made—depositaries, as we know they were, of the earliest Palestinian tradition respecting Christ."†

Lastly, that we may not multiply quotations, Dr. Davidson, in the last edition of his "Introduction to the New Testament," published only the other day, thus speaks:—

"The most striking diversity (between the first three Gospels and the fourth) relates to the day on which Jesus suffered. The Synoptists represent him as celebrating the paschal supper the night before his death, on the 14th of Nisan, so that he died on the 15th; the fourth Gospel as not partaking of the Passover, but suffering on the day on which the law prescribed that it should be kept, i.e., the 14th of Nisan. If plain words be followed, no evasion of this contradiction will bear the light."[‡]

While this is the language of opponents, that of friends is hardly more satisfactory. They see no possibility of solving the difficulty, and they either determine in favour of one set of our authorities, acknowledging that it is contradicted by the other, or they abandon the question in despair. Thus it is that Meyer exclaims, in his note on John xviii. 28,—

"All attempts made to reconcile the difference have failed. The breach remains exactly as John himself placed it there, in the clear conviction that he was contradicting the harmonious chronological accounts of his three forerunners."

And again, having discussed the question, he adds—

"After all that has now been said, I am convinced that it is impossible to remove the difference between the Johannine and the Synoptic narratives."

Lücke, in his note on the same passage, closes his long account of the difficulty and the best method of solving it with the words,

"The result of all these considerations is that a satisfactory exegetical explanation of the difference is impossible."

^{*} Die Kanon. Ev. p. 269, &c.

† "The Fourth Gospel," p. 100.

‡ "Intr. to the New Test.," ii. p. 357.

After which he proceeds to show that the account of St. John is to be accepted in preference to that of the Synoptists. And, to quote but one critic more—Dean Alford, with that honesty and fairness which so eminently characterize his commentary, thus introduces his note (Matt. xxvi. 17) on the solutions that have been offered—

“I shall give, in as short a compass as I can, the various solutions that have been attempted, and the objections to them, fairly confessing that none of them satisfy me; and that at present I have none of my own.”

In conclusions so unsatisfactory, it is impossible that the Christian mind should rest contented. Truth must lie somewhere; and, until it is found, inquiry ought not to cease. Better even that we should feel ourselves compelled to admit that the historical accuracy either of our first three Evangelists or of St. John cannot be trusted, than that we should go on from generation to generation with the vague suspicion, to which we hesitate to give effect, that on one of the most important points of our Lord's history they are in direct contradiction to one another.

These considerations—and it is unnecessary to be more particular, for every scholar knows the momentous character of the interests at stake—are enough to justify the effort of the following pages. That effort *may* prove but one more added to the fruitless efforts of the past. If so, it will soon be forgotten. If not, it will not be despised by the lovers of Biblical study, and it will help to settle more firmly the foundations of our faith.

One further preliminary remark only would the writer make. His inquiry has been an independent one. Much, no doubt, that he has to say has been said by those who have preceded him. But much, so far as he is aware, has not. Those who are acquainted with the history of the inquiry will recognise what is original and what is not. It is for them that he mainly writes.

L.

It may be well to examine the accounts of our four Evangelists with a view to obtaining an answer to the question, *Is it the same meal of which, when they describe the last supper of the Lord, they give us an account?* We do not mean, Is it a paschal meal, in the proper sense of the term, in either or in both? but simply, Are the incidents of the meal in both cases so much alike that, whatever was the character of the meal, it is not two meals that are described to us, but one? To this question a very few lines will supply the answer. All the Evangelists intend to describe the same meal, and not two different ones.

That there is much in St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke which we do not find in St. John, and *vice versa*, is unquestionably true.

In particular, the total omission by St. John of the institution of our Lord's Supper is, as is well known, one of the most remarkable characteristics of his narrative. With any attempt to explain this omission we have at present nothing to do. Strange, however, as the omission may seem to us, the simple fact of its existence is not enough to show that St. John intends to record a different meal. The particulars of resemblance are too many and too minute to permit such an idea to be entertained. Thus, in both cases, the supper was partaken of the evening before the crucifixion of Jesus. It may have been a legal paschal supper in the one case—an anticipatory paschal, or only an ordinary supper, in the other. Into this point we shall have afterwards to inquire. But the whole course of events, both in the Synoptists and in St. John, is such as to show that, on the night in which that supper was partaken of, Jesus was betrayed and hurried before the tribunals; that on the following morning he was condemned; and that, in the course of that day, though with an apparent diversity as to the exact hour, he was crucified. Further, as we may notice for a moment in passing, both our sources of information are agreed as to the *day of the week* upon which the crucifixion, and consequently the supper, fell. St. John says distinctly (xix. 31, 42) that the Saviour was crucified on the *παρασκευή*, i.e., as we shall by-and-bye see more clearly, the day before the Sabbath. St. Luke xxiii. 54, comp. 56, says, not less distinctly, *καὶ ἡμέρα ἦν παρασκευή, καὶ σάββατον ἐπέφωσκε*—the latter word unquestionably referring, not to the dawning of the natural day, but to the opening of the Sabbath, our Saturday, which took place, according to the Jewish mode of reckoning, on our Friday evening. All our authorities, then, are so far completely in harmony that they place the crucifixion on the Friday, and the last supper on the Thursday evening.

Still more, the events of the supper itself are obviously the same. During its course our Lord says to the disciples that one of them, then present, should betray him (Matt. xxvi. 21; Mark xiv. 18; Luke xxii. 21; John xiii. 21). The disciples are perplexed and grieved by the intimation (Matt. xxvi. 22; Mark xiv. 19; Luke xxii. 23; John xiii. 22). The traitor is specifically pointed out as one who dipped with Jesus in the dish (Matt. xxvi. 23; Mark xiv. 20; John xiii. 26). Immediately after the supper, though again with an apparently slight difference as to the precise moment, St. Peter is warned of his approaching fall (Matt. xxvi. 34; Mark xiv. 30; Luke xxii. 23; John xiii. 38). And, finally, leaving the house, the whole company proceed to the garden of Gethsemane (Matt. xxvi. 30, 36; Mark xiv. 26, 32; Luke xxii. 39; John xviii. 1). Circumstances of similarity so striking could not possibly have happened on two dif-

παρασκευή τοῦ πέντε

John 14 16

ferent occasions. It is obvious that all our Evangelists intend to relate the same supper, whether or not any of them may have altered its character to suit the purposes of his gospel as a whole. It was a supper which took place on our Thursday evening, and Jesus was crucified on the Friday.

II.

We proceed to a second point. *What was the true character of the supper to which our Lord and his disciples thus sat down?* Was it in both cases a legal paschal supper? or was it so only in the case of the earlier Evangelists? and does the narrative of St. John compel us to think that, according to the view of that apostle, the true paschal supper of that year did not take place until the evening of the crucifixion, the Friday evening, and that the supper, the events of which he actually relates, was therefore only either an ordinary evening meal or an anticipation by twenty-four hours of the supper of the law? The question is one of great difficulty; and, in endeavouring to answer it, we shall escape some complication if we avoid, in the meanwhile, all reference to *the days of the month*, and look only at the character of the supper in itself.

(1.) The narratives of the three earlier Evangelists claim our first notice. No doubt can be entertained as to the light in which they viewed it. The question of the disciples, "Now the first day of the feast of unleavened bread the disciples came to Jesus, saying unto him, Where wilt thou that we prepare for thee to eat the Passover?" the message of Jesus to the man to whom the disciples were sent, "My time is at hand, I will keep the Passover (ποιῶ τὸ πάσχα, comp. Mark xiv. 14; Luke xxii. 11, φάγω) at thy house with my disciples;" the statement of the Evangelist, "And they made ready the Passover;" the words of Jesus at the table, "With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer" (Matt. xxvi. 17—20; Mark xiv. 12—17; Luke xxii. 7—15)—these and such expressions render it almost, if not altogether, impossible to suppose that the meal thus partaken of was anything but the regular, true, and legal Jewish Passover. Further, the ceremonial observed at this supper corresponded with what we know of the ceremonial of the Jewish feast. There is, indeed, no mention of the lamb, unless we understand by the τὸ πάσχα so frequently referred to, not so much the feast as the lamb itself—a rendering which would be in complete conformity with usage;* but there is the blessing of the bread, the breaking it, the distribution of it to his guests on the part of the Master of the feast, the dipping it in the sauce; there is the cup of wine over which a second blessing is pronounced; and there is the hymn at the

* Jahn, "Biblical Antiq.," § 354.

close of all. The whole meal is indubitably represented as the legal paschal meal.

Against this view of it, however, various important objections have been urged; and, although it seems to us that most of these have been answered by others, it is necessary to allude to them. Only, as we desire to avoid as much as possible repeating in this paper what others have said, we shall do this with the utmost brevity, adding rather one or two observations which, so far as we are aware, have not yet been made, and then passing on to objections of a more recent date. It has been said that, inasmuch as the day immediately following the evening of the Passover was a day of "holy convocation," and possessed the sanctity of a Sabbath, it was impossible that an armed guard could have been sent on that day to arrest the Saviour (Matt. xxvi. 47), for it was not lawful to bear arms upon a Sabbath; that the meeting of the Sanhedrim (Matt. xxvi. 57) would have been equally illegal; and that the crucifixion of Jesus upon that day would have been altogether at variance with Jewish notions of propriety. But to these objections it has been often and sufficiently replied that, even allowing the first day of the feast, the day of "holy convocation," to have possessed the sanctity ascribed to it, and that the acts referred to were unlawful, the fanatical zeal of the Jews would easily lead them to imagine that they were serving God in prosecuting an impostor and blasphemer to death; that the same considerations would appear to the Sanhedrim to justify its sitting; and that the carrying out of the crucifixion was the deed, not of the Jewish, but of the Roman authorities. Bleek, indeed, says, in reference to the last part of this answer, that the Romans were accustomed to yield to the Jews in such matters, and to pay respect to the national feeling.* The remark might be of weight were it not that, in the present instance, the Romans must have seen that they *were actually yielding* to the feelings of the Jews; while, in the case of the latter again, it was but the natural blinding of their own consciences, if they excused to themselves the violation of a holy day by being able to throw upon the Romans the responsibility of executing the unlawful deed. To these considerations we may add two others. First, with reference to the armed guard, it may be noticed that we are informed, in Matt. xxvii. 62—66, that the Pharisees went to the tomb *on the Sabbath itself* with a guard, of course armed, and there sealed the stone. This would have undoubtedly been regarded as a profanation of the Sabbath had they not justified it to themselves by the plea that it was done for the glory of God, and in opposition to the efforts of those who, in their view, were blasphemers of His name. What they did on the Sabbath they certainly would not have hesi-

* Bleek, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, p. 132.

tated to do on a day of "holy convocation." Secondly, the objection which we are now considering to the Synoptic representation of the last supper of Jesus is made by those who hold that days were then reckoned according to the natural method, from morning to morning; but, if so, the day of "holy convocation" *was not begun* when some, at least, of the events alluded to took place. It was night; and it is only by adopting a method of calculating days which Bleek and others reject, that their own objection possesses any force. These answers to the difficulties before us appear to be sufficient. At the same time they are not the only ones that can be given; for it can be shown both that it is in a high degree doubtful whether the seizing, trial, and execution of transgressors even upon a Sabbath were so strictly forbidden as is supposed, and that the day of "holy convocation" in question did not possess the sanctity of a Sabbath day.*

Again, it has been alleged that the women spoken of in Luke xxiii. 55, 56, could not have prepared spices and ointments for anointing the body of Jesus upon the first day of the feast any more than they could have done so upon an ordinary Sabbath; that such work was indeed strictly prohibited by the law; that the burial of Jesus could not have taken place upon that day; and that the notice in Luke xxiii. 26, Mark xv. 21, of Simon's returning from the country, by which we are to understand returning from work in the field, is inconsistent with the view which we are now considering.† It is to be observed, however, that the preparing of spices for the purpose in question could not be considered "servile work," which is the kind of work forbidden by the law (Lev. xxiii. 7; Numb. xxviii. 18, in harmony with which we must interpret the less specific language of Exod. xii. 16); that the burying of Jesus was an absolute necessity, unless the still greater offence was to be committed of leaving the body on the cross during the whole of that Sabbath which was now immediately at hand; while, at the same time, we know otherwise from John xix. 42, a passage which we are entitled to refer to for this purpose, that the burial was accomplished with as little delay as possible; and, finally, that the expression used with reference to Simon, ἀπ' ἄγρου, simply means that he was returning from outside the walls of the city into the city itself.

Once more, it is alleged that the day of "holy convocation" could hardly have been designated and treated of merely as a παρασκευή, which it yet is in Matt. xxvii. 62; Mark xv. 42; Luke xxiii. 54.‡ It is difficult to see why. We shall afterwards have to examine more particularly the precise import of this word. In the meantime, let it only be observed, in the first place, that we shall prove that it

* Comp. Wieseler, Synopsis, Clark's Transl., p. 331. † Bleek, u. s., p. 134.

‡ Bleek, *ibid.*

means simply Friday; and, in the second place, that in the passages referred to it is not the thought of the day as a day of "holy convocation" that is present to the mind of the Evangelist, but the thought of the day in its relation to the Sabbath, and as preparatory to it. If these things be remembered, it will be at once apparent why it should be spoken of by what may seem its lower rather than its higher title.

To these difficulties have to be added those suggested by Godet in his recent and valuable commentary on the Gospel of St. John. This writer has partly revived one or two considerations which had been urged by earlier inquirers against the idea that the supper of the earlier Evangelists was the legal paschal supper—partly has added suggestions of his own to the same effect. He understands Matt. xxvi. 17 to refer to a point of time twenty-four hours previous to that supper; alleges that the words of the disciples there could not apply to a supper to be eaten on the evening of the day on which they were spoken, because they could not imagine that, in the crowded state of Jerusalem at the time, it would be possible to procure an apartment for the purpose upon such short notice; and thinks, therefore, that these disciples were looking forward to the supper as fixed for the night of the following day. But Jesus is supposed to have known, what they did not, that He was *to suffer* on the following day, and to have given them their commission with the intention, as yet concealed from them, of eating the supper that very night. At the same time He is thought to have disregarded the fact that the lamb could not be procured for the meal which He contemplated; partly because he intended to be himself the substitute for it next day, partly because it is probable that, as excommunicated, it might not have been possible for Him to procure it under any circumstances. Further, Godet supposes this intention of *immediate* eating, and so anticipating the legal meal, to be darkly hinted at in the words of Matt. xxvi. 18, "My time is at hand;" asserts that Matt. xxvii. 62, "the next day, that followed the day of the preparation, the chief priests and the Pharisees came together unto Pilate," &c., is exactly what St. John would have written; and maintains that the use of the word ἡμέρα in Luke xxii. 7, permits us to think only of the first hours of the day preceding the legal meal, that is, of the evening which began twenty-four hours before it.*

In reply to these objections it has to be said that there is no evidence that the disciples must have thought it necessary to make inquiry about an apartment twenty-four hours before it would be needed. We see from the narrative, at all events, that the apartment was immediately got; and, as it was one of the rules of the feast that the inhabitants of Jerusalem should make all possible accommodation

* Godet, *Commentaire*, ii, pp. 623-636.

for strangers, it is not at all improbable that they anticipated no difficulty upon the point. Still further, it is to be noticed that our Lord not only gives no intimation to the disciples that it was His intention to anticipate the feast, but that, in the message with which He intrusted them, He takes up their very words, and must thus have directly confirmed *their* idea, whatever it was, as to the time when the Passover was to be eaten. "Where wilt thou," they say, "that we go and prepare that thou mayest *eat the Passover*?" He replies, "Go ye into the city . . . say ye to the goodman of the house, The Master saith, Where is the guest-chamber where I shall *eat the Passover* with my disciples?" (Mark xiv. 12, 14, comp. Luke xxii. 8—11.) While the statement of the Evangelist that "they made ready the Passover," can have no other meaning than that they made it ready in the sense in which they had asked the question. The language both of Jesus and of the Evangelist in these passages is wholly inexplicable, unless we suppose that both had in their minds the same meal of which the disciples were thinking. As to the idea again that, because Jesus and his adherents were excommunicated, there could be no means within their power of procuring the lamb—this much, at least, is obvious, that the disciples never thought of such a difficulty. Godet himself allows that *they* meant by their words the legal Passover. They must, therefore, have believed that it was possible to procure the necessary lamb. Nor does the supposition that Jesus intended to be Himself the substitute for the lamb on the following day in the least degree explain how He came to use words which could convey no other impression either to his disciples or to "the goodman of the house" than that the usual lamb would be wanted at the feast. Further, it is not easy to think that the words, "the first day of the feast of unleavened bread," could apply to a point of time twenty-four hours before the legal supper. If they apply at all to a point of time previous to the season of eating appointed by the law, that point can only be the afternoon which preceded the legal evening. There is no evidence entitling us to say that, because in *popular* language they may have had such a reference, therefore we may carry them back to what was not so much the *natural* or *popular* beginning of *that* day as the close of the previous one. The same remark applies to ἡλθε in Luke xxii. 7; speaking of days in the *natural* or *popular* sense it would apply rather to the afternoon hours of the day following that to which it is assigned by Godet. Speaking of them in the stricter sense as running from evening to evening, it would carry us directly to the thought of the paschal evening itself. Again, it is obvious that the words "My time is at hand," are even more applicable to the circumstances if we suppose the supper to have been the legal rather than an anticipatory one. And, finally, that St. Matthew in xxvii. 62

uses the very language which St. John would have employed arises simply from the fact, which we hope to be able to establish, that in their narratives of the supper both Evangelists are at one.

Such are the chief objections urged against what is certainly, and by the admission of all, the natural meaning of the three earlier Evangelists,—that, on the evening previous to the crucifixion, our Lord and His disciples partook of the legal paschal meal. We confine ourselves to them as the most important. At the same time we avoid noticing any theory different from that adopted by those who urge these objections; partly, because it is necessary to simplify as much as possible an intricate subject; partly, because no other theory that has been advanced in connection with it has any real weight. All are either highly improbable in themselves, or are destitute of any confirmatory evidence from our knowledge of the time.

We conclude, therefore, this part of our subject with the expression of our belief that the last supper of our Lord is set before us by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, as the regular, the legal, paschal meal.

(2.) We have now to turn to the narrative of St. John. Does he speak of the same meal? or does he clearly indicate that he has in view a meal taken twenty-four hours earlier than the Passover of the law? That is, while the earlier Evangelists place the legal paschal meal on the evening *before* our Lord's crucifixion, the Thursday evening, does St. John tell us that that meal was not to take place till the evening *after* it, the Friday evening, and thus make the meal which he does record not to have been a paschal meal at all?

The first impression conveyed by the narrative of St. John, as given in the English version, undoubtedly is, that our Lord did not eat the legal paschal supper; that His last supper took place twenty-four hours previous; and that He Himself had died upon the cross, and was already in the grave, before the Passover, in the proper sense of the term, was celebrated. Or, noting this arrangement of events by its reference to the days of the *week*, St. John seems to say that our Lord ate a supper on the evening of Thursday, that he died on the Friday, and that on the Friday evening, according to Jewish reckoning the first hours of Sabbath, the legal Passover took place. The following are the passages on which this view rests: "Now before the feast of the Passover, when Jesus knew that His hour was come that He should depart out of this world unto the Father, having loved His own which were in the world, He loved them unto the end;" "For some of them thought, because Judas had the bag, that Jesus had said unto him, Buy those things that we have need of against the feast; or that he should give something to the poor;" "Then led they Jesus from Caiaphas unto the hall of judgment; and it was early; and they themselves went not into the judgment hall,

lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the Passover ;" "And it was the preparation of the Passover, and about the sixth hour ;" "The Jews, therefore, because it was the preparation," &c. ; "There laid they Jesus, therefore, because of the Jews' preparation day ;" John xiii. 1, 2, xiii. 29, xviii. 28, xix. 14, xix. 31, xix. 42. These passages we have now carefully to examine.

John xiii. 1, 2. It is urged that the supper here referred to took place "before," *i.e.*, twenty-four hours before the legal feast of the Passover ; that the determination of time given in the first clause, *πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα*, is to be connected with the leading verb of the sentence *ἠγάπησεν* ; and that, had the legal Passover been intended, we should have expected to find *πρὸ τοῦ δείπνου τοῦ πάσχα*.^{*} But, so far as regards the construction of the first clause of this verse, it is to be observed that to connect it with *ἠγάπησεν* gives no appropriate sense ; "before the feast of the Passover he loved them *εἰς τέλος*, *i.e.*, unceasingly," for such is the only legitimate meaning of the phrase.† It must be connected with the *εἰδώς*, and the only satisfactory sense of the verse is, that Jesus, knowing before the feast of the Passover that his hour was at hand, and having hitherto loved his own that were in the world, continued to bear towards them an unchanging and unceasing love. Of this love, the striking manifestation contained in the immediately following narrative is now to be described, and it is introduced with the words *καὶ δείπνον γενομένου*, "and supper having taken place, or being begun."[‡] We have here no new introduction connected only with what follows. The *καὶ* closely binds what follows to what goes before ; and the natural and simple meaning is that we have in the *δείπνον* the carrying out of the *ἡ ἑορτὴ τοῦ πάσχα* alluded to in v. 1. That *δείπνον* is the special form in which the *ἑορτή* took place. If this be not admitted, the narrative becomes indefinite to an extent entirely out of harmony with the precise and special tone of accuracy which marks St. John. We know nothing of the *δείπνον*. We ask in vain when it took place ; when it was that Jesus exhibited such a striking manifestation of his love. Connect, however, the first two verses closely with one another, as indeed would seem to be demanded both by the *καὶ* and by the absence of any article before *δείπνον*, and all is clear. There was a *ἑορτὴ τοῦ πάσχα* ; a *δείπνον* was its form ; the latter is the co-relative, or rather the specification, of the former. But we have already seen that this *δείπνον* is intended to correspond in its details with the legal

* Godet, u. s., p. 427.

† The expression for "to the end" would be *μέχρι τέλους*, or *ἄχρι τέλους*, Heb. iii. 6, 14, vi. 11 ; Rev. ii. 26. Compare also Luke xviii. 5, where Alford forcibly translates "for ever." In Ps. cii. 9, *εἰς τέλος* is parallel to *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*.

‡ It does not seem necessary here to refer to the well-vouched-for reading, *γενομένου*. In no case do the words mean "and supper being ended ;" compare v. 4, where our Lord rises from supper, and v. 12, where He sits down again.

paschal supper of the earlier Evangelists: and now, looked at in the light we speak of—a light which makes the whole passage intelligible—it is expressly declared by St. John that the supper and the *ἑορτὴ τοῦ πάσχα* are one and the same. One word, *πρό*, alone remains to be noticed. It means *immediately before*; and St. John's whole statement is, that the feast of the Passover had come; that Jesus knew that His end was near; that He continued then to cherish towards His disciples the love which He had always borne them; that it was His design to afford them a striking manifestation of this love; and that He did so when the supper, which constituted the distinctive feature of the feast of the Passover, had begun.

John xiii. 29. It is thought that this passage is decisive. Why buy things for the feast if it was already going on? It was too late to do so. The feast must still have been before them for the following evening. The argument is specious, yet a little reflection will show that it has no solid weight. For, in the first place, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that things might be needed for the feast which was not finished; and that the disciples might well think so is rendered more natural by the fact that our Lord's words to Judas had been, "What thou doest, do quickly." In the second place, the mind is led by the whole narrative to the thought of something required immediately, for present use, and not for use nearly twenty-four hours afterwards. To the latter the "quickly" cannot well apply, and that especially when we remember that, if the paschal meal was only to be eaten on the following evening, the time of preparing for it had not yet arrived. In the third place, if our argument in regard to the first two verses of the chapter is well founded, it is impossible to escape the conclusion that the *ἑορτὴ* here is the same as the *ἑορτὴ* there.

Omitting, for the present, John xviii. 28, we pass to three passages which may be taken together.

John xix. 14, 31, 42. Each of these presents for explanation the word *παρασκευή*, although the argument against the view maintained in this paper is founded chiefly upon the first of them, where we read *ἦν δὲ παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα*, in our English version, "it was the preparation of the Passover." It is well known to Biblical students that it has been often proposed, instead of rendering the word before us "the preparation," to consider it as the technical term for "Friday." Such we conceive to be its true and proper meaning, although the proof hitherto offered upon the point has not been so ample and satisfactory as might be wished. The following considerations are submitted in the hope that they may be accepted as conclusive. (1.) As to the use of the word in John xix. 31, there can be no doubt. It is evidently employed there in relation to the Sabbath, and the passage ought to be translated, "The Jews, therefore, because it

was Friday, that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the Sabbath day." It may be said, indeed, that the relation of the day to the Sabbath immediately following is equally brought out by the usual translation, inasmuch as the Jews understood by "the preparation" the day before the Sabbath. But (2.) it is to be noticed that there is no article before the word. Had we read ἡ παρασκευ. it might have been difficult to say that the rendering "the preparation" was inadmissible; but the absence of the article is a clear proof that the original meaning of the word had been lost sight of, and that it was now regarded simply as the technical name for that day of the week to which it had been unquestionably first applied in the thought of the purpose to which the latter part of the day was devoted. That purpose it would still suggest *when its meaning was thought of*, but the first impression awakened by its use was only that of the day itself in its place among the other days of the week. Without the article it does not, and cannot, mean "the preparation." (3.) Even where the article does occur, as in John xix. 42, διὰ τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, the rendering "the preparation," though admissible, is not so good as the rendering "the Friday." The former is out of keeping with the supposed analogical phrase, of which we shall have to say more immediately, παρασκευὴ τοῦ σάββατον, σάββατον being here the *object* of the preparation, that *for* which preparation is made; whereas, in the other expression, Ἰουδαίων must be the *subject* of the preparation, those *by* whom preparation is made. The meaning, therefore, which we would assign to it in this passage, "There laid they Jesus, therefore, because of the Friday of the Jews," *i.e.*, because it was the Jewish Friday, is obviously the most fitting.* (4.) Before considering the word in John xix. 14, let us take the other New Testament passages in which it is found, Matt. xxvii. 62, Mark xv. 42, Luke xxiii. 54. In all of these it is undeniable that the word refers to the day before the Sabbath. It is, indeed, expressly declared in that from St. Mark that it is the same as προσάββατον, while both there, and in that from St. Luke, there is again an absence of the article, so that these two passages ought to be rendered, "And now, when the even was come, because it was Friday," "And that day was Friday, and the Sabbath drew on." In St. Matthew, where we find the article, the meaning is, "Now the next day which followed the Friday." All three passages clearly indicate that the writers had no thought of "preparation" for the

* Dean Alford, on John xix. 42, objects that παρασκευὴ cannot mean "the mere day of the week so called, which, as it was by the Christians also in the Apostles' time named παρασκευή, would not be qualified by τῶν Ἰουδ." We reply, the qualification was needed. It was not the simple circumstance that the day was the *Christian* παρασκευή that made the quick burial necessary, but the fact that it was the *Jewish* παρασκευή, the day before the Jewish Sabbath. Without the affix, a Christian reader of the Apostle's day, unacquainted with Jewish customs, might not have fully understood the narrative.

Sabbath in their minds. They deal with the day before them simply as it occupied its own peculiar position in the week. (5.) To these considerations, drawn from the use of *παρασκευή* in the New Testament, has to be added the fact that in a list of the days of the week quoted by Wetstein (on Matt. xxvii. 62) from Bereshith R. xi. 9, they are given as *prima hebdomadis, secunda, tertia, quarta, quinta, parasceue, sabbatum*.

(6.) Nothing, however, affords stronger evidence of the real meaning of *παρασκευή* than the wide and early consent of the Christian Church to designate Friday by that name. Of this consent we have the most indubitable traces, both in the West and in the East. In Tertullian (de Jejun., c. 14), in Clement of Alexandria (Strom. vii. § 75), in the Apostolical Constitutions, and in the Pseudo-Ignatius (in Suicer s. v. *νηστεία*)—in all parts of the Church in short—*παρασκευή* is the term for Friday, precisely in the same way as *σάββατον* is the term for Saturday. Nothing can explain this except the existence of the Jewish practice, and its passing over into the Christian Church. That Church had no “preparation” of her own, and could therefore associate no idea of “preparation” with the word in question. She might have used, perhaps, the old Ides and Calends, but she never seems to have done so. Or she might have adopted the *Dies Solis, Dies Luna, Dies Mercurii*, &c.; but to that she had a natural aversion. She turned, therefore, to the Jewish usage, and adopted it; and that, in doing so, she should have designated her Friday by *παρασκευή*, a word which, in its original sense, must have been to her totally destitute of meaning, is an incontestable proof that, at the time she did so, that sense had faded from the minds of men; and that, without any reference to it, the word was employed *absolutely* as the name for a particular day.

What has been said might be enough to establish the point under discussion. But if we now turn to John xix. 14, the argument is rendered much stronger by the special form of the expression there, *ἦν δὲ παρασκευή τοῦ πάσχα*. Do these words mean “the preparation of, or for, the Passover?” (1.) Let it be observed that there is no article in the phrase, again leading to the belief that *παρασκευή* must be used in a technical sense. (2.) Allowing that there was such a period known as the *παρασκευή τοῦ πάσχα*, in the sense of preparation for the Passover, we should have here a departure from New Testament usage, in which *παρασκευή* has always reference to the Sabbath. It might, perhaps, be also otherwise used; but it would be difficult, if not impossible, to explain why St. John should thus depart from his own use of the word in the two other verses of this very chapter where it occurs. (3.) No one has ever been able to show that there was a period known as the *παρασκευή τοῦ πάσχα*, in the sense of which we speak. We know that the Jews did prepare for that festival, but evidence has

not been produced that they were wont to designate the time of preparation in this manner. (4.) And chiefly, may it not be said that such a phrase as *παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα*, in the sense under consideration, is without analogy? It seems to be generally imagined that there was a phrase in use *παρασκευὴ τοῦ σάββατου*, and that to this phrase the one before us corresponds. *But no such phrase occurs in the New Testament*; nor, although it would be presumptuous to deny that it may exist, have we met with any example of it elsewhere. We meet with *παρασκευὴ* by itself; we meet with *παρασκευὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων*; but, *παρασκευὴ τοῦ σάββατου*, often as we find it in the works of commentators on the New Testament, *appears to have had no existence in the Greek tongue as spoken in the days of Christ*. Nay, further, may we not infer from the language of the Imperial decree, quoted in Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 6, 2, that the form of the phrase was different? We read there that the Jews were to be exempted from going before a judge, *ἐν σάββατω, ἢ τῇ πρὸ ταύτης παρασκευῇ, ἀπὸ ὧρας ἐνάτης*, so that the proper and grammatical expression would seem to have been, not *παρασκευὴ τ. σάββατου*, but *παρ. πρὸ τ. σ.* If, therefore, this often-quoted phrase did not exist—and its supposed existence would seem to be nothing more than a hasty conclusion from our knowledge of the fact that the *παρασκευὴ* was the day on which preparation for the Sabbath fell—the very analogy from which to form *παρ. τ. π.*, in the sense of preparation for the Passover, is wanting. We urge, then, that *παρ. τ. π.* does not and cannot mean “the preparation of the Passover.” *Παρασκευὴ* means “Friday”; and we are to understand by the whole phrase of John xix. 14, “Friday of the Passover,” “A Passover Friday,” “Friday to which the Passover belonged.”

It is a further confirmation of this view that, if we adopt it, we have at once an answer to the question by which commentators have been so much perplexed, Why does St. John employ such a designation for the day of which he is speaking? He does so, first, because, after his usual manner, he would give a distinct note of time (compare the clause immediately following); and, secondly, because he wishes to keep up the connection with what he had said before, to trace the close succession of events.

Thus interpreted, the words of John xix. 14 are not only not inconsistent, are not only in the most perfect harmony, with the narrative of the Synoptists, but they *expressly exclude any other supposition*. The Passover spoken of is distinctly associated with the Friday; while, on the view taken by our opponents, it has nothing whatever to do with that day, but belongs to the first evening hours of Sabbath or Saturday. St. John is simply, as is usual with him, more definite as to the point of time than his predecessors are. He tells us that the events of which he is speaking took place on “Friday of the Passover,” and these words clearly imply, not that the paschal

feast was to come, but that *it was already past*, having been celebrated on the opening of Friday, our Thursday evening.*

We have now to turn to our only remaining passage, John xviii. 28: "Then led they Jesus . . . and they themselves went not into the judgment hall, lest they should be defiled; but that they might eat the Passover." The reference is, unquestionably, to the Jews themselves who were now prosecuting Jesus, and not merely to their servants who might be thought to have been in the habit of eating the Passover at a later hour than their masters (comp. vv. 29—31); and they distinctly convey the meaning that the *τὸ πάσχα* spoken of had not yet been eaten. The inference, therefore, seems inevitable that St. John transfers the eating of this Passover to the evening of the day upon which the transactions thus related took place; while, according to the other Evangelists, the eating was already past. Must we at length, therefore, allow that here at least the chronology of the Gospel of St. John differs from that of the other three Gospels? or must we adopt the usual explanation resorted to by those who will not concede this, that *τὸ πάσχα*, in the passage before us, is to be understood in a wider sense than that of the proper paschal meal—that it includes not only that meal but the *Chagigah*, or all the sacred meals which were eaten during the paschal season? So often is this last view taken that it is absolutely necessary to test it. If it stand the test, well; the difficulty is cleared away. If it do not, it were better at once to abandon it, and to confess, unless a more satisfactory one can be suggested, either that there is mistake on the part of one or other of our authorities, or that the difficulty is as yet insoluble.

The argument is, that, although *τὸ πάσχα* denotes, in its strictest sense, only the paschal supper, it had come to have a meaning much more enlarged, and to signify either the whole feast of seven days which was celebrated at this time, or "the sacrifices and the food customary at this feast." "It is well known," it is said, "that the whole period of the feast, especially in St. John's Gospel, was also called after the one conspicuous day, 'the Passover.' And so, too, the legal sacrifices and food proper to the whole feast received the same name. *Φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα*, in this sense, is therefore synonymous

* The conclusion thus come to will be still further confirmed if we can establish, as we trust to be able to do in another paper, that the thought of the Passover (in the strict sense of the term) was not associated only with a few hours of night, but with a whole day of 24 hours, reaching from evening to evening. It may be added that Tayler, in the work formerly referred to (p. 132), sets himself to prove that *parascene* simply denoted in the Hellenistic Greek of the Jews the day before an ordinary Sabbath. He thus, however, lends his aid to the overthrow of the general conclusion which that work is intended to establish.

Godet, ut supra p. 619, thinks that had St. John employed the word *παράσκειν* in so special a sense as that of Friday, he would have explained it for his Christian readers. Has Godet forgotten, what Alford has noticed in the note formerly referred to, that *παράσκειν* was the *Christian* name for Friday?

with the celebration of the paschal season, by a participation in the particular food (τὰ ἄζυμα) and meals appointed by the law.* Now it seems in the highest degree doubtful whether there is one single passage, either in St. John's Gospel or in the rest of the New Testament, where the words τὸ πάσχα *must* be taken to mean "the whole period of the feast." Of the nine passages, in addition to that now before us, in which they occur in St. John, there is but one, ii. 23, where this sense might, at first sight, seem to be required, ὡς δὲ ἦν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐν τῷ πάσχα, ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ, πολλοὶ ἐπίστευσαν, κ.τ.λ. But πάσχα and ἑορτῇ are not here synonymous, and the clause ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ is either to be connected with ἐπίστευσαν, while ἐν τῷ πάσχα goes with ἦν; or, what is probably better, the words ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ denote something over and above the πάσχα—the feast that followed it. This is the invariable New Testament usage. In Mark xiv. 1, we read, ἦν δὲ τὸ πάσχα καὶ τὰ ἄζυμα μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας, where the proper paschal supper and the following feast are at least so distinguished from one another that the term for the former does not include the latter. Luke xxii. 1, again, ἤγγιξε δὲ ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν ἁζύμων ἢ λεγομένη πάσχα, does not mean that the feast of unleavened bread was called the Passover, but either that within the period known as the τὰ ἄζυμα the feast known as the Passover fell, or that *that* feast of unleavened bread which is called the Passover was at hand. Nor does even Luke ii. 43, necessitate any other conclusion; for, unless the averment can be otherwise proved, we are entitled to say that the ἡμέραι there referred to are not *part of the πάσχα*, but simply connected with it. The Old Testament passages, Deut. xvi. 1—3, and 2 Chron. xxxv. 6—13, are not more conclusive in favour of the supposed usage than those of which we have spoken in the New Testament. It has been clearly shown by Lücke† that a distinction is drawn in these passages between "the Passover" in the singular, and paschal offerings in the plural; to which we add that the רִבְי of Deut. xvi. 3, upon which Tholuck mainly places his dependence, is rendered in the LXX. ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, and by De Wette, in his translation of the Bible, *dabei*, both renderings which are perfectly legitimate, if not even better than our English version's "therewith," and not making it necessary to think that the "Passover" was to be eaten seven days. Later ecclesiastical usage, too, is in favour of the special meaning of πάσχα which we advocate. Those who will take the trouble to consult Suicer's article upon the word will see that, in the numerous passages quoted by him from the early Fathers, πάσχα is always spoken of with reference to a *single day*, while the prolonged feast is described as the πασχαλίου ἡμέραι, or the ἡμέραι τῆς πασχαλίας.

* Wieseler, Synopsis, Clark's Translation, pp. 349, 350. Wieseler is the ablest exponent of this widely-received view, and therefore we refer to him alone.

† Comment. Joh. xviii. 28.

Although, however, the usage of the word *πάσχα* were different from what it is, we must observe that it is not with that word alone that we have here to do. It is with the phrase *φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα*; and no passage has ever yet been produced where that phrase is employed in any other sense than that of eating the proper paschal meal. It would be an abandoning of all secure principles of interpretation, were we, for the sake of meeting a difficulty, to impose upon the words a sense not only without example, but at direct variance with their use wherever met with elsewhere. Few things seem more certain than that we must understand them in their general and proper acceptation of eating the paschal supper or the paschal lamb. But if so, it may be said that the paschal supper must have been still to come the following evening. We answer—not the following evening, but *then, at that very time*, they had to eat either their paschal meal, or the yet unconsumed remains of their paschal lamb.*

Let our readers (1.) recall to mind our analysis of the other texts in St. John bearing upon this point. Their meaning was tolerably certain; and, so far, there is a presumption in favour of the idea that the same meaning must be capable of application here. (2.) The words, "they themselves went not into the judgment-hall lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the Passover," have to be particularly noted. Those who plead, with us, that the supper had taken place on the previous evening, generally argue that this fear would have been groundless, if they had to look forward to eating on the evening following, inasmuch as the defilement spoken of could be got rid of by ablution at the close of the day. Maimonides is then quoted as their authority for saying so. Their opponents urge that the authority of Maimonides is not to be depended on for the customs of our Saviour's time. It is unnecessary to raise this question; although, if it is to be raised, there seems no good reason why our only authority upon the point should not be trusted; and in that case the argument will unquestionably hold good that the Jews had no cause to fear a defilement which would cease before the hour for celebrating the Passover arrived. It is unnecessary,

* The writer desires here to acknowledge his obligations to Professor Dorner, of Berlin, to whom he owes the suggestion that this is the proper meaning of the passage. Dr. Fairbairn, in a very interesting paper in his "*Hermeneutical Manual*," comes to a very similar conclusion. His idea is that the few "more resolute and daring members of the Sanhedrim" who combined with Judas were roused to unexpected action by his sudden coming to them to do the work, and that they were thus led to "postpone their participation of the feast till they had got through with their urgent business" (p. 346). The only objection to this view is, that there is no indication in St. John's narrative that the eating referred to in xviii. 28 was, in the least degree, unnatural or out of place. It is so calmly spoken of as to lead us to think that it must have been quite an ordinary event. Dr. Fairbairn does not present the alternative of supposing that the *τὸ πάσχα* mentioned may have been the as-yet-unconsumed remnants of the lamb. We hope to show in a second paper that it was not necessary to destroy these before the morning of the 16th.

however, as we have said, to raise this question at all. The fear of defilement was a fear pertaining to that moment. The defilement itself would have interfered with what they were then desirous to do; and it could have been *at once* removed by ablution. The language of Mark vii. 4 may be regarded as conclusive upon this point. The "market-place" is there spoken of because defilement was contracted in it through mixing with its miscellaneous crowd;* and we see, from the whole tenour of that passage, that such defilement could be cleansed away by ablution *at the moment of return home*. It is reasonable to infer that the defilement referred to here could have been as easily and as speedily removed; but the necessity for such ablution the Jews would, in the circumstances, naturally wish to avoid. (3.) It was not, therefore, in the thought of the following evening that defilement was now feared; it was defilement in the thought of what was before them for the day then passing; and the true explanation of the words under discussion is to be found in this—that these Jews had not yet eaten, or had not yet finished eating, their paschal lamb. The supper had begun in Jerusalem, but it was not yet concluded. In many houses of the city it had probably taken place; in many others it was taking place at that very moment; and the accusers of our Lord had either not yet been able to sit down to their meal, or they had been suddenly roused from it before it was duly closed; or *the whole lamb*, which it was not necessary to finish at one sitting, had not been consumed.

Let us notice the facts: "It was early," *ἤν δὲ πρωί*, says St. John. *πρωί* was the fourth watch of the night, from three to six o'clock of our morning (comp. Mark xiii. 35). It may at present have been nearer the latter than the former hour, although there is nothing to satisfy us that it must have been so (comp. especially John xx. 1, *πρωί, σκοτίας ἔτι οὐσσης*). The Roman rule, that a judgment given before six A.M. was not valid, might easily, at a time of such tumult and confusion, have been set aside. Let us admit, however, that the hour may have been about six A.M., and is there anything improbable in the supposition that in many a family of Jerusalem the paschal supper may not yet have been completed? The hour at which the paschal lamb was to be slain was "between the evenings," or, as it is explained in Deut. xvi. 6, "at the going down of the sun." It is true that, in the later practice of Israel, this time was generally understood to mean after three o'clock of the preceding afternoon, but there can be no doubt that such was not the prescription of the law; and there can be as little doubt that it was the mere necessity of the case, the impossibility of slaying so many lambs at "the holy place" within the short space of time spoken of in the law, that led to an interpretation of the Old Testament which extended it. But if the

* See Meyer, in loc.

pressure of the multitudes, which—although we decline to accept the statements of Josephus in all their extent—was certainly very great, thus compelled an extension of the period backward, it is at least in the highest degree likely that there would also be an extension of the period forward. Two or three hours, reckoning from three P.M., would certainly not suffice for the killing of all the lambs; and then, after being killed, they had to be roasted; so that we make only a supposition of the most natural kind, when we imagine that, in the days of our Lord, when such multitudes came up to the feast, the eating of the lamb must have extended through the whole night, and up to the very latest hour of the following morning. Even the rule of eating before morning might, like so many others, have had to give way under the pressure of absolute necessity; and it is not impossible that the eating of the paschal lamb might frequently extend into the following day. It is by no means necessary, however, to resort to such a supposition in the case before us. From John xiii. 30, we learn that when Judas left the supper-table "it was night." It is generally allowed that it must have been about midnight when our Lord and his disciples went over the brook Kedron (John xviii. 1); and nothing seems more natural than to think that many Jews would be engaged with their paschal meal some hours longer, because they had not got it so soon begun. Even this supposition, however, is not absolutely required, for it was not necessary to finish the eating of the paschal lamb at one sitting. The very injunction of Exod. xii. 10, that nothing of it should be allowed to remain until the morning, clearly proves that it was not; and it would be enough, therefore, to think that, in the present instance, some of the lamb still remained and had still to be eaten.*

The view which we have taken of the words under consideration will be rendered more probable if for the reading ἀλλ' ἵνα, of the T. R., we adopt that of ⋈ A B C Δ, which Lachmann has taken into his text, ἀλλὰ, for the μανθῶσιν and the φαγωσι will then be brought into a still closer connection with each other. Both will be seen to belong to *that particular time*, and there will be some improbability in supposing that the latter belongs only to a period more than twelve hours later. We do not lay much stress on this; but we ask our readers to dispel as much as possible from their minds the idea drawn from other quarters that the paschal supper had not yet been taken part in, and then to read these words with the amended text. We imagine that they will hardly be able to resist the feeling that the two verbs refer to the hour then spoken of by the Evangelist, and that, but for the

* Proceeding upon this view, we should be disposed to translate τὸ πάσχα, in John xviii. 28, "the paschal lamb." Such is the first and proper meaning of the word; but the adoption of it is not necessary to the argument.

other texts which have already been explained, no one would have thought of anything else.

Two remarks more may be made in confirmation of what has been said :—1. Dean Alford has called attention to the important fact that some of the disciples must have gone into the Prætorium, and have heard the conversation between our Lord and Pilate (John xviii. 33—38), and that they would thus, equally with the other Jews, have incurred defilement *had they not previously eaten their Passover*. “It would appear, too,” adds the Dean, “from Joseph of Arimathea going to Pilate during the παρασκευή (Mark xv. 43) that he also had eaten his Passover.”* We may add that we find priests and scribes present at the crucifixion among the Roman soldiers with no fear of pollution. It is not difficult to understand how it should have been so. In the meanwhile—for the interval in which our Lord was sent to Herod would give them time enough—they, too, had eaten their Passover. 2. Wieseler finds, in the words of St. John xii. 1 : “Six days before the feast of the Passover Jesus came to Bethany,” an argument in favour of the idea that the paschal supper fell on the Thursday, not the Friday, evening. The purport of his observations is, that, if we start from the supposition that the feast took place on the Thursday evening, then Jesus came to Bethany on the preceding Friday; whereas, if we suppose that the feast took place on the Friday evening, then the sixth day before that would be the Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath. But this would have been a breach of the Sabbath, of which it is hardly possible to suppose that the Saviour would be guilty. On the other hand, there is even an *a priori* probability that he would so arrange his journey as to arrive at its termination before the Sabbath.†

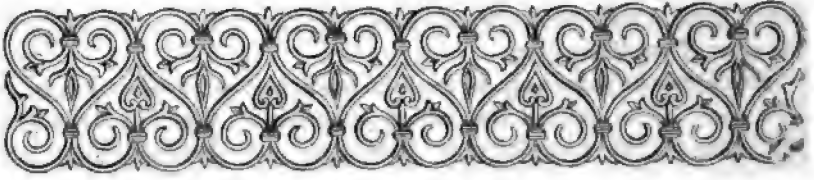
The remarks of these two distinguished critics—one of whom gives up the subject as unsolved, the other of whom takes a view of the whole matter entirely different from that advocated in this paper—may help at least to confirm what has been said, and to bring us to our conclusion that, according to St. John, the paschal feast fell on the same evening as that on which it is placed by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke.

Having thus, as we hope, shown that the alleged discrepancy between the first three Gospels and the fourth on the point before us rests on a mistaken interpretation of passages, especially in the latter Gospel, relating to the subject, the chief part of our task is done. It is not, however, completed; but what remains must be reserved for a second paper.

WILLIAM MILLIGAN.

* Note on Matt. xxvi. 17.

† Synopses, p. 345.



THE POOR LAWS AND METROPOLITAN POOR LAW ADMINISTRATION.

WE do not propose to weary our readers by enlarging upon and reviewing what may be termed the sensational and transitory aspect under which the administration of the Poor Laws has received an universal, though a hasty, condemnation. We have heard enough and to spare of workhouse horrors, starvation inquests, and all the minor details of London poverty with which the British public was regaled all last winter. A vulgar familiarity with some of the more prominent features of pauperism and Poor-Law mismanagement has been acquired by means of accounts penned by enthusiasts who have, in some instances, apparently considered that the cause of unadorned truth should stand second to, what they believe to be, that of humanity brought forward in the garb of a well-adorned tale. Thus it has come to pass that a great deal of public indignation has been aroused against the Poor Laws, and everybody and everything in any way connected with them. We do not deny that there is abundant cause for complaint, nor do we wish to disparage the efforts of those who have, at great personal sacrifice, come forward to expose prevailing abuses. Fully appreciating the difficulty of attracting public attention to so dry a subject, we cannot help doubting whether the cause of Poor-Law Reform is likely to be advantaged by the effect the various disclosures have produced upon

the public mind. Large economic questions can hardly be satisfactorily disposed of by the verdict of excited feelings, too often the product of indolence and ignorance. It is easy, however, to see that the present tide of unreasoning ire will ere long have run its course, and that the great questions connected with the Poor Laws will be handed over again to the hard-headed economists who are now under the cloud of public disfavour. In the full belief that this will be the case, it will be our object briefly to sketch out the general economic principles upon which the Poor Laws should be, and are, based, drawing a distinction between their aim and that of voluntary charity, and then we propose to make some observations on a few matters connected both with the law and with the administration of the law, with respect to which reform appears to be most urgently required.

The advisability of any system of Poor Laws has been the subject of much debate. Interesting, however, as might be the discussion whether or no the State ought to make provision for her destitute poor, the inquiry would be attended with no results of practical utility at the present day, for here we have the Poor Laws in operation, and their existence a necessary part of our social economy. It is needless to detail the historical events which led to the introduction of the Poor Laws. The earlier statutes, framed with the view of checking vagrancy, were unable to cope with the enormous increase of vagabondage consequent upon a series of internal and external wars, and upon such social revolutions as the abolition of the monasteries. In order to remedy the evils then prevalent, a series of laws were enacted, and these gradually developed the scheme of compulsory relief to the poor which we call the Poor-Law system. Taking a general and broad survey of this legislation, it appears clear that the Poor Laws are not the result of a humane desire to alleviate the miseries which are incidental to the condition of poverty, and that they are still less the result of the reasonings of Political Economy, and we are led to the conclusion that the Poor Laws are merely the product of an opinion that to make provision for the destitute poor of this country is a *necessity*.* Whether this opinion was reasonably founded may be matter of grave doubt; and it may fairly be maintained that many of the statutes passed in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth bear indications of being founded upon a state of social inquietude approaching to panic rather than upon the philosophic deductions of science. It is possible, however, that the events which prompted this legislation only hastened a consummation which, without them, would have been at the present time inevitable; and it may be

* The Statute 43 Eliz. directs the overseers in terms to raise "competent sums of money for and towards the *necessary* relief" of the poor.

matter for speculation whether advancing civilization might not have compelled the introduction of some system of Poor Laws.

If, then, we accept the proposition that the origin of the Poor Laws is sheer necessity, of course it follows that the objects of poverty to be provided for, and the *quantum* of provision to be made, will be discovered by submitting them to this same standard of necessity. In other words, we arrive at the conclusion that actual destitution presents the only title to relief. This disposes of a mass of twaddle we have been in the habit of hearing of late about what are called "deserving cases" of distress. In the words of Mr. J. S. Mill, the State "cannot undertake to discriminate between the deserving and the undeserving indigent. It owes no more than subsistence to the first, and can give no less to the last."* Now it results from this train of reasoning that no one can be a proper object for Poor-Law relief unless he is in such a position as to be unable to earn his own livelihood; or, to use the expression of the Poor-Law Commissioners, the condition of the pauper must be on the whole less "eligible" than that of the independent labourer before he becomes, and, therefore, *ex equali*, after he becomes, an object of relief. It also follows that the amount of relief to be given to the pauper must be neither more nor less than is absolutely essential in order to make provision for his immediate wants. These considerations lead us to a clear conception of the fundamental principles upon which the Poor Laws are based, and show how wide is the difference between their aim and that of charity. The proper province of charity is to seek out the deserving and to reject the dissolute. The effort of charity is to elevate the individual object of her attentions and to make his position as "eligible" as possible, without regard to the circumstances of those by whom he is surrounded. Thus it is a work of charity to supply a poor man with tools and machinery, to set him up in his trade or business, to advance him a loan of money, &c.; but these projects are clearly not within the scope and intention of the Poor Laws. To put the distinction more tritely: Poor Laws exist for the protection of society, charity operates for the benefit of the individual. No doubt the *theoretical* distinctions which exist between the province of Charity and that of the Poor Laws will be found very difficult of *application*; but this does not detract from the value of the principles upon which these distinctions are based; on the contrary, being our only guide, we must do our best to keep these principles continually in view, for we are well assured that whenever charity does the work of the Poor Laws, or the Poor Laws that of charity, the results are equally disastrous. It is owing to the difficulty of fixing the exact limits within which the Poor

* "Elements of Political Economy," vol. ii. p. 541.

Laws should operate that their administration has always presented difficulties of no ordinary description. The struggle has continually been between the two extremes, of making these laws the channel for a wholesale distribution of alms amongst the poor, or the means of attempting to choke down pauperism by a wholesale denial of necessary relief. History supplies some remarkable instances of the working of the Poor Laws upon either principle. It would be a hopeless task to attempt to describe the various *régimes* which have been in operation at different periods. The treatment of the vagrant poor supplies an instance of the great diversity of the methods which have been adopted. The vagrant has been alternately flogged and fed. It would seem as though society had never made up her mind whether it were best to hang the mendicant or invite him to dinner. At the present day we have, oddly enough, the relics of both systems simultaneously at work in the law, which, for precisely similar acts, in one case provides the individual with board and lodging in the casual ward, in another consigns him to the lock-up. The most instructive lesson of history is that to be derived from this century's experience. The story of the system of relief in operation in the beginning of this century has been often told, though, we fear, too often forgotten. There was no "workhouse system" then in operation, the use of the poor-houses of those days being chiefly confined to the aged and the infirm. There was a wholesale distribution of out-door relief. Intended at first to supply the wants of the disabled and the infirm, the relief thus granted out of the parish rates became ultimately used as a means for supplementing inadequate wages, thus throwing part of the expense of the payment for labour upon other classes than those by whom the labourer was employed. Perfectly able-bodied labourers, well capable of earning their own livelihood, had their rent paid by parish overseers, and were supplied with "bread money" for their families as a matter of course. These proceedings had the effect which might have been easily anticipated, viz., to reduce the scale of wages. Allowances were then given in aid of wages, and a gigantic system of fraud and corruption sprang up, under which the independent labourer actually stood at a disadvantage as compared with the pauper, the farmers refusing to employ those whom they were not compellable by law to support.

The chief results of this system were the inducing of a well-nigh universal pauperism amongst the labouring classes, who became idle and dissolute in the extreme. Incendiarism and riot appear to have followed in the train of idleness. In the year 1832, during "a period of great prosperity," says a contemporary writer,* "we find

* Ency. Brit., title—"Poor Laws."

that portion of England in which the Poor Laws had had their greatest operation, and in which by much the larger expenditure of poor rates had been made, the scene of daily riot and nightly incendiarism." Meanwhile, the rates pressed so heavily on the land, that in the year 1832 many thousands of acres had been thrown out of cultivation. An instance of the state of things then prevalent is given by the case of a parish in Leicestershire, where the rates had risen to such an extent that there was "a general opinion that the day was not distant when rent must cease altogether, and that the (then) present system must insure, and that very shortly, the total ruin of every individual of property in the parish."* To destroy this system very strong measures were needed. The measures actually adopted by the legislature, as contained in the Bill of 1834, are still in force. So far as the destruction of the former system is concerned the amended Poor Law has certainly proved a success; but, unfortunately, the general good effects of the law have been considerably neutralized by the want of intelligence in its administration. Ignorant administrators have taken refuge behind the curtain of the law's imperfections, and have built up a sort of system of their own, which has but little connection with the enactments of the law, and still less with its intention. Thus it is that, so far as the treatment of the poor is concerned, we have, as usual, jumped from one extreme to the other; and the repressive system now in operation is almost as bad as the lax corruption of former days. Ill-judged parsimony has taken the place of ill-judged prodigality, and has produced very similar results. The difficulty of procuring enlightened and conscientious administrators of the law has always been the chief cause of the unsatisfactory results which have been obtained. The next difficulty has been the right definition of the word *necessity* in the connection given above. What is necessary for the pauper? Are boarded floors necessary in workhouse nurseries? "Of course they are," shriek the humane reformers of the day. "No they are not; the poor don't have them in their own cottages," is the answer of their opponents. Without expressing any opinion on such points, we must be allowed to observe that ratepayers may consider as necessary things that the independent poor apparently deem unnecessary. No one would think, for instance, of asserting that because the poor neglect the means provided for the education of their children therefore it is unnecessary to educate pauper children. The great difficulty is to strike the just equilibrium between what the poor care to provide for themselves, and what theorists maintain to be essential for them. In this respect, as indeed in most others, the administration of outdoor relief is surrounded with the most formidable perplexities; and,

* Report of Poor Law Commissioners.

consequently, it is here that we find the greatest anomalies. The guardians of many of the East-end unions are apparently of opinion that relief amounting to less than five shillings per week is sufficient for sick men with destitute families dependent on them; while in other unions in this same metropolis more than double that amount of relief is considered to be necessary. The calculations upon which we must presume that these measures are based cannot both of them be right; and it is manifest that incalculable harm is being done by the adoption of whichever these two scales of relief is faulty. Take again the case of the pauper widows. In Whitechapel a pauper widow, with a family dependent on her, receives a weekly allowance of one loaf of bread and sixpence for each child. If she be able to earn sufficient wages by her own exertions to enable her, with the help of this relief, to feed, clothe, and educate her children, well and good, the necessity is provided for; but if not (and it should always be remembered that the theory of the law is that she does not earn regular wages), the guardians are helping to bring up whole families, each and all of the members of which, unfed, unclothed, and uneducated, can belong to none other than the pauper class, and must be all their lives an incessant burden upon the rates. The great question to be determined as to the education of the children of out-door paupers is, is it *necessary* to educate these children, or is it not? It is no question here* of what is necessary for their *moral* well-being, but of what is necessary for their *physical* well-being. Will these children be able to earn their own livelihood in after life if brought up without the rudiments of education, or will they not? The Parliamentary Committee of 1864 apparently considered that the above question should be answered in the negative.

The committee came to the conclusion that "the proposal of the Educational Commissioners to compel guardians to insist upon the education of the child as a condition of out-door relief to the parent, is inconsistent with the principles upon which the relief of the poor is established." What say the employers of labour in our large towns to this? It would be important to know whether they consider that reading and writing are necessary qualifications for their *employés*. The question cannot be narrowed down to a mere question of payment. It matters not whether the Poor Law authorities supply the parents whom they relieve with the means of defraying the education of their children, or whether they make a payment direct to the schoolmaster. The principle is the same. The difficulties with which the economist has to contend in the discussion of all questions connected with Poor-Law

* We are speaking here, be it remembered, of out-door relief. Inside the workhouse a very different set of considerations enter. There the State is *in loco parentis*.

administration, have been greatly enhanced by the misguided efforts of benevolent men. There is, at the present day, a considerable body of men who (notwithstanding the warning of history) appear to be anxious to bring about a return to these principles, the deplorable results of which we have sketched out. It would seem as though, if we are to give any weight to the opinions expressed on all sides, history were about to repeat herself. There is a general cry for the abolition of workhouses, and for bringing the relief "home to the poor man's door." The sentiments of the more noisy section of the would-be Poor-Law reformers of the day might probably be expressed in some such terms as these:—"We don't care how sound your economical principles may be, settle them as best you can; all we care about is to know that the poor are made as comfortable as possible, and are treated with the utmost humanity." As a necessary consequence of this state of feeling, we find the Poor Laws spoken of as a "State charity," and it is to be feared that a serious attempt may be made to make them in reality nothing more or less than a huge system of charity. Others there are who, while partially cognizant of the above errors, entertain, nevertheless, a very natural desire to make the Poor Laws the *means* of *elevating* the social *status* of the people. Though it is clear that an economically sound administration must have this ultimate *result*, it by no means follows that such should be the *direct end* which we ought to have in view. The question of the education of the children of the out-door poor has always been put upon this false ground, and their education has been recommended as a step towards improving the moral condition of the poor. It is clear that this was the narrow view of the subject taken by the Legislature, which, in passing an Act to empower guardians to provide funds for the education of these children, expressly stipulates that education shall not be made a "*condition*" of relief. Schemes put forward upon the ground of promoting the moral elevation of the people have naturally excited the antagonism of many men of common sense, possessing rude instincts, which have led them to suspect that they ought not to be *taxed* for any purposes of the kind. Between these two opposing factions economy has been lost sight of, and the true interests of the people have gone to the wall. A sentimental humanitarianism finds expression in the common regret that ratepayers and their representatives should take an *£. s. d.* view of matters. Laying aside for one moment the question as to the foundation of this complaint in fact, we cannot forbear to point out that for this to be matter of complaint instead of congratulation is an evidence of the very backward state of social science. Surely it is abundantly clear that the course taken by ratepayers ought to be shaped out by the strictest rules of economy. Then, when we come

to examine into the proceedings of boards of guardians, though we hear a great deal of the attempt to repress pauperism and keep down the rates, we confess that we are seldom able to trace out such indications of a jealous watchfulness over expenditure as would seem to warrant the censure of frugality. On the one hand, we have instances of glaring nepotism and petty jobbery, and the interests of rate-payers are constantly made to give way to those of local dealers and retail tradesmen. On the other hand, we find that almost the only notion of keeping down expenditure, which is widely prevalent, is to treat the poor in the most niggardly manner possible, to make it as difficult as possible to obtain relief, and to reduce the amount of such relief within the smallest limits possible. We are perfectly ready to subscribe to the assertion that these arrangements are the result of ignorance rather than of cruelty or dishonesty; but, then, this does not very much mend matters, for it may fairly be maintained that it is in some respects better to be governed by a knave than by a fool. Widespread as is the fallacy that it is consistent with the dictates of true economy to keep destitute families at starvation-point, and to refuse them the mere necessities of their situation, it is, nevertheless, exceedingly transparent. Pauperism is a sore which an external plaister may conceal for a time, but can never cure. It is a disease which must be taken in hand, and for which remedies must be applied in its earliest stages. The repression of pauperism by the mere refusal to supply its wants is an impossibility. You cannot dispose of paupers by any such means, unless, indeed, actual physical destruction be the result. If men are *really* destitute and you refuse necessary relief, you will not by this means get rid of them. For a time you may lose sight of them, but they will none the less surely appear again, and, moreover, in an advanced stage of disease. Refuse a destitute man out-door relief, and, sooner or later, he will be a candidate for "the House;" ay, and in all probability his whole family with him. Minimise the amount of relief given to the sick, and the sick man will have little chance of recovery, and his whole family will grow up physically and mentally incompetent for labour. You will hear of them again at a future day. "Yes," we shall be told, "this is all very well on paper, but imposition has such varied forms that, in order to meet it, we must act by repressive rules." Our answer is that you do not lessen the chances of imposition by minimising the amount of relief, or even by putting every conceivable difficulty in the way of obtaining it. The impostor will always take far more trouble to obtain relief, and lay before you a very much more acceptable story, than the really destitute. The fact is, that inquiry and investigation are the only means of preventing fraud. "The workhouse test" was instituted as a substitute

for investigation. Has it proved a success? The Bethnal Green Guardians tell us "that the offer of the workhouse has failed to supply that self-acting and unerring test of destitution, which it was anticipated by the Legislature would relieve the executive of its chief responsibility;"* and they further add that this "failure is most complete where the need of a test is greatest, as in the east of London at the present time, where its application has been necessarily relaxed." If it be actually impossible to enforce the workhouse test upon the able-bodied, what must be the folly of attempting, contrary to the spirit of the law, to enforce it against the infirm and the aged? Yet this is, we fear, the policy too often pursued by the great majority of guardians in the poorer districts of the metropolis. Instead of each case of destitution being treated upon its merits, that is to say, if suitable to "the House," sent to "the House," if suitable for outdoor relief, given such relief; the poor are too often, to use their own language, "threatened with the House." The real truth is that there is no royal road to the detection of imposture. We must jog along the old-fashioned paths of intelligent investigation. That this truth (self-evident as it may appear) is not by any means generally recognised is made apparent by every day's experience. We are constantly hearing of the opposition which is offered to schemes for the division of boards of guardians into working sections, in order to enable those bodies to pay proper attention to the applications for relief. Again, the proposal to put on an extra relieving officer is too often scouted as a piece of unwarrantable extravagance, and this in the teeth of experience to show that a saving of money is the direct result of increased investigation. We cheerfully allow that the advantages of proper supervision and inspection have been fully recognised and acted upon by some boards of guardians. This good example has been, in a few cases, followed. The report of Mr. Wyatt, the chairman of the St. Pancras Board, shows how much may be done, and it is a real encouragement. On the other hand, the board rooms into which the principles of reform have begun to penetrate are few and far between. The thin beam of daylight has but served to show the surrounding darkness, and here the old proverb, that "the exception proves the rule," is, we fear, too true. As a rule, then, outdoor relief is in this metropolis administered in the most haphazard manner. Given reluctantly, it is often taken away precipitately. It is insufficient in quantity, and lacks the elements of regularity, which are the sure signs of methodical administration. Hedged round with the demoralizing influences which attend hours of waiting amidst pauper crowds, the grant of relief, when once obtained, is surrounded with no restrictive conditions, no enforced

* Report on Out-relief published last winter.

cleanliness—no compulsory education. The young are left, if they please, to roam the streets in idleness and vice, and the old to beg, and thieve, and drink. The guardians take no security for their good behaviour from those to whom they dole out their scanty morsels of out-door relief. It would carry us beyond the limits of this paper were we to pursue the inquiry as to what should be the exact restrictions imposed as conditions of out-door relief. Suffice it to say that, unless some stringent measures be adopted, which shall give rate-payers a security that their funds are not worse than wasted, it appears to us that the system of out-door relief, as at present administered, will soon prove, in the words of the Poor Law Commissioners, to "contain within itself the elements of an almost indefinite extension." When we consider the way in which out-door relief is at present administered, it ceases to be matter of wonder that pauperism increases, and that rates increase. It would be indeed marvellous were it otherwise.

The accumulated evils that have been the direct consequence of years of mismanagement are rapidly developing results of a nature which we cannot afford to shut our eyes to. We have Boards of Guardians in the awkward position of being unable to raise sufficient funds to enable them to fulfil the orders of the Poor Law Board. Without being alarmists, it is clear that where, as in Bethnal Green, poor-rates amount to six shillings in the pound, with every prospect of an increase, a wholesale abandonment of property is a contingency for which we must be prepared. That East-end guardians have not sufficient funds in hand to enable them to perform their duties to the poor is a notorious fact. There is no doubt that sooner or later we must have a more just distribution of the burden of the rates all over the metropolis; nor let those favoured gentlemen at the West-end imagine that they can keep off the evil day by opposing all measures of equalization. Equalization, in some form or other, we must have, and it will be better for the West-end to concede the principle at once, than to attempt to shelve the question until the position of the East-end becomes hopeless. The report of the Bethnal Green Guardians, to which we have before alluded, states with equal truth and force that "Equalization of the rates is a positive necessity in the metropolis, inasmuch as at present the poor are mainly supported, in the poorer districts, by ratepayers who are themselves but one step removed from pauperism." It is hardly possible, at present, to foresee what measures for equalization it may be found advisable to adopt. The subject is one which is beset with difficulties on every hand. It may be that the case will be met by putting the whole of the expenses of in-door management upon the general fund, leaving the local guardians to collect a local rate for the purposes of out-door

relief. This is the direction in which legislation seems to be tending at present. There are, however, many obvious objections to this scheme; and it may possibly be thought preferable, that the Poor Law Board should make an allowance out of the general rate to the local guardians in respect of such sums as, upon a strict and rigid audit of their accounts, shall appear to have been expended upon particular specific objects, and according to fixed and judicious rules of administration, leaving the guardians to raise a local rate for all items not thus allowed. It may be objected that neither of these schemes makes any real provision to secure efficient administration, and it may be urged that a better plan would be for a fixed proportion of the total expenditure—say two-thirds—to be defrayed out of the general rate, the proper disbursement of the whole of the funds being secured by the appointment by the Poor Law Board of a paid officer on each Board of Guardians; a kind of superior relieving-officer, who should have the control over all the inferior officers, and should possess a seat on the Board to which he is attached.

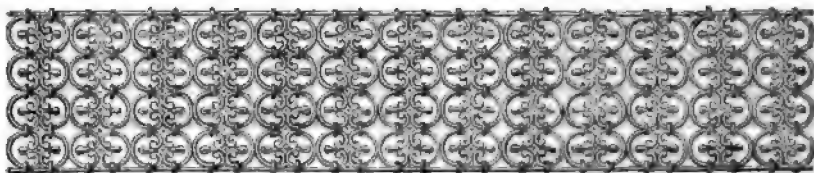
It cannot be said that any one of these schemes is by any means satisfactory, nor can it be expected that a question in which the whole theory of local government and municipal administration is involved should be satisfactorily disposed of in a few words. One thing, however, we may safely affirm, and that is, that it would be in accordance neither with the principles of locally responsible government, nor with the dictates of common sense, to intrust the present Boards of Guardians with the same power over the expenditure of a general rate, which they now possess over the local rate. It is perfectly clear that the great want is that of enlightened and efficient administrators of the law. No mere legislative enactment will be able to secure this great desideratum. It will be for Englishmen to decide upon what principles they will act in this matter. If the system of local self-government is to be maintained, the *personnel* of which Boards of Guardians are composed must be completely metamorphosed, and the rich and wise must deign to trouble themselves with such vulgar matters as the relief of the poor, before we can expect any radical improvement. At present, the most intelligent classes, as a rule, hold aloof from parish matters. We do not wonder that this is so, but we deplore the fact. It would appear that a real interest in the welfare of the poor, and a real anxiety as to the expenditure of the rates, is altogether wanting. The one great feature which we meet with, notwithstanding the talk we hear on all sides, is—apathy. If we mistake not, there are elements of danger abroad which will arouse the attention of the most apathetic, and stir up the energies of the most lethargic. Possibly the ultimate result may be the destruction of that system of local self-government

to which Englishmen pretend to be so much attached, but for which the symptoms above noticed show that there is not so much affection after all. Be that, however, as it may, it is clear that some change is necessary in order to put a stop to the anomalies which at present attend the administration of relief.

With regard to the incidence of the burden of local taxation, there are signs that rate-payers are at length arousing themselves from their lethargy, and the result will, in all probability, be, that personal property will sooner or later have to bear a share in such burdens. It is disappointing to find that the Commons' Assessment Committee have not deemed it necessary to extend their inquiries in this direction; still, the subject is one of such importance, and is attracting so much attention, that we can hardly doubt that it will soon be impartially dealt with.

With regard to the administration of the law, it is possible that some valuable suggestions may be made by the Lords' Committee. Past experience, however, does not lead us to anticipate any very stirring results from the labours of Parliamentary Committees of this nature. No radical reform can be effected without such a full, comprehensive, and impartial inquiry, as it is not within the power of a Parliamentary Committee to conduct. Nothing short of a Royal Commission will be able to effect the desired object. It would be advisable, in our opinion, that the field of inquiry should be, in the first instance, at all events, limited to the metropolis, and, notwithstanding the opposition offered by the present president of the Poor Law Board, we venture to express the hope that the effect of the Poor Laws as at present administered in the metropolis, may become the subject of such an inquiry, and that with as little delay as possible.

E. W. HERRICK.



ANTHONY EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.

ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER, the third Earl of Shaftesbury, is usually classed with the Deists of the last century. We do not admit the justness of the classification, neither do we dispute it. It will serve our purpose to state the facts as we find them, leaving others to determine whether he is to be considered a sceptic or a believer in Christianity.

His works are included in three volumes, entitled "Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, and Times." They consist of several pieces, but we may fairly reduce the subjects to three—(1.) That ridicule is the test of truth; (2.) That man possesses a moral sense; (3.) That everything in the world is for the best.

It may be said that Shaftesbury lived in the age of raillery. The follies of fanaticism and priestly pretension had been almost laughed out of the world. The licentiousness introduced by the second Charles had become in its turn the subject of satire. The era of common sense was about to begin. It promised to bring with it rational religion and sound morality. If the fruit was not so abundant as the promise, it was not through want of the age understanding its duty. Folly and extravagance were sufficiently ridiculed, but this did not always secure the practice of the virtues which reason approved. That truth might be fairly tested by ridicule was a subject for which a text at least was found in Aristotle.

Gorgias Leontinus is mentioned in the "Rhetoric" as saying "that humour is the only test of gravity, and gravity of humour. For a subject that would not bear raillery was suspicious, and a jest that would not bear a serious examination was certainly false wit."

Shaftesbury maintained that if fanatics and enthusiasts were only pretenders to religion, their gravity would not stand before raillery. But if they were genuine, ridicule would prevail nothing against them. No one of any justness of thought can endure misplaced ridicule, for nothing can be more ridiculous than false wit. The French prophets were made the subject of a puppet-show in Bartholomew Fair. As Shaftesbury reckoned some of our Reformers to have been little better than enthusiasts, he thought it well for the Reformation that Smithfield had not been always used in this way. The priests, unfortunately for their own cause, preferred blood to merriment. It was the same with the Pagans and Christianity; for had the truth of the Gospel been surmountable, ridicule would have succeeded better than "bear-skins and pitch-barrels." The Jews showed malice towards Jesus and His apostles; but "had they acted such puppet-shows in contempt of Him, as the Roman Catholics are now acting in His honour, they would have had more success than by severity." St. Paul never had a suspicion of the soundness of his cause: he was always willing to try it against the sharpness of any ridicule. Socrates, the divinest man that ever appeared in the heathen world, was ridiculed by the wittiest of all poets. But what harm did it do either to his reputation or his philosophy? It injured neither, but rather enhanced both. It made him the envy of other teachers. He presented himself openly in the theatre that the people might compare his actual figure, which was by no means prepossessing, with the one which the poet represented on the stage. This was the best possible test of the real goodness of the man. He could not have given a more convincing proof of the genuineness of his character or the soundness of his doctrine. True wisdom goes not with affected gravity. It rather seeks the companionship of cheerfulness, and basks in the open sunshine of freedom. Jesus Himself, according to Shaftesbury, was *sharp, witty, and humorous*. His repartees, parables, and similes were all of a lively and animated character. This was true even of His miracles, especially that at the marriage festival of Cana of Galilee. His instructions to His disciples, His discourses to the people, His reproofs to the men of that generation, had all a certain *festivity, alacrity, and good humour*, "so remarkable," says Shaftesbury, "that I should look upon it as impossible not to be moved in a pleasant manner at the recital of them." The Gospels, he says, are full of *good humour*, and the Psalms and Proverbs of *jocular wit*.

As a writer on moral science, a high place has always been accorded to Shaftesbury. He allied himself with the Cambridge Platonists, who, in opposition to what was understood to be the doctrine of Hobbes, maintained the independent, eternal, and immutable existence of morality. He was educated under the care of Locke, at least Locke had some share in the management of his education; but he openly disowned Locke's philosophy. In his "Letters to a Young Man at the University," he says that Locke, following Hobbes, threw all *order* and *virtue* out of the world, and that all free-thinkers have followed him. He frequently expresses his dissent from what we call the sensual, sensational, or sensuous philosophy. He especially finds fault with those passages in the "Essay on the Human Understanding" where Locke fails to discover the universality of moral obligation, and where he expresses his belief in what some travellers have said concerning nations so barbarous as to be without the idea of God. That Shaftesbury fairly interpreted Locke, or that Locke, like Hobbes, cannot be easily reconciled with himself as to the foundation on which morality rests, are questions which we cannot now discuss. We have already maintained, notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary, that Hobbes was a believer in immutable morality, and we have Locke's own express words that morality is one of the sciences capable of demonstration.

Morality had been made to depend on the authority of the State, the Church, or the will of God. Shaftesbury denied that justice and goodness were in any sense among things created. God is God, not because He creates justice and goodness, but because He is eternally just and good. If His will constituted right, He might will two contraries, and both of them would be true, which is impossible. One of the schoolmen, William of Ockham, said that, "if God had commanded His creatures to hate Him, the hatred of God would even be the duty of man." On Shaftesbury's principles this would be to deprive God of His moral character. In this he entirely agrees with Cudworth, who classes with the ancient atheists those who in modern times affirm "that God may command what is contrary to moral rules, and that whatever He wills is just because He wills it."

The immutable distinction between right and wrong is discernible by reason, by the moral conscience, or, to use Shaftesbury's phrase, the moral sense. There is a *venustum*, a *honestum*, a *decorum* of things which forces itself on the mind. Every one pursues a Grace or courts a Venus of some kind. It is the inherent beauty or symmetry which constitutes art. The musician knows that harmony does not depend on caprice or fashion: it is harmony by nature. The architect and sculptor find their proportions in nature. It is the same in

morals. Harmony and symmetry are discoverable in the characters and affections of men.

From this view of morality, it follows necessarily that virtue must be the *good*, and vice the *ill*, both of every individual man and of the whole race of mankind. But though virtue is our highest interest, we are to follow it for its own sake, and not for any reward different from what it brings by its own nature. Unless we feel the pleasure of being virtuous, we miss the reward of virtue. Many devout people, says Shaftesbury, decry the present advantages and the natural benefits of goodness. They even magnify the happiness of the vicious life, and often say that but for future rewards and punishments they would break through all moral restraints. This is a kind of selfishness which implies the want of real goodness. In such mercenary virtue it is difficult to see what there is that deserves reward. To be bribed or terrified into being honest argues but little real honesty. If virtue be not estimable in itself, there is nothing estimable in following it for the sake of a *bargain*. If the principle is carried into a future life, it is but intensified selfishness. A religion which has no other foundation than the hope of heaven or the fear of hell is a false religion. It worships a god of terror—a fiend, and not God. True religion must have its foundation in the moral nature of man. There may be morality without religion, but there can be no right religion without morality. We know God as a moral Being, and as such we must worship Him. Our love of goodness is the only measure of our love to God. Shaftesbury maintained, against the selfish moralists, that man is capable of disinterested love; that he not only possesses a moral sense by which he knows what is right, but that he has disinterested affections which enable him to love it and to follow it for its own inherent loveliness.

Connected with this is the third subject we have named—that everything in the world is *for the best*. That virtue is necessarily blessedness, and vice misery, is a belief founded on the existence of a moral order prevailing throughout the universe. We only see a part of it, for there are many apparent irregularities in the world, but we see enough to lead us to believe that “whatever is, is right.” The philosophical Theist in every age has rested his main argument on the fact of the existence of this order. His greatest difficulties and perplexities have ever been to account for the disorders of the world. The oldest question in religion is how evil can exist at all, if God is almighty, all-wise, and infinitely good. Either He wills it, or permits it, or He cannot prevent it. In the last case He is not almighty. If He wills it or permits it, that can only be as a means to an end, that He may overrule it and make it the instrument of good. The oldest solution of this question was to admit the existence

of two principles, one good and the other evil. It used to be supposed that with the old Persians and their Christianized followers, the Manichees, these two principles were both eternal. This may now be regarded as incorrect. The principle of good was prior to that of evil. But evil had its origin independently of the good principle. It is essentially the same doctrine, under another form, which we find everywhere among the Greeks. Their poets sung of a Prometheus who, mixing celestial fire with mortal clay, mocked the face of heaven. Unwilling to blame God for the evils of the world, men charged them on nature. This is only to remove the difficulty a step further back. The Indians supported the world by an elephant, and the elephant by a tortoise; but the question remained, What supports the tortoise? The Greek fables represent Jupiter as overpowered by necessity. He stood aside lamenting his troubles. He was crossed and thwarted by the fatal sisters. The theology of the philosophers corresponded to that of the poets. Plato made matter identical with evil, and again with non-being. He called matter *the unlimited*, leaving his commentators to determine whether or not it was *real*, which, with his Alexandrian disciples, meant eternal. As it seemed unworthy of the Supreme God to create a phenomenal or material world, the work of creation was entrusted to the Demiurgus—an inferior god, or perhaps one of the *hypostases* of the Godhead. The Demiurgus did his best for the refractory creation. His materials were imperfect, and so in a sense was his work. Out of Plato, Leibnitz derived the modern doctrine of optimism, or *all for the best*. Archbishop King and the Earl of Shaftesbury had it from Plato or from Leibnitz, or perhaps from both. Pope wedded it to immortal verse in the noblest of his poems, the "Essay on Man." Plato, said that there were five worlds possible to the Creator, and He chose the best. The modern optimists do not limit the number of possible worlds: they only say that, of possible systems, "wisdom infinite must form the best," and in governing it must do all *for the best*. Things which appear evil to us are in reality not evil. Could we see them in relation to the All of the universe, and the object which the Divine Being has in permitting them, we should then find that they were really good,—

"Respecting man, whatever wrong we call
May, must be right, as relative to all.
Discord is harmony not understood,
All partial evil universal good."

The ignorance of man is very great; his power to understand very feeble. Yet if we think about the subject, we must see that in an infinite universe there must be all degrees and ranks of being. There must be somewhere such a creature as man. And if disposed

to murmur and complain that we are not greater and more important than we are, we have the same reason to be thankful that we are not less and more insignificant. It is according to infinite wisdom that we fill that place in creation in which we are found, and he who understands the whole system of the universe is alone able to tell

"Why Heaven has made us as we are."

The great cause of our supposing irregularities in the order of the world is human pride, which thinks the world was made solely for man. "The whole order of the universe," says Shaftesbury, "elsewhere so firm, entire, immovable, is here overthrown and lost by this one view, in which we refer all things to ourselves, submitting the interest of *the whole* to the good and interest of so small a part." Pope has expressed the same in the well-known lines :—

"Ask for what end the heavenly bodies shine ?
Earth, for whose use ? Pride answers, 'Tis for mine !
For me kind Nature wakes her genial power,
Suckles each herb, and spreads out every flower ;
Annual for me the grape, the rose, renew
The juice nectareous and the balmy dew :
For me the mine a thousand treasures brings,
For me health gushes from a thousand springs ;
Seas roll to waft me, suns to light me rise,
My footstool earth, my canopy the skies."

The Ruler of the Universe thinks not of the good of man, the individual, but of the general good.

"Remember, man, the Universal Cause
Acts not by partial, but by general laws,
And makes what happiness we justly call
Subsist not in the good of one, but all."

Throughout the orders of being, sacrifice is required. Each has to yield to the other. The vegetables, by their death, sustain the animals. The bodies of animals are dissolved, and enrich the earth. Man, in his turn, is sacrificed in common with all other things. And if it be just that these humble natures sacrifice their interests, how much more is it reasonable that man should be sacrificed to the superior nature of the world !

"See matter next, with various forms endued,
Press to one centre still—the general good :
See dying vegetables life sustain,
See life dissolving vegetate again :
All forms that perish other forms supply ;
By turns we catch the vital breath and die.
Like bubbles on the sea of matter borne,
They rise and break, and to that sea return."

Nothing is foreign, parts relate to whole;
 One all-extending, all-pervading soul
 Connects each being—greatest with the least,
 Made beast in aid of man, and man of beast.
 All served, all serving, nothing stands alone;
 The chain holds on, and where it ends unknown."

The unalterable laws of the universe demand the continual sacrifice of all individual life, for which nature cares nothing, except so far as it serves the general good.

"Here," says Shaftesbury, "are those laws which ought not, nor can, submit to anything below. The central powers which hold the lasting orbs in their just poise and movement, must not be controlled to save a fleeting form, and rescue from the precipice a puny animal, whose brittle frame, however protected, must of itself so soon dissolve. The ambient air, the inward vapours, the impending meteors, or whatever else is instrumental or preservative of this earth, must operate in a natural course, and other constitutions must submit to the good habit and constitution of the all-sustaining globe."

"When the loose mountain trembles from on high,
 Shall gravitation cease if you go by?
 Or some old temple, nodding to its fall,
 For Chartres' head reserve the hanging wall?"

For the physical world the earthquake, storms, and tempests have their uses. They may destroy individuals—yea, whole species of beings—in one common ruin; yet they contribute to the general health of the whole world, and save the *all* by the sacrifice of the few. If this be so with physical evil, as we plainly see is the case, we may fully conclude that it is the same with moral evil. Our passions, our sins, our worst vices, may be permitted, or even willed, by God, for the moral well-being of the universe. Those who think the world was made for man, may ask—

"But errs not Nature from the general end,
 From burning suns when livid deaths descend,
 When earthquakes sadden, or when tempests sweep
 Towns to one grave, whole nations to the deep?"

Pope answers No, and refers to the general laws. He then applies the argument to moral evil:—

"If plagues or earthquake break not Heaven's design,
 Then why a Borgia or a Catiline?
 Who knows but He whose hand the lightning forms,
 Who heaves old ocean, and who wings the storms,
 Pours fierce ambition in a Caesar's mind,
 Or turns young Ammon loose to scourge mankind?"

We are to look upon moral evil as necessary, no less than physical. It is God who is permitting, we may say *causing*, both. A thousand objections may be raised, such as that God is the author of evil, and that He cannot work without it. The answer is, here is the actual fact, and "to reason right is to submit;" for

" All subsists by elemental strife,
And passions are the elements of life ;
The general order since the world began
Is kept in Nature, and is kept in man."

Shaftesbury ended where all religious philosophy has ended since Plato, in a theology which resembles that of Spinoza, if it is not identical with it. There is *Thought*, which has the *eldership* of being, and sense, which makes us conscious of the one original and eternally existent Thought, whence we derive our *thought*. The *All-true* and Perfect communicates Himself immediately to us. He, in some manner, lives within us. He is the original *Soul* diffusive, vital in all, and inspiring the *All*. Shaftesbury makes one of the characters in one of his Dialogues thus address the Deity:—

" O Mighty Genius ! sole absorbing and inspiring Power ! author and subject of these thoughts ! Thy influence is universal, and in all things Thou art inmost. From Thee depend their secret springs of action ; Thou movest them with an irresistible, unwearied force by sacred and inviolable laws, framed for the good of each particular being, as best may suit with the perfection, life, and vigour of *the whole*. The vital principle is widely shared, and infinitely varied. Dispersed throughout, nowhere extinct. All lives, and by succession still revives. The temporary beings quit their borrowed forms, and yield their elementary substance to new-comers called in their several turns to life ; they view the light, and viewing pass, that others, too, may be spectators of the goodly scene, and greater numbers still enjoy the privilege of nature. Munificent and great she imparts herself to most, and makes the subjects of her bounty infinite. The abject state appears merely as *the way or passage* to some better. But could we merely view it with indifference, remote from the antipathy of sense, we then, perhaps, should highest raise our admiration, convinced that *the way itself* was equal to the end."

Pope followed his master without a scruple, concluding the first epistle of the " Essay on Man," with the lines that have often been censured by Christian readers—

" All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body Nature is, and God the soul,
That, changed through all, and yet in all the same—
Great in the earth as in the ethereal flame—
Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze ;
Glow in the stars, and blossoms in the trees ;
Lives through all life, extends through all extent ;
Spreads undivided, operates unspent ;
Breathes in our soul, informs our mortal part,
As full, as perfect, in a hair as heart ;
As full, as perfect, in vile man that mourns
As the rapt seraph that adores and burns.
To Him no high, no low, no great, no small :
He fills, He bounds, connects, and equals all."

Shaftesbury's relation to Christianity involves some difficult questions. If all we had to settle were simply whether or not he went with the Christianity prevalent in his time, the answer would

be easy.* He stood apart from the clergy, ridiculed "the heroic passion of *saving souls*," and the Christian who had "his conversation in heaven." He said, with a sneer, that he dutifully and faithfully embraced the holy mysteries, conforming to the Church by law established, and making no researches into the origin of the rites and symbols. If he were to exercise himself in such speculations, he was quite sure that the further he inquired the less satisfaction he would find; for inquiry was the sure road to heterodoxy. This was a mode of writing common with the Deists. It must have been provoking and offensive, not only to the clergy, against whom it was aimed, but to all right-minded people. It is evident, however, that he was only bantering the clergy, whose ignorance and prejudice may have been equally provoking to all sensible men. He immediately after asserts the right of every man to examine the Scriptures for himself; and not only to examine them, but to know their history, what they profess to be, and what authority they claim. If Scripture be the only religion of Protestants, we ought, surely, as Protestants, to know what Scripture is. Is it the apocryphal Scripture that is to guide us, or the more canonical? Is it the full authorized or the half?—the doubtful or the certain?—the controverted or the uncontroverted?—the singly read or that which has various readings?—which manuscripts?—which copies?—the catalogues of which Church or sect? The holy fathers who represent the Church, which we call primitive, with *untucky* diligence destroyed the monuments of every other sect, but their own. There are not only many different copies and various readings of the Scriptures, but, as Bishop Taylor said, so many passages have different meanings, some literal, some spiritual, some mystical, and some allegorical, that all becomes "dubious, uncertain, and very fallible." As to the Canon, it is admitted by Archbishop Tillotson, in his argument against the Romanists, that some, if not all, of the books of Scripture had been rejected by some of the early Christians, which makes it impossible to say what books they were concerning which there was *never any controversy in the Church*.

Shaftesbury contended for the supremacy of reason. A faith not

* Bishop Butler says that if Shaftesbury had lived later, when Christianity was better understood, he would have been a good Christian. In the "Letters to a Young Man at the University" he shows a very religious spirit, and a great esteem for Christianity and the great divines of his age, such as Tillotson and Burnet. He wrote a preface to an edition of Dr. Whichcot's sermons, a preacher whom he greatly admired. As this preface was anonymous, there was some uncertainty as to its authorship. In an edition of the "Characteristics" in the British Museum, with MS. corrections and additions by Shaftesbury himself, there is the following memorandum:—"Mr. Churchill, the bookseller mentioned in the title-page, told me in April, 1724, that the Lord Shaftesbury, author of the "Characteristics," was the publisher of these sermons (Whichcot's), and, as he believed, wrote the preface.—April, 1724. M. Raper."

founded on evidence he held to be of no value. If the Bible claimed authority to override the moral conscience, so far it would disprove its own divinity. Are we bound to believe that every unjust act there recorded, and said to be by the command of God, is really by the command of God? This would overthrow the foundation on which all who believed that righteousness was, in its own nature, eternal and unchangeable, based morality. We can hardly endure, says Shaftesbury, that the *faithful* should be made the executioners of Divine wrath. There is a certain perverse humanity in us which inwardly resists the divinity of such a commission. We cannot believe in the justice of Joshua's campaign, nor of the Exodus of Moses, by means of an "Egyptian loan," however clearly they may be *revealed*. We cannot approve of all the actions of the man who was said to be "after God's own heart." It would be wrong to believe that God authorized unjust and cruel deeds. There is a faith much recommended by some theologians—a faith which destroys reason. It says that we should believe to the utmost—that will do us no harm; for if, after all, we be deceived, we are still on the safe side; and, if there is anything in religion, those will miss nothing who have believed everything. Shaftesbury calls this *faith* "the most beggarly refuge imaginable." He does not find that this kind of faith is taught in the inspired Scriptures, however much it may be insisted upon by the "uninspired doctors." Job was not afraid boldly to sit in judgment upon the doings of the Almighty. His friends used all sorts of arguments, right and wrong, to vindicate the Divine proceeding. They thought it meritorious to speak good of God, even when reason showed the contrary. But Job said that it was flattering God, accepting His person, and even mocking Him. It is not right to tell lies for God. It is not right to call evil good. Those who do so are *sycophants* in religion, mere *parasites* of devotion, who renounce their reason here lest they "should run any risk hereafter."

We may fairly dismiss the question of the power of ridicule from the inquiry concerning Shaftesbury's Christianity, and confine ourselves to the other two subjects—the disinterestedness of virtue, and *all for the best*. On the former, perhaps, his apparent opposition might disappear with a little explanation. The doctrine itself, that virtue should be followed for its own sake, is surely a Christian doctrine. The love which Jesus taught His disciples was a disinterested love, like the love of His Father, who was good even to the evil and the unthankful. "If ye love them that love you," He said to them, "what reward have ye? do not even the publicans so?" The peace which He promised His disciples was an inward possession, the joy of righteousness. He led them into the paths of wisdom, which were paths of blessedness and peace. It is true, however, that the Scrip-

tures say a great deal about rewards for well-doing, both in this life and the life to come. Jesus told His disciples not to invite the rich to their feasts, but the poor, the lame, the blind, that they might be recompensed at "the resurrection of the just." St. Paul says, that for the joy set before Him, He endured the cross, and despised the shame. The same apostle sets before the Christians of Corinth the glorious resurrection as an encouragement for them "to be baptised for the dead," though they had thereby to stand in jeopardy every hour. But if the dead are not to rise again, he admits the wisdom of the Epicureans, who said, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." The Old Testament saints all looked forward to the recompense of reward. Sometimes it was in rich lands and prosperous families, sometimes in the natural advantages of well-doing, and sometimes in the joy of walking humbly with God. To work or love without the hope of personal interest seems beyond our feeble powers. We may have disinterested affection, we may be willing to sacrifice the life that now is, while we have hope of another; but the thought of annihilation seems to paralyze us, and to leave us indifferent to either virtue or vice. Selfishness, however, like many other words, has a good as well as a bad sense. To take care of oneself, that is, to regard the conditions under which we may have health and comfort, is certainly a duty, if not an exalted one. To provide for the future is so praiseworthy that we reproach as improvident those who think nothing of the morrow. The man who can look forward ten years, and provide for that time, is a greater and better man than he who spends all on the present hour. And so for the future world, he who is rich towards God is wiser than he who seeks only the riches of the present life. If every man were wise for himself as regards time there would be no beggars. If every one were wise for himself as regards eternity, there would be no sinners. It is sublime to discourse of doing good for its own sake, but sublimer still to know that by doing good we shall be eternally with the good. It takes nothing from the value of goodness that a man knows it will be followed by an infinite reward. Indeed, the only practical test of our duty is, that it conduces to our own well-being. Whatever tends to promote the health, physical, mental, or moral, of the individual or the race, points to our duty. Shaftesbury may have been opposing an evil which he found among religious people, but he knew and acknowledged that his own doctrine was that of Jesus. He admitted also that the hope of reward, or the fear of punishment, might encourage men to virtue. As the master of a family promises rewards to his children, and leads them on to the love of goodness, so God, he says, by promises and threatenings, may bring men to righteousness.

The disinterestedness of virtue may fairly be considered, nay

claimed, as a Christian doctrine. Can we say the same of *all for the best*? This is nearly identical with the question, Is the God of Plato the God of Jesus, and the immortality of Plato the immortality of Jesus? Platonism and Christianity, philosophy and the Bible, reason and revelation, do they all converge to one centre? The question has taken a hundred forms; perhaps the last is, Was Spinoza a Christian? *All for the best* makes God the author of evil. It limits the power of the Almighty, and it is justly charged with teaching fatalism. The Bible gives an account of the origin of evil. Is it to be taken literally or allegorically? If the latter, it does not differ from the theory of Optimism, and becomes only a fable setting forth a philosophical idea. If it is to be taken literally, the difficulty is not removed even a step; for either God willed that man should fall, or, foreknowing the fall, He was unable or unwilling to prevent it. The Christian, no less than the Optimist philosopher, must resolve it all into a wisdom above his own. Sin was willed, or at least permitted, that redemption might follow. In both cases we are unable to understand why evil should have been permitted at all. Could not the Omnipotent Creator have compassed His ends without the use of means? Why is He under the necessity of being limited by possibilities? We cannot answer; yet there is enough in the world to show us that all the Divine working is progressive. Nature produces nothing great at once. If evil, both physical and moral, can be reduced to imperfection, that is, to steps of progress towards perfection, we might concede to the Optimist that, as nature develops the flowers in the spring-time from the roots that in winter lay concealed under the dank ground, so the infinitely wise Ruler is guiding the world to maturity, and in spite of, yea by means of, our sins and our sorrows, ripening all to perfection. There is, however, an ambiguity in *all for the best* which requires explanation. Does it mean that we are to be sacrificed to a general good in which we have no interest, or does it mean that the present sacrifice is for a general good in which we shall each of us have a part? In other words, does God care for us as individuals, or does He only use us as the dead bodies of a conquering army are used, to fill the ditches, that the survivors may go on to victory? If the latter, *all for the best* may be the purest atheism. We cannot divest ourselves of interest in ourselves. We can care nothing for a God who does not care for us. If, on the contrary, the present sacrifice is for a general good, of which we shall be partakers, then Optimism agrees with Christianity. As Shaftesbury and Pope were believers in the life to come, we may conclude that losing ourselves in the *all* of which they spoke was not annihilation, but that it was to end in a true finding of ourselves, and that in a union of blessedness and perfection with the

All True and infinitely Good. In the midst of perplexity we may still have faith,*—

"Hope humbly, then, with trembling pinions soar;
Wait the great teacher, Death, and God adore."

Among the opponents of Shaftesbury we must place, first of all, John Brown, vicar of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. He was, in fact, the only one who undertook to reply to Shaftesbury in full, that is, to expose the whole circle of his errors. Brown's book was called "*An Essay on the Characteristics.*" It began by stating that the noble author had taken it into his head to oppose the solid wisdom of the Gospel by the visions of false philosophy. This beginning might give the "judicious reader" a prejudice against John Brown. It would, however, be unfair; for he invariably vindicates the right of every man to the natural privilege "of seeing with his own eyes, and judging by his own wisdom." He speaks of well-designing men who had tried to make an unnatural separation between truth and liberty, and he commends the "excellent Locke" for his labours in helping to subdue this spirit. He first considers what Shaftesbury advances concerning wit and humour. He complains justly of a want of precision in the use of these words. Wit and ridicule are confounded with urbanity and good-nature. He defines raillery as "that species of writing which excites contempt with laughter." It is a species of eloquence which may be successfully used by an advocate in pleading a cause. Gorgias thought that the best way to confound an adversary was to answer his serious arguments by raillery. Aristotle said that he judged well. Brown argued that this might do for pleaders whose great object was to gain their clients' cause, but to answer a serious argument by ridicule is not the best way to discover truth. Quintilian explains that raillery succeeds by drawing off the mind from the real question that is being discussed. The "*Tale of a Tub*" was an exquisite piece of raillery, but, as a test of truth, low, vain, and impotent. Cicero says that the proper objects of ridicule are certain kinds of turpitude and incongruity. But it may be used successfully against truth as well as against falsehood. In continental countries, the freedom of the English people is a favourite subject for ridicule. The French Catholic is never more droll than when he speaks of the Protestant claim, that in religion every man should follow his own private judgment. The Church of Rome has used every species of invective against the Reformed Churches, and the latter have not

* It is well known that Pope's "*Essay on Man*" was the occasion of many controversies. The Abbé du Resnel and M. de Crousaz, a Swiss professor, thought its general principles opposed to Christianity; but Pope found a vindicator in Bishop Warburton, who claimed the authority of St. Paul and Sir Isaac Newton even for the lines—

"All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body Nature is, and God the soul."

claimed, as a Christian doctrine. Can we say the same of *all for the best*? This is nearly identical with the question, Is the God of Plato the God of Jesus, and the immortality of Plato the immortality of Jesus? Platonism and Christianity, philosophy and the Bible, reason and revelation, do they all converge to one centre? The question has taken a hundred forms; perhaps the last is, Was Spinoza a Christian? *All for the best* makes God the author of evil. It limits the power of the Almighty, and it is justly charged with teaching fatalism. The Bible gives an account of the origin of evil. Is it to be taken literally or allegorically? If the latter, it does not differ from the theory of Optimism, and becomes only a fable setting forth a philosophical idea. If it is to be taken literally, the difficulty is not removed even a step; for either God willed that man should fall, or, foreknowing the fall, He was unable or unwilling to prevent it. The Christian, no less than the Optimist philosopher, must resolve it all into a wisdom above his own. Sin was willed, or at least permitted, that redemption might follow. In both cases we are unable to understand why evil should have been permitted at all. Could not the Omnipotent Creator have compassed His ends without the use of means? Why is He under the necessity of being limited by possibilities? We cannot answer; yet there is enough in the world to show us that all the Divine working is progressive. Nature produces nothing great at once. If evil, both physical and moral, can be reduced to imperfection, that is, to steps of progress towards perfection, we might concede to the Optimist that, as nature develops the flowers in the spring-time from the roots that in winter lay concealed under the dank ground, so the infinitely wise Ruler is guiding the world to maturity, and in spite of, yea by means of, our sins and our sorrows, ripening all to perfection. There is, however, an ambiguity in *all for the best* which requires explanation. Does it mean that we are to be sacrificed to a general good in which we have no interest, or does it mean that the present sacrifice is for a general good in which we shall each of us have a part? In other words, does God care for us as individuals, or does He only use us as the dead bodies of a conquering army are used, to fill the ditches, that the survivors may go on to victory? If the latter, *all for the best* may be the purest atheism. We cannot divest ourselves of interest in ourselves. We can care nothing for a God who does not care for us. If, on the contrary, the present sacrifice is for a general good, of which we shall be partakers, then Optimism agrees with Christianity. As Shaftesbury and Pope were believers in the life to come, we may conclude that losing ourselves in the *all* of which they spoke was not annihilation, but that it was to end in a true finding of ourselves, and that in a union of blessedness and perfection with the

exercise of his favourite weapon, raillery. He thinks, also, that Shaftesbury throws discredit on the belief of a future state of misery considered as a consequence of vice, and that he unhinges society by deriding religious fear, which is natural to man, and which must have an object. He puts a high value on testimony, asserting that from it we may have a confidence of the veracity of revealed religion; and he maintains that Shaftesbury opposes Christianity in saying that actions done from the hope of future happiness are destitute of virtue. He defines religious inspiration, and wherein it differs from enthusiasm, denying that any of the elements which go to make up enthusiasm, were found in Jesus and His apostles.

John Balguy, vicar of North Allerton, wrote "A Letter to a Deist," which was entirely devoted to Shaftesbury's view of morality, or at least to an exaggerated form of it, as held by the "Deist" to whom the letter was addressed. Balguy dedicated the collection of his tracts to Bishop Hoadly, the defender of "light and liberty." This is a pledge that the writer will give at least a reasonable defence of Christianity. He admits "the fine genius" of Shaftesbury, and how unlike he is to "vulgar authors;" but he does not overlook the "absurdities" which are mingled with his "fine thoughts," nor his prejudice against the clergy, concluding that it was self-evident that those who are prejudiced against the Christian religion naturally dislike its ministers. His lordship had a mind to say something new, such as nobody had ever said before him, or, adds Balguy, would be likely to say after him. He dissents from the doctrine which resolves all morality into self-interest; but in the "notion of disinterest" he cannot go so far as Shaftesbury. He admits that goodness, absolutely or abstractedly, must be independent of self-interest. Nothing can be more binding upon reasonable creatures than reason. A good law obliges us even more than a lawgiver. God has no superior to prescribe laws for Him, yet He is eternally bound by the rectitude of His own nature, that is, by the rules of right reason. As it is with God, so should it be with man. But why, he asks, should virtue be stripped of her dowry and presented empty-handed? The motives of self-interest, held out to us in the form of rewards, do not weaken benevolence: they rather increase and strengthen it. He calls these rewards *positive*, as distinguished from those which naturally flow from virtue. This distinction does not appear necessary to his argument, while it is the distinction which gives force to Shaftesbury's reasoning. The rewards which well-doing bring with it, naturally, may surpass all that the imagination can conceive. But a reward in some form must be set before men. The fair ideal of goodness apart from this is far beyond the reach of men. To preach virtue without reference to a future life he calls "a sort of religious knight-errantry." Constituted as we now are, the

belief that when men died they were extinct would "damp every good design, and strike all virtue dead." The gross mind, which is that of the great multitude of men, must have something substantial, something that will strike the senses and work upon the passions; and what can better serve this object than the rewards and punishments set forth in the Scriptures? Nothing can support a man under the pressure of any great evil but the hope or prospect of a good to follow. It was so with the early Christians, who, if in this life only they had hope in Christ, would have been of all men most miserable. The beauty of virtue would not suffice to nerve the martyr at the stake; he would cry out, with Brutus, that virtue had betrayed him. But let religion step in with her promises, let her lift his eyes to the joys and glories that she has prepared for him above, and at once he is comforted—his torments are forgotten—the flames lose their force, and death its sting. The ancient heroes, who died for their country, were animated by other motives as well as patriotism. They thirsted after glory; they hoped to immortalize their names, and to perpetuate the fame of their deeds. Socrates was animated by a higher motive, still it was an interested motive. He fell a sacrifice to truth and virtue; but he hoped thereby to please God, and to obtain His favour. Balguy ended by saying what Shaftesbury had said, almost in the same words, that a man, led by a desire of his own safety to follow virtue, would probably afterwards follow it from a higher principle. He added a postscript to the letter, in which he said that the more disinterestedly any agent acted, the more virtuous he was; and that if he had written anything contrary to this sentiment he wished to retract it, for he was fully convinced that the highest principle of a moral agent was a love of virtue for virtue's sake.

An anonymous tract in answer to Shaftesbury is "*Reflections upon a Letter concerning Enthusiasm, to my Lord * * **" The writer finds that Shaftesbury brings Christianity down to the "same level as Pagan superstition, makes Jesus Christ no better than Bacchus or Apollo, and does not in the least believe in revealed religion." He complains that the first Christians are compared with the French prophets, and a slur cast on the sufferings of the martyrs and reformers.

"This gentleman's ravings," says the writer, "make him fit for a place in the hospital. Lunatics think the sober mad; so this infected person takes revealed religion as little better than frenzy and infection—a panic, as can be shown from the history of Pan and Bacchus, spreading itself from heathenism to Christianity."

The pamphlet ends with some banter, which is amusing if not clever, regretting that Shaftesbury was not a young counsellor, as he

would have been a state oracle—a perfect Apollo—who would strike all with a noble sort of panic; and if ridicule is to be the best remedy for enthusiasm, instead of the Bible, we had better read plays.

Another anonymous reply to Shaftesbury was, “Remarks upon a Letter to a Lord concerning Enthusiasm. In a Letter to a Gentleman, not written in Raillery, yet in *good Humour*.” The author discovers in Shaftesbury’s writings “a sly design” to set the prophets and inspired writers of the Old and New Testaments on a level with pretenders to inspiration. The arguments of this tract are extraordinary, which is more than we can say for the author’s wit, which is plentiful.

A Mr. Wotton wrote “Bart’lemy Fair; or, an Enquiry after Wit, in which Due Respect is had to a Letter concerning Enthusiasm to my Lord * * *.” It has two mottoes:—“‘Much malice mingled with a little wit.’—*Hind and Pant, travestied*,” and “Answer a fool according to his folly.” It is dedicated “to the most illustrious society of the Kit-Cats.” The writer wished to try Shaftesbury’s soundness by his own test and touchstone. He complained, in the end, of the manner in which men now treat religion. “They creep into houses, and, with their ‘Tales of a Tub,’ lead captive silly women.” Shaftesbury noticed that the mode of refuting heretics by raillery was getting very common. The burlesque divinity, as he calls it, “was coming mightily in vogue.” The most esteemed answers to the heterodox were those which were written “in drollery.”

The doctrine of *all for the best* took a curious form in Dr. Mandeville’s “Fable of the Bees; or, Private Vices Public Benefits.” It was maintained, as a matter of actual experience, that the vilest and most hateful vices of individual men are subservient to the well-being of the whole. A hive of bees, representing a flourishing society of men, were in great perplexity. The lawyers, physicians, priests, and soldiers were all knaves. Avarice, prodigality, luxury, envy, vanity, abounded, and nourished the state in prosperity. The hive at last grumbled against the knaves, and prayed to Jupiter for their reformation. They became honest, and the hive or State was soon ruined.

“Fools only strive
To make a great, an honest hive.
T’ enjoy the world’s conveniences,
Be famed in war, yet live in ease
Without great vices, is a vain
Eutopia seated in the brain.
Fraud, luxury, and pride must live,
Whilst we the benefit receive.
* * * * *

So vice is beneficial found
 When it's by justice lopped and bound ;
 Nay, when the people would be great,
 As necessary to the State
 As hunger is to make us eat.
 * * * * *
 Bare virtue can't make nations live
 In splendour ; they that would revive
 A golden age must be as free
 For acorns as for honesty."

Mandeville defended the encouragement of vice as necessary to the preservation of virtue. Even the violent passions in the community do something for the common good. He devoted a chapter of his book to an inquiry concerning the origin of moral virtue. In opposition to Shaftesbury, he found it entirely in self-interest, denying that man was capable of any higher motive. He disputed, also, the existence of a *pulchrum* or *honestum* in the nature of things, and tried to show that virtue and vice are not permanent realities, but varying in different ages and countries.

Shaftesbury is one of the few authors who are mentioned by Bishop Butler. We might say that Butler was the outcome of the Deistical controversies. He gathered up every grain of what seemed truth to be found on either side. But to no writer before him did he owe so much as to Shaftesbury. The existence of conscience, a moral nature in man, our being under a scheme of moral government imperfectly developed here, the argument from this of a future life where it will be completed, and the present trials of virtue being the probation of the moral agent, are all in Shaftesbury. In the preface to his Sermons, Butler points out a deficiency in Shaftesbury's doctrine of conscience. He did not give it *authority*. There was no question of his having proved that virtue is naturally the interest of man, and vice his misery. But supposing, which indeed we must do, that there are particular exceptions, or that there are men who are not convinced of the happy tendency of virtue, Shaftesbury has no remedy. Men will always feel that they ought to follow what is conducive to their interest or happiness. But, by taking in the authority of that conscience which Shaftesbury yet believed to be in every one of us, we overbalance all consideration, and leave men under the most certain obligation to the practice of virtue. Butler dissented from what Shaftesbury says about the little value of good done through the hope of reward or fear of punishment. He calls *prudence* a virtue, and considers the contrary a vice. It is right that we should have a due concern for our own interests. There is nothing in this that can properly be called *selfish*. We have a faculty within us which approves of prudent actions. On the doctrine of *all for the best*, Butler speaks like a sage. To account for

the existence of evil may be beyond our faculties. We may conclude it to be voluntary, and overruled for good; but its origin is a mystery. It is easy for us to conceive that the commission of wickedness may be beneficial to the world. Yet is it not infinitely more beneficial that men refrain from it? There are, in the natural world, disorders which bring their own cures, diseases which are themselves remedies. The gout or the fever often preserves a man's life. Yet it would be madness to assert that sickness is a more perfect state than health, which is what is asserted by the Optimists as to the moral world.

"I beg of you, gentlemen," said Voltaire, "to explain to me how everything is for the best, for I do not understand it." Voltaire quotes Shaftesbury, Leibnitz, and Pope, and still pleads his inability to comprehend how that which is not good can be good, and how all can be for the best, when many things might have been so much better. Lucullus, in perfect health, enjoying a good dinner with his friends, may jocosely deny the existence of evil; but let him put his head out of the window, and he will behold wretches in abundance. Let him be seized with a fever, and he will be one himself. M. Jules Simon classes Voltaire with those who had never read Leibnitz. It is certain that Voltaire understood *all for the best* to mean that all was for the best as regards the Author of the *all* of nature, but not as regards individuals. After quoting Pope's lines that God

"Sees with equal eye, as Lord of all,
A hero perish or a sparrow fall,"

and Shaftesbury's remark, that God would not derange the general system of the universe for such "a miserable animal as man," Voltaire says, "It must be confessed, at least, that this pitiful creature has a right to cry out humbly, and to endeavour, while bemoaning himself, to understand why these eternal laws do not comprehend the good of every individual." To ridicule Optimism was the object of the inimitable romance of "Candide." Dr. Pangloss, the oracle of the house, proved admirably that in this best of all possible worlds the castle of his master, the Baron Thunder-ten-tronckh, was the most beautiful of castles, and the baroness the best of all possible baronesses. Candide and his master, Dr. Pangloss, are driven from the castle of the baron; they endure untold misfortunes, but it is all for the best, in this best of all possible worlds. Shipwrecked on a voyage to Lisbon, they reach the shore on a plank, just when a terrible earthquake is destroying the city. Among the ruins of the houses they discourse of *all for the best*, and a servant of the inquisition accuses them of denying the doctrine of original sin. For this Candide was flogged, and Pangloss was hung. Candide sails for South America, in the hope that El Dorado or Paraguay may

be the best of all possible worlds. His hardships do not end here, and at last he doubts the truth of the doctrine of his dear master. He cannot see that all is good where there are so many bad people, nor can he understand how all is for the best when there is suffering and sorrow all the world over.

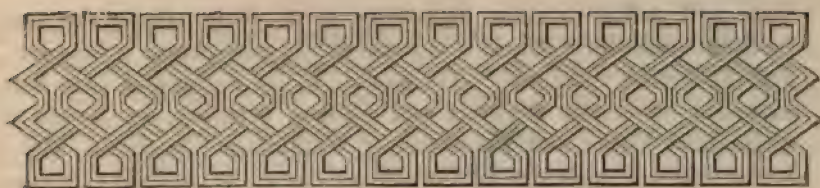
In the "Minute Philosopher" of Bishop Berkeley, the most of Shaftesbury's peculiar views are discussed. Berkeley did not deny the existence of a *honestum*, but he would not admit that the mere sense of the beauty of virtue was sufficient to engage men in the pursuit of it. He maintained, to effect this, the necessity of rewards and punishments. In a little tract, not published in the collected edition of his works, called "A Vindication of the Theory of Vision," Berkeley attacks Shaftesbury with some severity. He says that the doctrine taught by the author of "Characteristics," who makes reward of a good action nothing more than its natural consequence, is not religion in any sense. In such a belief Atheism is as serviceable as Theism, and fate and nature would do as well as Deity. In the "Minute Philosopher" he assails Shaftesbury on Ridicule in a passage which we must give in Berkeley's own words. Crito speaks :—

"Though it must be owned the present age is very indulgent to everything that aims at profane raillery, which is alone sufficient to recommend any fantastical composition to the public, you may behold the tinsel of a *modern author* pass upon this knowing and learned age for good writing, affected strains for wit, pedantry for politeness, obscurity for depth, rambling for flights, the most awkward imitations for original humour, and all this upon the sole merit of a little artful profaneness.—*Alciphron* : Everyone is not alike pleased with writings of humour, nor alike capable of them. It is the fine irony of a man of quality ; 'that certain reverend authors who can condescend to lay wit are nicely qualified to hit the air of breeding and gentility, and that they will, in time, no doubt, refine their manner to the edification of the polite world, who have been so long seduced by the way of raillery and wit.' The truth is, the various taste of readers requireth various kinds of writers. Our sect hath provided for this with great judgment. To proselyte the graver sort, we have certain profound men at reason and argument. For the coffee-houses and populace, we have declaimers of a copious vein ; of such a writer it is no excuse to say *fluit lutulentus*, he is the fitter for his readers. Then, for men of rank and politeness we have the finest-witted *railleurs* in the world, whose ridicule is the surest test of truth.—*Euphranor* : Tell me, *Alciphron*, are these ingenious *railleurs* men of knowledge ? *Alc*. Very knowing.—*Euph*. Do they know, for instance, the Copernican system or the circulation of the blood ? *Alc*. One would think you judged of our sect by your country neighbours : there is nobody in town but knows all these points.—*Euph*. You believe, then, antipodes, mountains in the moon, and the motion of the earth ? *Alc*. We do.—*Euph*. Suppose five or six centuries ago a man had maintained these notions among the *beaux esprits* of an English court, how do you think they would have been received ? *Alc*. With great ridicule.—*Euph*. And now it would be ridiculous to ridicule them ? *Alc*. It would.—*Euph*. But truth was the same then as now ? *Alc*. It was.—*Euph*. It would seem, therefore, that ridicule is no such sovereign touchstone and test

of truth as you gentlemen imagine. *Alc.* One thing we know, our raillery and sarcasm gall the black tribe, and that is our comfort.—*Cri.* There is another thing it may be worth your while to know, that men in a laughing fit may applaud a ridicule which shall appear contemptible when they come to themselves; witness the ridicule of Socrates by the comic poet, the humour and the reception it met with no more proving that, than the same will yours, to be just, when calmly considered by men of sense. *Alc.* After all, this much is certain, our ingenious men make converts by deriding the principles of religion; and, take my word, it is the most successful and pleasing method of conviction. These authors laugh men out of their religion as Horace did out of their vices—*admissi circum præcordia ludunt.* But a bigot cannot relish or find out their wit."

The last of Shaftesbury's opponents whom we shall mention is Bishop Warburton. We have already seen that Warburton vindicates the doctrine of *all for the best*. He opposed Shaftesbury only on the subject of ridicule being the test of truth. He urged the same objections which were urged by Berkeley and others. He addressed the whole race of free-thinkers, as they are called, in the words of Cicero:—" *Ita salem istum, quo caret vestra natio, in irredendis nobis nolitote consumere. Et mehercle, si me audiat, ne experiamini quidem, non decet, non datum est, non potestis*"—a sentence which seems as if it had been written by the Roman orator expressly to suit the defiant temper of the haughty English bishop.

JOHN HUNT.



MUNRO'S "ÆTNA."

*Ætna. Revised, Emended, and Explained. By H. A. J. MUNRO.
M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge:
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SO many of those who have retained an interest in the classics generally beyond their school and college days, were in the dark last year as to what could be meant by the announcement of Munro's "Ætna," and so few, apparently, of this class of scholars have, since its appearance, made acquaintance with the volume in question, that it seems not amiss to undertake a popular account of it. But it must be premised that, in doing so, no attempt is made to add aught to the exhaustive and, it may be said, brilliant treatment of the whole subject by Mr. Munro; the sole object of the writer of this notice being to draw the attention of general readers, who have not forgotten their Latin, to a poem which, if of no great merit or interest in itself, has yet sufficiently curious matter to claim for it a perusal; whilst its masterly editing by an eminent English scholar invests it with a value far beyond its intrinsic worth, and renders it an argument which may be triumphantly held up in the face of those who, on superficial foundation, decry our English scholarship as compared with that of the Germans.

"Ætna," as it now stands, is a poem of some six hundred and forty-five lines, which came down among the smaller works attributed to Virgil, and is hesitatingly attributed to him in the biography of that poet ascribed to Donatus. But the slightest study of its con-

tents will suffice to show that there is as little affinity between "Ætna" and the "Æneid" as between the ploughman's "Smiler" and the famous "Eclipse." Guesses as to its authorship have been hazarded, upon the slightest and feeblest premises, in favour of Quinctilius Varus and Petronius, of Manilius or Claudian. But a better case was made out for Cornelius Severus, whom Ovid addressed in one of his epistles from Pontus, and who was the author of an unfinished poem entitled "Bellum Siculum." Quintilian (x. 1, § 89) says of this Severus, that "he was more of a verse-maker than a poet," and so far he might put in a claim to be the author of a most prosaic poem; but the same critic goes on to say that had the "Bellum Siculum" as a whole equalled the execution of the first book, Cornelius Severus would have ranked second among Roman heroic poets, and higher than even Ovid. There are no indications of any such merit in the author of "Ætna," who, although he frequently affects Ovidian language and Ovidian usages, utterly lacks what Mr. Munro remarks in the longest extant fragment of Severus, "an Ovidian fulness, elasticity, and easy flow." Probably the basis of the judgment which assigned "Ætna" to this Severus was a passage in Seneca's 79th epistle, where, writing of his friend Lucilius's purpose of describing Ætna in his poem, he uses the words:—"Hunc solemnem omnibus poetis locum: quem quominus Ovidius tractaret nihil obstitit quod jam Virgilius impleverat: ne Severum quidem Corneliū uterque deterruit." But they mean nothing more, when examined carefully, than that as Virgil, Ovid, and Cornelius Severus had, one after the other, introduced Ætna as an episode in larger poems, so might Lucilius also. With greater reason, therefore, do Wernsdorf, Jacob, and others, advocate the claims of this Lucilius to the authorship, on the faith of this very passage; and, as Munro shows, there is this difference between the bearing of Seneca's letter upon the question of Severus's authorship and that of Lucilius, "that though the passage seems to point in each case simply to an episode in a larger poem," yet "the poem of Severus was already written; that of Lucilius was not." He might have found his materials ample enough, on second thoughts, for an independent poem. A better case, indeed, is made out for Lucilius than for any other claimant. Mr. Munro has been at the pains of reading through Seneca's Letters, with a view to arriving at some conclusive evidence and light. Though he has failed of this result, he has brought together very many curious and interesting data, which serve at once to illustrate the subject in hand, and to afford a sample of his judicial acumen and candour.

The author of "Ætna" belongs, Mr. Munro doubts not, to the "silver age." "His technical style is that of Lucan and other poets

who formed themselves on the model of Ovid." He has none of that later imitation of Virgil's thoughts and manner which characterize Valerius Flaccus, Statius, and Silius. Lucilius, we learn from Seneca, was fond of Ovid. The author of "*Ætna*" also makes mention of a mechanical Triton (v. 293 foll.), which, though it is not so certain as Wernsdorf and Jacob would have it, may have been the Triton of Claudius on Lake Fucinus, which, we learn from Suetonius (v. 21), gave the signal for the *navumachia*. He does not mention among his list of volcanic eruptions and of volcanic regions Vesuvius, although it is clear that he had himself inspected the regions that were connected with his subject; and this silence, coupled with the reference to the artificial Triton, bespeaks for him a date before 79 A.D., and somewhere about the time of Claudius, a date which would tally exactly with that of Lucilius.

In other respects there are curious coincidences. The poet of "*Ætna*" was evidently no carpet-knight, but one who had seen war in its most pronounced aspects. Some of his most vigorous passages are those in which he compares *Ætna* to a victorious enemy assailing bystanders at once with missiles, and at close quarters (464—474), and its rapid inroads and the headlong progress of the lava-flood, to the irresistible movements of a conquering host (612-13):—

"Vixdum castra putant hostem movisse tremendum,
Et jam finitimæ portas evaserat urbia."

"Scarce think they that the terrible foe has struck his tents, when lo! he had crossed the gates of the neighbouring city." This practical experience of war we know Lucilius to have had, as he served under Lentulus *Gætulicus* in Upper Germany, and was therefore conversant with war in its best school of his epoch. He was also, as may be gathered from Seneca, governor of Sicily for a long period, well acquainted with its localities, as also with those around Naples: and here also Lucilius answers the requirements which internal evidence bids us expect of a putative author of "*Ætna*." The missing or loose link is as regards his philosophical tenets. And it is upon this point that Munro's examination of Seneca's *Epistles* has a most valuable bearing. The commentators who will have it that Lucilius and the author of "*Ætna*" are identical, aver that there is proof of it in the latter holding, like the former, Epicurean doctrines. But it is quite clear, from our editor's showing, that there is no internal evidence that the author of "*Ætna*" was an Epicurean. Five passages out of the seven adduced to prove it simply "advise you to use your eyes and senses in judging of what is going on, and this" (quaintly remarks Mr. Munro) "a Stoic could do as well as an Epicurean" (p. 35). Three passages in the poem, so far from supporting Epicurean tenets, are distinctly Stoical in their doctrine, to

wit, that on the divinity of the stars (33-5); that on the return of the world, at the end of all things, to its old chaotic form (and not, as Epicurus would have had it, in a moment to its primordial atoms), (173-4); and that in which he commends the "verissima dicta" of Heraclitus, that "fire was the end and element of all things" (537). And many little casual touches make it quite impossible that the writer could have been an Epicurean, and therefore identical with Lucilius, supposing him to have been one. But was he one? This, after candid examination, Mr. Munro considers at any rate not proven. The touchstone by which to try the question is Seneca's Epistles. And the evidence of these goes no farther than to show that he was, at least so long as Seneca lived, a halter between two or perhaps more sets of opinions; an eclectic, "finding much to approve, and something to dislike, in the rival schools of Epicurus and the Porch." Their correspondence, at any rate, proves him at issue with the Epicureans in his views as to "providence," although he had enough leaning towards that sect to admit of Seneca's calling its founder "Epicurus tuus," "Epicurus noster." But it also proves him to the very last at issue with certain Stoical tenets. He may, thinks Mr. Munro, have become convinced after the death of Seneca: and, if so, the probability of his being the author of "*Ætna*" would be increased. "But," writes the editor, "there is no such evidence; and though Lucilius might seem to have a somewhat better claim than any other single name, yet as between him and the whole Roman world the chances must be great against him. '*Ætna*,' therefore, still remains, and I fancy ever will remain, the work *incerti auctoris*" (37).

But though the author is thus consigned to an ignoble uncertainty, in which there is the more reason for our acquiescence, in that the knowledge would not at all alter the low estimate which any candid reader must inevitably form of his merits as a poet, it is satisfactory, peculiarly satisfactory, to English scholars that his poem has found in Mr. Munro a pre-eminently capable foster-parent. Mr. Munro's "*Ætna*" it is, and deserves to be, to the end of time, seeing that when he picked it up, in its forlorn estate, it appears to have been as disfigured and disguised a little bairn as any of the gipsy-changelings one reads about. The achievement of bringing it back to something like shapeliness, and of divesting it of the accretions of glossarial and commentatorial *maculæ* wherewith it was overgrown, belongs to none other; and, as if in fear lest the restored and reclothed "*Ætna*" should still lack sufficient personal attractions to win a welcome on its own account, he has contrived to throw into his explanatory notes a fund of critical, grammatical, and general information, which cannot fail to give it prestige. The circumstances which have led

to his edition invest it with a yet further interest. Collating for Professor Ribbeck a MS. of the *Culex* in the Cambridge Public Library, Mr. Munro was led to look through the "*Ætna*" which came after it, and, after comparing it with Jacob's edition, to remark its superiority to other collated MSS. in age, merit, and completeness. He transcribed the whole poem, formed from his copy a provisional text, and appended a collation of this Codex, and a digest of the readings of the two MSS. of Jacob. Of two other MSS. in the British Museum he also made an accurate collation, and thus made up his apparatus of various readings at the foot of his text. This text is mainly founded on the Cambridge MS., which he designates α , and a collation of a lost Florentine fragment, β ; whilst the two Museum MSS. are called by him γ and ζ , and those of Jacob δ and ϵ . Where these agree, as is not uncommon, he denotes them by ω . To go into the history of MS. α , of which the Public Library became possessed in 1715, with the rest of Bishop More's collection, would be out of place here. Enough to mention that Mr. Munro assigns to it a date not later than the tenth century, and praises for the most part its calligraphy and orthography, though the corrections made in it at intervals by a contemporary hand have led to some slight confusion of letters, and that he adds, what is most important, "that in fifty places it makes sense of what is quite unintelligible in other MSS., and in many other places points the right road to emendation." It seems, indeed, to be of the same family as the other MSS. referred to above, but a far sounder member of it, whilst the Florentine fragment which extends over vv. 138—286, and of which the history is involved in mystery, seems to be a still sounder offshoot of the same original. For the portion of the poem on which it bears, and which chances to be obscure, "this fragment is quite invaluable; many passages are not intelligible without it."

With the aid of these MSS., and that of his own experience and sagacity, it is not to be wondered at if Mr. Munro has been enabled to improve upon previous editions of *Ætna*—upon the brilliant, original, one-sided, self-confident edition of Scaliger, who, having determined to prove this poem the work of Cornelius Severus, and a worthy sample of the Augustan age of poetry, set about the task of correcting and explaining its manifold corruptions with characteristic boldness;—upon that of Theodore Gorallus (otherwise Joannes Clericus, or John Leclerc), who finds fault with Scaliger, to whom he was inferior, and brings great erudition and sound sense, rather than much brilliancy, to a somewhat unremunerative task;—or upon Wernsdorf, whose speciality is his attribution of the authorship of "*Ætna*" to Lucilius Junior, and not Cornelius Severus. To these may be added the edition of Frid. Jacob (1826), the prolixity of

which Mr. Munro very amusingly pronounces to be "a great weariness of the flesh." To read his commentary is

"To read notes covering several pages of close print, full of Greek, Latin, French, English, and German quotations in illustration of things with which they have not the least connection; to go through arguments designed to prove that the author must have written what by no possibility he could have written; to find the editor asking triumphantly at the end, whether he has not now proved his point, the only point he has proved being that he does not understand what he is talking about."—(Pp. 27-8.)

It has its merits, however, of emendation, and even sometimes of annotation, if one has the perseverance to hunt up "the needle in the bottle of hay;" but if it had no other use, it might well serve as a contrast and foil to the concise, practical, pertinent commentary which accompanies the immensely improved text of Munro's "*Ætna*."

Such being the labour and trouble bestowed in past time upon "*Ætna*," it behoves us now to see whether the object was worthy of them. Mr. Munro's own estimate of its value is anything but encouraging. "The poet," he says, "seems to have been urged to his task not by the Muse, but by a most conscientious desire to enlighten an ignorant world on the true causes of the eruptions of *Ætna*, and the real nature of the much misunderstood lava-stone."—(P. 37.)

As might be expected, the gist and burden of the poem is inordinately dilated upon. Introduced by an exordium, that looks as if it was manufactured according to the straitest rule of poetasters, to Apollo and the Muses, the author devotes nearly a hundred lines to ridiculing the poetic myths in general, and those relating to *Ætna* in particular. At this point he becomes tired of quizzing and contemning the old legends, and says boldly, "I'm for truth; my song is to be all fact." It is not a little amusing, by the way, when he is at length well launched into his subject, to find him, after this manifesto, recurring without apology to the mention of Jupiter, Dis, Tartarus, and the old faiths, for his most vivid description of the effects of an eruption.

"Ipse procul magnos miratur Juppiter ignes,
Neve sepulta novi surgant in bella gigantes
Nec Ditem regni pudeat nec Tartara cœlo
Vertat, in occulto tantum premit."—(203-6.)

This, however, is but a temporary aberration. He is severely practical and prosy for several hundreds of lines, in which he discourses on the ways whereby wind and air, getting into *Ætna*'s system, help to rouse its subterranean fires; and afterwards on the manner in which the lava-stone (*lapis molaris*) is really fused. All this is discussed in a hard, stiff, and, what is worse, involved and crabbed style, the faults of which, be it observed, do not seem so

much due to the corruptions of the text, as to the author's innate tendency to be obscure and bungling in expressing himself. Now and then he has pity on those who are to read him, as when he indulges in a digression, to run over the "god-like pleasures" of studying the origin of the world, the nature of sun and moon, the stars in their courses, and the changes of the seasons, and to exalt above these the study of earth and her inner workings, not, as he takes pains to show, the mere gainful pursuit of mining or agriculture. (Cf. 224—269.) This, and a similar digression, (vv. 568-98), in which the poet takes occasion to twit his countrymen with their passion for touring and sight-seeing, their antiquarian researches, and their interest in the works of famous Greek painters and sculptors, are with justice singled out by Jacob, as the best lines in the poem, although even these were gems that shone exceedingly dim until Mr. Munro had tried his hand upon the text. But saving these brief excursions, he harps evermore for nearly five hundred lines upon the one and same subject of *Ætna's* eruptions, and of the lava-flood which is the chief agent in them. The reader gets to be thankful for small mercies as he slaves through such a dry field, and finds the Triton and the water-organs, which are introduced by way of simile (and, if the truth must be told, to explain *ignotum per ignotius*, or something very like it), a real refreshment, though the passage is of the toughest and obscurest. One is inclined to bless the islands of *Ænaria*, *Strongyle*, and *Hiera*, and the volcanoes between *Cumæ* and *Naples*, because the absence of the lava-stone in them drives the author into an excursion, and a divergence. After he has repeated himself over and over again, and has drilled us for the twentieth time into his views touching the action of air, wind, water, and vapours subterranean upon the fires that, fed with all the mineral material which they encounter on their road upwards, burst out in fury from the crater of *Ætna*, and touching the retentiveness of fire, which marks its greatest feeder, the lava-stone, he at last bethinks him of winding up with "one touch of nature," and treats his readers, in return for their patience and courtesy, with his version of the story of the *Catanian* brothers—a version, perhaps, a little too harshly judged of by Mr. Munro—though it must be admitted, that when he had toiled so far and through so much, he may have been entitled to look for some better compensation.

To what end, then, it may be asked, is this unearthing of a second-rate classic, stiff and cramped, inartistic and unpoetic, and, so far as one can judge, without a scientific training, adding little to our knowledge of the history of volcanic phenomena, and nothing to what *Lucretius* (Book vi., 640—703) had, in a better age of poetry, advanced, more ably and more briefly? It would be difficult to find

a satisfactory answer to so posing a query in any merits of the poem "*Ætna*" *per se*. But, regarded as a field for elucidatorial skill, a field on which such skill has been bestowed well and wisely by its most recent editor, this "*Ætna*" *incerti auctoris* well deserves the attentive perusal of every scholar who wishes to see what model editing is, or has the desire to add new "wrinkles" of diverse kinds to his present stock of classical knowledge. The candour with which Mr. Munro, far from exaggerating, as Scaliger did, a poem in which poetic feeling and fancy is the exception, first takes the utmost pains to ascertain the true reading, and then, if it is forced, or stiff, or formal, or common-place, admits the fact, and draws attention to the evidence of silver-age Latinity or of defective style, might even stand the professors of *belles lettres* in stead, when discoursing of tropes and figures more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Metonymies, such as "*Liber*" and "*Ceres*," for "*wine*" and "*corn*," have always found favour in poetry, but a better text from which to enforce moderation as to this figure could hardly be found than where the author of "*Ætna*," enumerating the fabled godsend of the golden age, writes—

*"Ipse suo fueret Bacchus pede, mellaque lentis
Penderent foliis, et pingui Pallas olive
Se cretos amnes aleret: tum gratia ruris."*—(13-15.)

There is no choice as to interpreting the first clause here of Bacchus running into wine by his own foot; *h.e.*, he did not require to be trodden out by the feet of the treaders; and if, as is probable, the other italicized words represent the text as it was written by the poet, another equally forced and harsh confusion of the deity with that which was attributed to her or him, occurs in the same passage. Unless the reading approved by Haupt is substituted, and the colon at "*aleret*" removed, (an emendation which will involve an anti-climax), the sense must be that "*Pallas* did for oil what Bacchus did for wine," "*gave birth to and kept up a supply of rivers of oil for the rich olive*" (p. 44). At v. 140-1, the concurrence of MSS. leaves no room to doubt that the poet wrote—

*"Cernis et in silvis spatiosa cubilia retro
Antraque demersas penitus fodisse latebras."*

And yet it is hard to conceive that any even mediocre poet would have made "*antra*" the subject of "*fodisse*," or talked of "*caves digging hiding-places*." Nor would it be easy to find a better instance of a harsh and far-fetched metaphor than that in vv. 278, &c. (p. 10), where "*the earth mined for metals*" is likened to a "*wretch put to the torture to extract confession*." As Mr. Munro rearranges the lines with indubitable sagacity, they run—

"Torquentur flammâ terræ ferroque domantur,
Dum sese pretio redimant, verumque professor
Tum demum viles taceant inopesque relictæ;"

a description better fitted perhaps to such cases as that of Isaac of York, in "*Ivanhoe*," than to that whereto the author of "*Ætna*" applies it. Not seldom, also, the poet gets himself into a coil of confusion through his fondness for overstrained antithesis. He seems to construct these in his mind, and then, in an effort to be concise, to lose himself and get into almost hopeless obscurity. Who would suppose that in vv. 169-70,—

"Densique premit premiturque ruinâ
Nunc Eurî Boreæque Notus, nunc hujus uterque,"

could be put by any one, who was not a bungler, for "*Notusque premit densâ ruinâ, premiturque vicissim nunc Eurî Boreæque ruinâ, nunc uterque (i.e. Eurûs et Boreas) ruinâ hujus (i.e. Notî) ;*" or that the last words in effect repeat what is expressed in "*premit?*" Indeed the poem bristles with harshnesses and awkwardnesses, which are memorable only as hints of what to avoid; although, to give the poet his due, one can hardly concur with Mr. Munro at v. 76, in questioning the soundness of "*viderunt,*" and in wishing to substitute "*vicerunt*" in

"Vates
Sub terris nigras viderunt carmine manes
Atque inter cineres, Ditis pallentia regna
Mentiti vates Stygias undasque."

"*Viderunt carmine,*" says Munro, "can scarcely be right," though it is read in *a*, and the other MSS. grouped under the distinguishing letter *ω*. But why not? It is grammatical, surely, and as poetical withal as most of the ideas of *Ætna's* bard. Where except "in their verse," or through the medium of their verse, could poets, while yet alive, see Styx, and Pluto, and the land of shadows? Mr. Bickersteth's "*Yesterday, To-day, and For Ever*" is a recent specimen of what a modern poet "*vidit carmine.*" But if Mr. Munro is not so ill-advised a patron of the poet he edits as to hide or defend his faults, or so headlong a partizan as to swallow him whole, he renders him the amplest justice and service by clearing up his real text and meaning; and, wherever it is possible, contrives to make him intelligible. This he achieves in divers ways: by happy re-assorting, so to speak, the letters or the punctuation of a line; by plausibly supplying, where it is needed, what may best fill up "*hiatus valde deflendi;*" and by substituting, in several instances with convincing acumen, the word which ought to have been in the text for that which had crept into it, but had no part or lot with it in sense. As an illustration of the recovery of the true text by re-

adjustment of the letters, the MS. α has helped our editor to cure a hopelessly damaged line, v. 384, which, in ω , ran as follows :—

“Si cessat adjure ferunt spectacula venti.”

By merely dividing differently, Mr. Munro gets—

“Si cessata diu referunt spectacula venti,”

a very natural allusion to the action of the winds after there has been a lull in the eruption.

In v. 440, where the poet is noticing the volcanic island of Hiera, his words are :—

“Insula durat adhuc, Vulcani nomine sacra,
Pars tamen incendi major refrixit et alto
Jactatas recipit classes portuque tuetur.”

As Scaliger and others punctuated and interpreted, this was all obscurity. Mistaking “incendi” for a genitive, they took it, in connection with what follows, to mean, “but the greater part of the conflagration has cooled down,” and left the rest of the passage to convey what meaning anybody could get out of it. Munro places a colon at “incendi,” which he holds to be the infinitive passive. “The island, but a part of it only, still continues to burn ;” “the greater portion has cooled down,” &c., &c. ; “duro” thus constructed, with an infinitive after it, being quite consistent with the usage of the author’s time, as he shows from Lucan and Petronius. Of his success in healing the breaches caused by “lacunæ,” one or two samples may be picked out. The first that occurs is as good as any. When the poet is quizzing the hackneyed themes of more imaginative bards, he is made, by the MSS., to have written,—

“Quis non Argolico deffevit Pergamon igni
Impositam et tristem natorum funero matrem” (18-19) ;

a couplet which Jacob discerned was unintelligible unless on the supposition of an *hiatus*. Observing that Pergamon is neuter, that a disjunctive particle is wanted ; and that Propertius, III. (2) 20, 7, has “Nec tantum Niobæ bis sex ad busta superbæ Sollicito lacrimæ defluit a Sipylø,” Mr. Munro ingeniously inserts between the two lines above quoted—

“Incensum, aut Sipylø bis sex ad busta nivali,”

with which supplement the sense will be, “who has not wept over Pergamus, burned by Greek fire, and Niobe placed on wintry Sipylus beside twelve tombs, weeping for her children’s death ?” Further on, where the poet is arguing the existence of cavities in the earth from rivers rising out of it, and, on the other hand, burying themselves in it, Mr. Munro unerringly detects a “lacuna” after the lines,—

"Quis enim non credit inanis
Esse sinus penitus, tantos emergere fontis
Cum videt, ac torrens uno se mergere hiatu" (117-9),

because, before the sentence comes to a natural conclusion, another, beginning "Nam mille ex tenui," &c., opens. If, however, after "hiatu," our editor's stop-gap—

"Rursus sæpe solet vasta que voragine condi,"

is adopted, all will run well and intelligibly, and a phenomenon, more common in the poet's country than in ours, and alluded to by him in v. 132, "Præcipiti conduntur flumina terrâ," as well as by Strabo and Seneca, as cited by Mr. Munro, will have been described.

Perhaps, however, it is in the tact and acuteness which guides our editor in divining, after due study of MSS. and commentaries, the right word for the right place, that, after all, he shines most conspicuously. Much of what he has done in this line is of a nature to recall to our minds the quiet and characteristic humour with which, after adopting the obviously sound reading of *a* in the line which other MSS. read,—

"Quamvis caruleo siccus Jove frigeat æther" (v. 332);

and, substituting "fulgeat" for "frigeat," he pronounces that his emendation has made "the passage as clear as the æther itself." In truth, to clear and purge the horizon of the whole poem would be a task impossible; but, if any editor could achieve this impossibility, that editor is Mr. Munro, as all must agree, who look at the text and its interpretation before he took it in hand, and compare it with the state in which he has turned it out. It is delightful to note the light which he creates in one dark passage, by the simplest and most natural means, and the consistency which he substitutes in another for what but now seemed inconsistency itself. And it is in supporting these verbal emendations that the wide and various learning of one of our foremost contemporary scholars is incidentally illustrated. He finds in the MSS. an invocation of Apollo:—

"Seu te Cynthos habet seu Delost gratior Hyla,
Seu tibi Dodone potior" (5-6);

and the absurdity of connecting Dodona with Apollo puts him on his mettle to discover the right word. After a passing leaning to "Dardania," in the sense of the coast of the Troad, he comes to the conviction that "Ladonis" or "Ladone," patronymics denoting Ladon's daughter, "Daphne," is the true reading; and this conviction he supports with wonderful erudition. The confusion between *o* and *a* in the MS. which Mr. Munro has most faith in, leaves little doubt that Ladone might have been mistaken for Dodona by the copyist; and it is shown, in the notes to this editor,

that to Daphne, the park and sanctuary of Apollo, five miles higher up than Antioch, on the Orontes, in common with Antioch and its neighbourhood, had been long transferred by the Syrian-Greeks, not only the worship which once had its chief abode at Delphi, but very many of the names and legends of Hellas. The locality of Antioch had its river Ladon, its Castalian fount, its Cyparissus, its "Omphalos;" and Mr. Munro shows, that by Lycophron and other Alexandrine writers, and such writers as followed or copied them (of whom it is probable, from his noting Apollo's connection with Hyla, which was little known to ancient Greece, but well known to Lycophron, that the author of "*Ætna*" was one), Ladon, and not Peneus, was accounted Daphne's father. And if, as is demonstrated by Justin, the belief of Seleucus, the founder of Antioch, that Apollo, and not Antiochus, was his real sire, had led him to establish a shrine eclipsing Delphi at the suburb of Daphne, what can be more probable than that our poet, a man of much learning, though not much imagination, should invoke the god's favour by his shrines at Cyprus, and near Antioch, as possibly dearer to him than Cythus or his birth-place, Delos? Mr. Munro thinks that even the reference to a "Pierian spring," in v. 7, is to a transplanted fountain in the district north of Antioch. This may be styled an archaeological emendation. The next that has struck us appeals to common sense. The poet is made by the MSS. to write in 80-2,—

"Canentes

Hi Tityon pœna stravere in jugera fœdum
Sollicitant illi te circum, Tantale, pœna
Sollicitantque siti ;"

and thus what he no doubt intended to glance at, two famous myths in as many telling lines, was left till Mr. Munro tried his hand upon it a vain and pointless bit of obscure repetition. Can there be any hesitation in accepting our editor's solution that the first "sollicitant" is a stupid error of the copyist, whose eye caught the first word of the next line; that for it must be substituted an epithet needed for "jugera," and a verb needed for "illi," to which "que," in 82, may couple "sollicitant;" that "Plurima: dant" furnish the required epithet and verb; and that at the end of v. 81, for the copyist's palpable blunder, "pœna" should be read "pœna," which is germane to the sense and the legend. Thus the poet is made to talk sense, and to recall how, in song, some of his craft "have stretched over full many acres Tityos foul through the nature of his punishment; while others surround Tantalus with apples, and torment him with a thirst which he cannot satiate." But there are one or two passages further on in the poem in which Mr. Munro's emendatory and interpretative skill is more conspicuously shown. A tougher passage could scarcely be found than that in which the poet illus-

trates from artificial machines the effect of water in putting the air in motion, which air in turn excites something else, in the case of *Ætna*, its fires. As Munro prints it, it runs thus :—

"Nam veluti sonat hora duci Tritone canoro :
Pellit opus collectus aquæ victusque movere
Spiritus, et longas emugit bucina voces :
Carmineque irriguo magnis cortina theatris
Imparibus numerosa modis canit arte regentis,
Quæ tenuem impellens animam subrengat unda ;
Haud aliter summotæ furens torrentibus aura
Pugnat in angusto, et magnum commarmurat *Ætna*."—(293-300.)

In the first verse, "*hora duci*" is Munro's conjecture to remedy the hopeless senselessness of "*ora duc*" and "*ora diu*" of the MSS., and the little-improved suggestion of Scaliger, "*Aura diu*;" and if, as can hardly admit of doubt, the poet's reference is to the Triton, which, worked by water, gave the signal for *naumachie* on the Lake Fucinus, and was a plaything of the Emperor Claudius (see Sueton., v. 21), the restored "*hora*" nicely indicates the time or signal for action, while "*duci*" means the Emperor whose bidding it was constructed to do. At v. 296, Mr. Munro has succeeded in interpreting "*cortina*" as identical with the "*hydraulus*," or water-organ, which is mentioned by Cicero, Pliny, and Vitruvius,* and which was another favourite water-toy of the same and of later periods. These Tritons and water-organs were a favourite device in Italian gardens, and came down to a late period. Readers of M. André Lefèvre's interesting compilation, "*Les Parcs et les Jardins*," will meet with them in various chapters; and the writer of the present remarks recollects a water-organ as still existing in an English country-seat within the last five-and-thirty years. To follow our editor's step-by-step elucidation of the passage would be a trespass on the space afforded, and on the patience of readers. But the sense, for the first time made so clear in the Latin, that one may run and read at once, is something of this kind :—

"For as the hour of conflict sounds for the Emperor by means of a vocal Triton, *when* a collected force of water, and the air constrained thereby to set it in motion, works the machine, and *so* the trumpet brays prolonged sounds; as, too, in large theatres, with strain produced by water-pressure ('*carmine irriguo*') a water-organ, tuneful with unequal measures, is musical through the organists skill which rows along (*i.e.*, plays on the different keys), pressing the light air by means of water :—*so*, too, the wind in *Ætna*, mad at being dislodged by the water-torrents, fights in pent-up space, and *Ætna* groans mightily in concert."

Mr. Munro inclines to the notion that "*cortina*," thus used in this passage only for "*hydraulus*," owes its name to its shape, which recalled the sacred pot and tripod on which the Pythia sat.

Another emendation, which carries conviction with it, is sug-

* Tuscul. Q., iii. 18. Plin. N. H., ix. 8. Vitruv., x. 12.]

gested by our editor at v. 336, where the poet describes the still quiet cloud that rests in fine weather high above Ætna. The MSS. conspire in reading—

"Illic obscurâ semper caligine nubes
Pigraque defuso circumstupet humida vultu;"

but "pigra" and "humida" could not both be epithets of "nubes;" and the cloud is shown from Strabo to have been dry, and not moist. For "humida," therefore, Mr. Munro proposes "atmida," or "athmida," a nominative of the first declension, from the accusative of the Greek form of ἀτμός.* And this he shows to be no violent alteration. The MSS. probably had "athmida" in the first instance. Copyists allowed "at" to be absorbed in "et" just before it; and there remained "hmida," of which it was an easy leap to make "humida." Thus we have the image of a dull vapour seeming to be fixed immovably over Ætna, and regarding from on high its workings and vast recesses.

Very many other apt restorations of the corrupted text might be cited, if space allowed; but it will be a capital exercise for younger readers to hunt them out and note them for themselves. They will learn, in doing so, how thoroughly modest and generous a modern English editor can be; how little inclined to envy the laurels of others, or to carp at a happy hit of other eminent hands. When Haupt, whose program has added something to Mr. Munro's clearances of obscurity from around "Ætna," hits upon so good a correction as "Nunc Paphiæ rorantis patre capilli," *i.e.*, "the locks of Venus dripping from her sire, Oceanus" (the allusion being, of course, to Apelles' picture of Venus Anadyomene), instead of the MS. reading—

"Nunc Paphiæ rorantia parte capilli,"

our editor seems to rejoice to point out the fineness of the correction, and to say, in a good sense, "Non equidem invideo, miror magis." And, indeed, he can well afford to do so. The fame of his "Lucretius" has established for him a position among European scholars, which, though the experiment be, perhaps, *in corpore viâ*, his bestowal of pains on "Ætna" has fully sustained.

It would not be fair to close these remarks without adding a few words concerning the incidental contributions to grammatical scholarship, and the casual information on the subject of Latin poets and their styles, which are strown, here and there, over the notes to "Ætna." Of the first class, specimens will be found in the note at v. 307, where it is shown that, as in "Lucretius," i. 327, so here and at v. 401 and elsewhere, the second persons singular potential, "credas," "teneas," "cernas," "quæras," are equivalent to "credit," "tenet," "cernit," "quærit" *aliquis*; in the note at v. 457, on "equidem,"

* So "cassida," Virgil and Propertius. "Chlamyda," Apuleius.

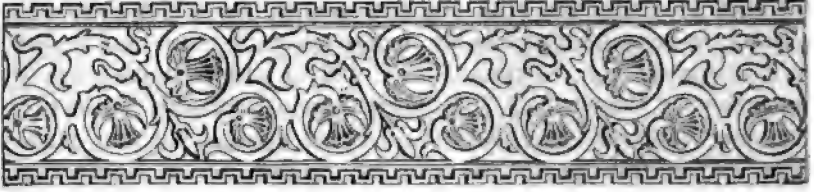
not used in connection with the first person, for which there are parallels in our author's probable contemporary, Persius; and in that on "*honorosa*," *e.g.*, "*onerosa*," in v. 466, at which Munro refers to his note on "*Lucret.*," iii. 113, where Servius's fanciful distinction between "*oneratus*" and "*honustus*" is set down to the true cause. It is very interesting, too, to note, by the help of our Cambridge commentator, how certain words like "*proprietas*" (513) in the sense of "*property*," point to a date for the author of "*Ætna*," contemporaneous, or nearly so, with Pliny and Seneca; how, also, the diligent and obsequious use of Ovidian usages and constructions (see note at 178 on the elision of "*me*," and note on v. 434, on "*Cui nomen facies dedit ipsa Rotunda*," which is shown from "*Metamorph.*," i. 169; xv. 740, to be more Ovidian than "*Rotundæ*"), and a great many copyisms of Lucretius, point very distinctly to the standard which the poet of "*Ætna*" proposed to himself, however much he may have fallen short of it. Imperfect craftsmen are apt to copy even faults; and so we find him using profusely the conjunction "*que*" in the third and fourth place, which, though it has Ovidian parallels, will scarcely be reckoned as an elegant or imitable usage. On the whole, it should seem that the poet's value, now that he has at last been rendered intelligible, is chiefly owing to the facts of which he speaks as an eye-witness, not to any grace of style or happy manner of putting his available matter. Absolutely, no doubt, as Mr. Munro remarks, the episode of the Catanian brothers is stiff and constrained; yet, relatively to the rest of the poem, it has the merit of life and incident. But it is too crabbed to quote without copious explanations; and, as an attempt has sufficed to show us, it will not repay translation into verse. Perhaps, if the truth could be known, the author regarded it as his crowning touch. But better, really, are some of the lines above alluded to, which pass in review the cities of Greece and of the Troad, and the legends attaching to them. The poet discourses of Philomela, and her sad story,* in a style that recalls Babrius and his fable of the Nightingale and the Swallow. But a passing gleam of life and spirit cannot redeem the dulness of the dead-level, along which readers of "*Ætna*" must, for the most part, travel. And, to state once more what must be uppermost, all through, in the thoughts of such as essay the journey with this edition, the "*Ætna incerti auctoris*," might have lain for ever in the obscurity which its mediocrity deserves, but for the enhanced value which has been conferred upon it by Mr. Munro's annotations and emendations.

JAMES DAVIES.

* Cf. 586-8,—

"Philomela canoris
En vocat in silvis, et tu, soror hospita, tactis,
Acciperis: solis Tereus fertur exulat agris."

And see Babrius. Fab. xii. (Part I.)



MAN IN CREATION.

Adam and the Adamite; or, the Harmony of Scripture and Ethnology. By DOMINICK M'CAUSLAND, Q.C., LL.D., Author of "Sermons in Stones," &c. London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street. 1864.

Unité de l'Espèce Humaine. Par A. DE QUATREFAGES, Membre de l'Institut (Académie des Sciences), Paris. Libraire de L. Hachetté et Cie., Rue Pierre-Sarrasin, No. 14. 1861.

THE first of the two very clever works with which this article is headed, as the author states in the preface, exhibits the result of his "investigations in relation to the much-vexed question of the duration of man's existence on our planet." And it may be well for us to say at once, that the result arrived at, in the author's estimation, is to overthrow the commonly received period of about 6,000 years for that duration, and to establish for man an antiquity incalculably more remote.

The purpose of the second work is expressed in its title. It is the exact opposite of that of the former. For the reader will not need to be reminded that to represent 6,000 years as the period of man's existence upon earth, and to name Adam as the father of all mankind, is in the opinion of most men one and the same thing.

Thus the two works represent two streams of opinion, which have no common source. Mr. M'Causland contends, and, in our opinion, unanswerably contends, for the existence in the world of races of men prior to, and exclusive of, that of which Adam was the first; while M. de Quatrefages claims to prove that all mankind proceeded from a single pair.

But it may relieve those, who, like the writer of this article, are thoroughly convinced of the truth and authenticity of every material statement of Holy Scripture, to learn that the stability of the Biblical records is not called in question by Mr. McCausland; and that, so far as his work speaks, M. de Quatrefages does not depend for his position upon those records at all. Scripture forms the very ground upon which Mr. McCausland takes his stand; and it is his very reverence for Scripture which has a large share in causing him to reject the doctrine of the one primæval pair; for comparatively recent investigations have proved that this doctrine imperils, or rather annihilates, the Bible chronology. With M. de Quatrefages, indeed, the unity of the human species is matter of firm conviction; but it is not necessarily unity of the human species *in Adam*; for he avowedly views the question simply as a naturalist.*

Thus the case before us is not that of science arrayed against Scripture, or the results of human research against the facts of revelation; but it is one in which, as the author of "Adam and the Adamite" well puts it, the believer is invited to welcome science as the friend of truth, and the philosopher is invited to "allow the voice of the Scriptures to be heard,"—one, in fact, in which "the works as well as the word of the Creator are consulted."

The best way to enable those who are interested in this confessedly important subject to arrive at a conclusion upon it appears to us to be to give such a sketch of the arguments of the two authors before us as our limits will allow, and to point out at the same time what we consider to be the inherent strength, and what the inherent weakness, of each.

The author of "Adam and the Adamite" bases his argument upon the recent discoveries of science under the five heads of geology, archæology, history, language, and ethnology. Upon these we will touch in their order.

It can be new to none who read these pages, that while the unity of the human race, or the descent of all mankind, with their obvious varieties of complexion, physiognomy, anatomical structure, language, and powers, from a single pair of ancestors has long been the subject of learned discussion, yet the means of bringing it to a severe geological test are comparatively of modern date. Sir Charles Lyell, we believe, was the first †—at any rate, in this country—to make public the fact, that flint instruments, rude indeed in structure, but of undoubted human manufacture, had been found in positions and in strata which lead to the conclusion ‡ that man was contem-

* Unité, p. 417. "Nous avons voulu rester exclusivement naturaliste."

† Antiquity of Man.

‡ Adam and Adamite, p. 9.

porary upon earth with the mammoth, the cave-bear, the woolly rhinoceros, and other extinct animals of the post-pliocene era, in the north and west of Europe. Let this fact once be established (and it is matter of universal agreement among scientific men), and it is difficult to avoid the further conclusion that Adam was not the first of the human race with which the earth was peopled. For, though absolutely nothing is known of the duration of the post-pliocene period (called also the first stone period, from the existence of these stone instruments in its contemporary depths), or of its distance from our time, yet the time required for the dying out, or for the extirpation, of the post-pliocene animals must have been vast,—far too vast to be comprised in 6,000 years. And yet we have seen that there is evidence (which might be multiplied twentyfold, did our limits permit) that human beings, to whose duration upon earth the period of 6,000 years is usually assigned, were contemporary with them. Nothing is gained to the cause of truth by closing our eyes to such facts as these,—nothing by calling this post-pliocene period a pre-human period, for it is evidently not pre-human, but simply pre-Adamite.

Under the head of archæology, Mr. M'Causland brings before us a period which, though remote, is modern when compared with that to which allusion has just been made. It is the period between that of the extinct mammalia and the historic age, and it is called by geologists the *second stone period*, for reasons which will appear in course of the remarks which follow.

In various parts of Denmark there are found "extensive peat bogs, from ten to thirty feet deep, which have grown in the hollows of boulder formations." In the upper layers of these peat bogs are found the remains of beech-trees, interspersed with implements of iron; in a lower layer there are the remains of oak-trees, mingled with implements of bronze; and in a layer still farther down there are the remains of pine-trees, mingled with implements of stone. These stone instruments, though rude, yet show a marked advance in manufacture upon those of the post-pliocene or *first stone period*: whence, as we have said, the age corresponding with this stratum of deposit is called the second stone period, while that corresponding with the layers of oak and beech trees has been termed the bronze and the iron age, respectively.

Again, on the Danish coasts are found, in various parts, vast mounds, from three to ten feet in height, and some of them 1,000 feet in length by 200 feet in breadth, which, called in Danish *Kjökken-mödding*, and by us kitchen-middens, are composed of oyster and other shells, mixed with the remains of beasts and birds. They also contain instruments of stone, much more finished than

those of the first stone period, implements of horn, wood, and bone, with fragments of coarse pottery; but *no* implements of bronze, and therefore *à fortiori* none of iron. It will, in consequence, be seen, that these shell mounds correspond in date with the older portion, or the lowest layer, of the peat bogs in Denmark—which is the same thing as to say that their age is that of the second stone period.

Of the ancient Swiss dwellings, far removed from Denmark, the discovery of which has of late attracted so much attention, our space will not allow us to say more, than that they too afford further and corroborative evidence of the succession of the second stone, the bronze, and the iron ages; and there is the less reason to enlarge upon these, from the circumstance of their having been admirably treated in a former number of this review.*

If the question be asked, What was the duration of this second stone period, or what length of time intervened between it and the historic period? it is impossible to give anything like a positive answer; and we must be content to know that it must have been of considerable duration, and very remote. Some of the pine-trees, with which it is associated, were from their size obviously of great antiquity at the time of their fall. The minimum of time required for the growth of the peat above the pines, according to the Danish geologist, Steinstrup, and others, must have amounted to at least 4,000 years, while Sir Charles Lyell evidently leans to the opinion that it amounted to a much longer time. But, with the moderate estimate of even 4,000 years, coupled with the obvious duration of the second stone period, it is impossible to bring the manufacturers of the ruder implements of the first stone period into the commonly received human era of 6,000 years.

Another proof of its remoteness lies in the fact that the shell mounds are not found on the western coast of Denmark, where the sea is slowly encroaching on the land.

And a third consists in the fact that the shells of which these mounds are composed are those of fish which are now not found in any part of the comparatively fresh waters of the Baltic, but those near its entrance, where they come in contact with the external ocean. From which, it is inferred, according to Sir Charles Lyell,† that “in the days of these aboriginal hunters and fishers, the ocean had freer access to the Baltic than now, probably through the peninsula of Jutland,” which was at no remote period an archipelago.

When Mr. M'Causland speaks of history, he passes, as may be expected, “from the pre-historical aspects of European existence to the contemplation of human life within the historical era”—extending at the same time his view “from the aboriginal races of Western

* Vol. iv. 380.

† Antiquity of Man.

Europe, to the occupants of the other habitable parts of the globe." The primary and most distinct varieties of the human species, according to Cuvier, are three—the Caucasian, the Mongol, and the Negro. Dr. Prichard, quoted by Mr. M'Causland, says, that if you were to draw a line from west to east, in the direction of the longest diameter of the Black Sea, to the top of the Indian Ocean, the vast tract south and west of the line would represent, in a rough way, the abode, from earliest periods, of the Caucasians; the still vaster tract to the north-east of this line would represent that of the Mongols; while the Negro tribes have always occupied Central Africa. The differences between these races in colour, physical organization, and mental powers are such as we cannot enlarge upon; but they are patent to the most cursory observation, and do not disappear before the most vigorous. Striking, however, as are the physical differences between these three great divisions of the human kind, they are nothing to the moral. The Mongolians, of whom the Chinese people may be taken as the representatives, exhibit, what Mr. M'Causland calls, a kind of "petrified civilization," that is, civilization, which, having reached a certain point, has always stood still. Now, so far as the scanty records of the first stone (post-pliocene) period go, no traces of civilization appear; and, since the Negroes, as is attested by ancient Egyptian paintings and hieroglyphs, have been the same physically for the last 3,300 years, there appears to be no known instance of a savage like him emerging from his barbarism without the aid of civilized man. The Caucasians alone have always been in a condition of progress and improvement—the parents and nurses of civilization, active to advance the highest interests of their fellow-creatures. Of these three distinct varieties of men, which was the first born? The Caucasian, we know from Scripture, was formed 6,000 years ago, was destroyed by a flood, and was renewed within the last 4,300 years. Was it born before the Mongols and Negroes, or they before it? This is a question which the reader, perhaps, may consider to be almost decided. But we had better pursue the road to its full elucidation; and the next step put before us by Mr. M'Causland is language.

Throughout nearly all the countries of the Caucasian and the Mongolian, two distinct groups or families of languages prevail. That within the Caucasian limits is composed of the Semitic and Japhetic branches, and is called the Iranian; that within the Mongolian, of which the monosyllabic tongue of the Chinese, destitute of grammar, may be considered to be the type, is called the Turanian. The Semitic and Japhetic languages evidently flow from the same source. Their parent language is long since dead, and nothing is known of it. But sufficient indication is afforded by their structure

to render questionless the fact that their home was one, and that it was in Southern Asia. From thence the Semitic branch migrated southwards and westwards, becoming the language of the Chaldee, of the Arab, of the Hebrew, and ultimately of the Egyptian. While the Japhetic branch (called also the Aryan and the Indo-European) flowed out in two streams—one, the main stream, to the north-west, gradually flooding nearly the whole of Europe, the other eastwards to Hindostan, where it ultimately became the famous Sanskrit, which ceased to be spoken 400 years B.C., and is now represented by the numerous departmental tongues of India. The languages of the Mongolian tribes and nations are spread throughout the northern and eastern districts of Asia; the inhabitants of which, it is said, comprise more than one-half of the human race. They do not present that close family likeness to each other by which the Japhetic and Semitic languages are distinguished, and the absence of this, according to Max Müller, is one of their conspicuous marks.

We are now in a condition to discuss, upon purely scientific grounds, the question of the priority in time of the appearance upon earth of the different varieties of men; or, which is the same thing, if they proceeded from one or several centres of action. If the Caucasian appeared first, then a degenerating principle, which is observed in no other part of creation, has been allowed to operate; but if the Caucasian appeared *last*, then the law of human life, like that of all other organized beings, has been progressive. Since the time when humanity first existed there is no period when, so far as the scientific evidence of the flint implements of the post-pliocene era may speak, man was not—as an uncivilised savage. Since that distant epoch climates and physical features upon the globe have vastly altered, all such alterations proclaiming the lapse of incalculable ages, during which men evidently attained no higher phase of civilization than that indicated by the stone and bone implements, which in their buried form have survived them. Where was then the civilized and civilizing Caucasian? The use of metals, an early step in civilization, was evidently unknown; and the use of these, as evidently, at length proceeded from the East, whose people advanced towards the west and gradually displaced its savages; but long after the disappearance of the extinct mammalia, and, therefore, “long since the existence of the uncivilized manufacturers of the chipped flint instruments of the fluviatile drift.” As regards the Mongol and the Negro, there is no ground for supposing that the lands they inhabit were ever tenanted by other peoples; but, as regards the Caucasians and their present territories, there is abundant evidence that they were originally one clan or family in the south of Asia, that they emigrated from thence, that they encountered and subdued

Turanian tribes in the lands to which they emigrated, and, further, that while they have ever since been spreading, their civilization has ever since been increasing.* There is no ground for supposing that while one branch of this family went the ways we know, and became ultimately what they are, another poured into North-Eastern and Central Asia and became men of the Mongolian type, and a third went into Africa and became men of the Negro type; in other words, that one branch became the subject of never-ceasing improvement, while two suffered never-ceasing degradation. The observed laws of language, too, we have seen, are in accordance with these ascertained facts, none of the Turanian stock of languages (with the remarkable exceptions of the inhabitants of the Basque provinces, the Magyars, &c., which go rather to prove the point at issue) being spoken in lands occupied by Caucasians, or *vice versa*.

It is, however, only fair to say that Max Müller and Bunsen, quoted by Mr. M'Causland, insist upon a common source of all language, as they do upon a common source of all mankind. But perhaps the value of their views may be weakened in the eyes of most of our readers when we add that they place the cradle of humanity, not, as the Scripture does, in the garden of Eden, but in *Central Asia*; and that they extend the date of the birth of Adam far beyond 6,000 years, and even to 20,000 † years. Indeed, Bunsen goes so far as to say "that there is no chronological element in revelation." ‡

We have now given, in as small a space as we could, what we believe to be an impartial representation of Mr. M'Causland's argument, which, of course, ought to be carefully read in its entirety to be fully appreciated. And the conclusion, arrived at upon purely scientific grounds, obviously is, that Adam, who it will not be questioned was a Caucasian and the first of his race, was not the first of the whole human kind, but was preceded by the Mongol and the Negro.

We have now to see if, upon the same grounds, this conclusion is controverted; and then the further question will arise whether it is controverted when other grounds are taken—viz., the word of Scripture.

The work of M. de Quatrefages is, as we have said, the exponent of views which are the exact opposite of those of Mr. M'Causland. He reminds us, in the introduction, that the theories against the doctrine of Adam being the first of the entire human race are not peculiar to the present day; and he truly states that in 1655 La Peyrère, "gentilhomme Protestant attaché au Prince de Condé,"

* Adam and the Adamites, p. 131.

† Ibid., p. 228.

‡ Ibid., p. 159.

published a treatise of theology entirely based upon the idea of the existence of a human population anterior to Adam. The view, therefore, of Mr. M'Causland is not original. We do not say that he claims originality for it; but he nowhere disclaims it, or puts forth his ideas as the revival they really are. In that book, "fort curieux et remarquable pour l'époque," La Peyrère makes it his effort to show that the history of Adam is nothing more than the history of the *Jews*. Starting with the two accounts of the creation in Genesis, he regards the first as relating to the creation of the Gentiles, the second to that of the chosen people. Under this view the Gentiles were formed on the sixth day, with the animals, and never entered Paradise. Adam and Eve, not seeing the light till after the repose of the seventh day, were alone admitted to Paradise, were alone, consequently, guilty of sin against the law. Other men, however (Gentiles), were guilty of natural sins—an hypothesis which the author considers to be supported by St. Paul's words in Romans v. 12—14.

It will be seen at once that this view of La Peyrère differs from that of Mr. M'Causland in the important particular that, while the latter claims for Adam the parentage of the entire Caucasian race, the former restricts his descendants to a very small portion of that race. And yet it is curious that Mr. M'Causland, in claiming for his view the support of the Divine record, uses the very argument*—indeed, almost the very words—which M. de Quatrefages shows that La Peyrère used, in claiming it for his. La Peyrère, according to M. de Quatrefages, remarks that at the age of 130 Adam had only three sons; and it is not till later that Genesis declares he had sons and *daughters*. After the death of Abel, then, Seth not being yet born, the family of Adam comprised three persons only—Adam himself, Eve, and Cain. But Cain, condemned to be a wanderer, has a mark set upon him, lest he should be slain by some one.† "Cain pouvait donc rencontrer en effet des ennemis, et ces ennemis ne pouvaient être que des hommes étrangers à Adam." Cain takes a wife in the land of his exile. "D'où venait cette femme? Jusqu'à cette époque, Adam n'avait eu d'autres enfants que celui qui fuyait après un crime, et celui qui en avait été la victime." . . . "Il fallait bien qu'il y eût d'autres familles à côté de celle d'Adam." When Cain has a son, he builds the city of Enoch. "Il fallait donc qu'il eût trouvé des compagnons pour la construire, pour la peupler." From all which considerations La Peyrère argues that there existed men outside the Adamite (or, as he thinks, Jewish) race, and that these were the Gentiles. And, as bearing upon this point, De Quatrefages states that La Peyrère interprets many of the Biblical expressions. For instance, the "land" is with him the *holy*

* Adam and the Adamite, pp. 189—192.

† Gen., iv. 15.

land, of which he gives "une carte peu détaillée, mais assez juste pour le temps." To this land alone he confines the history of the deluge, which thus becomes simply one of those partial floods, of which many tracts, besides the one in question, bear memorials. And thus the history of Noah becomes *le pendant* of that of Adam: that patriarch and his family the sole representatives, not of all humanity, but of the Jews. It was against these last alone that the wrath of God was kindled. He never had the intention to destroy the whole human race.

De Quatrefages writes, "Il est bien difficile de ne pas être frappé de la ressemblance et souvent de l'identité des doctrines de La Peyrère avec des opinions souvent et encore tout récemment émises." And he adds, "Ce livre du reste ne convainquit personne, et la doctrine de l'auteur retomba bientôt dans l'oubli, jusqu'à ces dernières années, époque où on l'a reproduite et accueillée avec une faveur assez inattendue." We may fairly be of opinion that one of the reasons at least for which La Peyrère's doctrine failed to make way in its own day, in all probability, was his mistake in confining the Adamite race and territory to that of the Jews. While, upon the other hand, the explanation of its having gained a modified revival of late, and only of late, probably lies in the fact that the researches, geological and other, which have identified the Adamites with the Caucasians are comparatively modern.

M. de Quatrefages concludes his introduction with a declaration of his intention to prove the unity of the human species to be not only "un point de doctrine philanthropique inspiré par les sentiments les plus honorables, une conception philosophique élevée, un dogme respectable par cela seul qu'il se rattache aux croyances religieuses de la plus noble portion de l'humanité," but also "une grande et sérieuse vérité scientifique." Whether he succeeds or not it will be our effort to enable the reader to judge.

His view, as we have said, is simply a naturalist's view; indeed, it is avowedly based upon the opinions of Linnæus and Buffon, both of whom, the latter in particular, were strongly in favour of the unity. But it must not be supposed that M. de Quatrefages ignores the better part of man. On the contrary, he is careful to show, in his second chapter, that a human being differs from an animal to the full as much as an animal from a vegetable, by virtue of two properties which are inalienable from his nature, viz., a sense of right and wrong, which M. de Quatrefages calls "moralité," and a recognition of a divinity and a future life, which M. de Quatrefages designates by the word "religiosité."

But still, for the purposes of this work, M. de Quatrefages treats the human being simply as an animal. And under this idea his

first act is to define "species," which he says is with all naturalists the fundamental term—the "unity." But he adds that, as unity may be expressed by fractions, so each species may comprise a certain number of varieties and races; and "species" he ultimately defines to be "l'ensemble des individus, plus ou moins semblables entre eux, qui sont descendus ou qui peuvent être regardés comme descendus d'une paire primitive unique par une succession ininterrompue de familles." * Species, then, in regard to essential marks and types, is fixed and immovable. But only, be it observed, in regard to essential marks and types. For its strongest advocates always claim for it a certain variation, and its strongest opponents a certain constancy. †

M. de Quatrefages next defines variety and race. As no individual is precisely identical ‡ with himself during the whole of his life, and as one individual is not identical in appearance with another, so when these differences pass a certain limit, they are called varieties; and when they pass to the descendant, then they become a race.

That which is largely concerned in producing these differences is, with M. de Quatrefages, "L'ensemble des conditions ou des influences quelconques, physiques, intellectuelles, ou morales, qui peuvent agir sur les êtres organisés;" and this he calls, in one word, "*milieu*." § For the full health and development of the individual, there ought to be perfect harmony between the *milieu* and it. If there be disagreement, its effects are aggravated in each generation; and, under these circumstances, if the species were absolutely invariable, it would perish in time. The many modifications between the two results of the species perishing, or adapting itself to the *milieu*, constitute race. After elaborately proving these facts, both of animals and vegetables, M. de Quatrefages claims to prove it so conclusively of man (chiefly by the adduction of cases of marked dissimilarity among the inhabitants of Africa alone), that he ends by remarking that, "La plus grande difficulté n'est pas en anthropologie de trouver des populations intermédiaires présentant un mélange de caractères, mais bien de déterminer des groupes que puissent être regardés comme de race pure." ||

M. de Quatrefages then goes on to say, that it having appeared that species, as understood by naturalists, rests upon two classes of fact, viz., resemblance and filiation, the first of those two is that which exercises the most influences on the *judgment*, which accounts, in his opinion, for the general tendency to lean rather to the plurality, than to the unity, of the human ¶ kind. But the differences between human group and human group, according to him, are but those of race; for, as regards plants and animals, equal differences exist in what are admittedly races of one species. In both, form and habits

* Unité, p. 54. † P. 63. ‡ P. 67. § P. 75—78. || P. 117. ¶ P. 119.

are vastly altered by climate, treatment, and selection; and in both, the modifications become hereditary, and are therefore real indications of race.

In M. de Quatrefages's opinion, moreover, the extent of variations in men is exaggerated; for the greatest variation is that of colour.* But the substratum (*couche*) of all colour is one, he says. It is a mucous body, which is organically the same for white, black, and tawny people, and yet has a certain variety even with whites. For instance, it is comparatively deep in whites who are called dark; and it is deeper in some parts of the body than others. Thus, there is nothing organically new in the varied hue of races. Nor are the variations constant. All blacks are not negroes. Therefore, as Linnæus said of flowers,† “*nimum ne crede colori.*” The inference he draws from all which is, that the diversities of human groups, with which the world is peopled, prove not a multiplicity of species, but a multiplicity of races and a unity of species.‡

We do not pursue the review of M. de Quatrefages's remarks upon the details of the mode by which varieties and races are formed, the direction of those remarks being sufficiently indicated by what has gone before. But, as more directly bearing upon the subject before us, and as, in our author's opinion, supplying the crowning proof of what he seeks to establish, we will put our readers in possession of what he says of *métissage* and *hérédité*.

Le métis, or the mule, is the plant or animal produced by a cross from different § races. With plants this *métissage* takes place daily under the action of the wind, insects, &c. With animals also it is of continual occurrence; insomuch that, as every breeder knows, the difficulty is, not to produce minglement of race, but to keep blood pure. And in neither case is fruitfulness impaired by the cross.

L'hybride is the plant or animal produced by a cross from different species. Now, hybridity among plants is almost unknown (*d'une rareté extrême*),|| as also it is among animals, though here and there birds¶ may perhaps present a few cases of it: here and there, too, a case of it has been produced among animals in an unnatural state, as between a lion and a tiger confined in a menagerie. But the distinctive mark of all such unions is, that in the immense majority of instances they are unfertile, even when the species have affinities.

And now the question arises, can we carry on the conclusions derived from animals to man? The answer to it, M. de Quatrefages says, ought not to be doubtful; for the anatomical structure in both is the same. If, then, the various human groups represent different

* *Unité*, p. 138.

§ P. 255.

+ P. 141.

|| P. 241.

‡ P. 174.

¶ P. 242—250.

species, the facts of hybridity ought to be true of them; if different races, the facts of *métissage* ought to be true of them. How stands the case? M. de Quatrefages's point is, that the facts of *métissage*, and not of *hybridity*, are the facts put forth by human unions: they have always been easy. We have but to look to the painful results connected with slavery to see this. But the cardinal proof of the unity of the human kind, according to M. de Quatrefages, lies in the fact of the *fecundity* of these unions. Nor only this, but in the fecundity of their children and their children's children. Whence all humanity forms but one species, and the various groups which compose it are the races of that one species.

"Telle est la conclusion," to use M. de Quatrefages's own eloquent words, "à laquelle conduisent, non pas une théorie, non pas une idée préconçue, non pas un dogme, mais uniquement l'observation et l'expérience scientifiques appliquées à l'étude de l'homme comme on les applique à l'étude des autres êtres vivants; non pas l'observation s'exerçant depuis quelques années sur un petit nombre de faits isolés, l'expérience portant sur quelques générations d'animaux ou de végétaux, mais l'observation et l'expérience agissant depuis des siècles, embrassant toutes les espèces animales ou végétales soumises à l'action de l'homme pour conclure d'elles à lui.

"Si la méthode est juste, s'il n'y a réellement, comme nous le pensons, qu'une seule physiologie générale soumettant aux mêmes lois tous les êtres organisés, il n'existe qu'une seule espèce d'hommes.

"Pour soutenir qu'il existent plusieurs espèces d'hommes, il faut admettre que les espèces humaines sont régies par une physiologie à part, étrangère aux végétaux et aux animaux, se manifestant dans une foule de circonstances et surtout dans les phénomènes de la reproduction, c'est-à-dire, dans ceux où tout concourt à démontrer une identité fondamentale.

"Entre deux croyances qui entraînent des conséquences aussi opposées, le naturaliste, le physiologiste ne peuvent hésiter. Voilà pourquoi nous croyons à l'unité spécifique de l'homme, pourquoi nous combattons ceux qui proclament la multiplicité des espèces humaines."*

Having thus put forward, impartially, we trust, the views of these two masters of opposite schools, it will be well, we think, while the reasoning of the latter is fresh in our memory, to point out what appear to us to be some of its weaknesses; for, unless we are much mistaken, these will go far in the estimation of our readers to diminish the value of the conclusion at which, with so much painstaking and ability, M. de Quatrefages has arrived.

In the first place, as it seems to us, he lays far too much stress upon colour. He quotes indeed once, as we have seen, for his own purpose, and with evident approbation, Linnaeus's wholesome maxim for the investigators of flowers, "*nimum ne crede colori.*" But this very maxim he appears to us to invade continually, ignoring, or nearly ignoring, almost all differences between human group and human group, except those which appertain to colour. Whereas

* P. 294.

our opinion is, that no one can carefully peruse Mr. M'Causland's work without arriving at the conclusion that colour forms a difference, the importance of which absolutely shrinks into nothing when compared with those other differences of shape of the skull, structure of the brain, moral and intellectual powers, feature, by which the families of the earth are distinguished one from the other.

Secondly, M. de Quatrefages implies that there is no wider interval between the races of men than there is between the greyhound and the spaniel, the bulldog and the lapdog, universally* admitted to belong to the same species. But, if it appear later—as it will—that, upon the assumption of the truth of Mr. M'Causland's theory, the deluge has not that character of universality which usually is applied to it, then dogs have upon their side a lapse of time and succession of ages which mankind, if all descended from Adam, have not.

Thirdly, M. de Quatrefages admits† that there exist instances of “unions fécondes” even between members of “espèces de genre différent,” merely adding that they are “bien plus rare que les croisements entre espèces congénères,” while “celles-ci elles-mêmes sont loin d'être nombreuses, surtout dans les groupes élevés.” But it has never been said, or even implied, that the human species, even though they do not all proceed from a single pair, have no affinities; that they are as diverse one from another as the lion from the tiger, as the sheep from the goat. On the contrary, we know they have affinities one to another.

And, fourthly, M. de Quatrefages writes as follows in his *résumé général*:—‡

“Pour répondre à une dernière objection, nous avons dû avoir recours à la géographie proprement dite, à la physique générale du globe, à l'histoire. Mais pas une fois nous n'avons appelé à notre aide les considérations tirées de la morale, de la philosophie, de la religion.”

But is not the above a valid objection? Is it possible to throw full light upon a subject-matter so vast as that with which we are engaged by having recourse to one branch of science only? Have we data sufficient to warrant our forming definite conclusions upon it, so long as geography, the physical condition of the globe, and history, are excluded from our investigation? And, lastly, be it always remembered that even though it should be conceded that M. de Quatrefages has proved the unity of the human race, yet it does not follow that he has proved its unity *in Adam*. But, if its unity be not in Adam, then the Scripture chronology is as far from being maintained as ever.

We have now, however, to see if the conclusion at which Mr. M'Causland has arrived is controverted by Holy Scripture. For, though Scripture was not written for our instruction in science, yet,

* Unité, p. 126.

† P. 247.

‡ P. 417.

being true, it clearly cannot go against it. But, before we proceed, let us state once more what his conclusion is. It is, that Adam was not the progenitor of all mankind, but of the Adamite or Caucasian race only, and that this race was preceded in the world by that of the Mongol and that of the negro.

Now, we recollect that there are in Genesis two records of Adam's creation. The first describes it as the crowning work of the general Creation;* the second gives a closer detail of it as to time, and place, and circumstances.† If Adam's was the last of several creations of human beings, which took place at different centres and at different periods, and if it was, *longo intervallo*, the most perfect of them all, then it does not seem improbable that it should receive an independent record.‡ While, if Adam be regarded as the first of all mankind, then the time which, according to Genesis, elapsed between his creation and the deluge (1,656 years) is not sufficient to account for phenomena which are indisputable. It must be enormously extended. Upon this point science may be said to be unanimous.§

Admitting, then, the proposition that there are different races of mankind, and that there was more than one creation of man,—of which Adam's was the last,—Mr. M'Causland's theory is,|| that when Cain was expelled from the family of Adam, and became "a fugitive and vagabond in the earth,"¶ he went forth among the Mongolian tribes, whom he would find to the "east of Eden," there built his city, and formed his matrimonial alliance, and soon gained over them that ascendancy which would be expected in one of his determined spirit and superior race.

Now, does Scripture contradict this view? On the contrary, we say that it confirms it. The genealogy of Cain is continued to the eighth generation; and then Jabal, son of Lamech, becomes the head of "such as dwell in tents, and of such as have cattle," a description which applies remarkably to the nomadic hordes which from time immemorial have peopled the wide pasture-lands of High Asia. Another of Lamech's sons, Jubal, is described as "the father of all such as handle the harp and organ;" that is, he was the inventor, no doubt, of some of the more refined and humanizing occupations of civilized life. The third son, Tubal, was "the instructor of every artificer in brass and iron;" which shows that to him we are indebted for the arts of metallurgy. Thus we see how it may have been that a certain amount of civilization was diffused among the pre-Adamite races of Asia; and this has remained among them to this day (witness the Chinese, for instance); though they

* In cap. i.

† In cap. ii.

‡ Adam and the Adamite, p. 162.

§ Pp. 155—158.

|| P. 189, *et seq.*

¶ Gen. iv.

appear never to have had the power to impart it, probably because the Adamite blood which was among them being diluted, as we have seen, with that of the Mongols, was never renewed. It seems to us, then, that the Scripture narrative, far from contradicting this view, so far as it speaks, materially confirms it. That is to say, it accounts for certain pregnant facts attached to a certain portion of the world's inhabitants which are otherwise inexplicable.

We have not space to pursue in detail Mr. M'Causland's view of the contrast presented by the lives of the descendants of Seth, or the Adamites, to the worldly and godless enterprise of the children of Cain, or that of their subsequent career. Suffice it to say that, both in the transactions of the deluge and in that of the dispersion of the race after the building of the Tower of Babel, he closely adheres to the letter of Scripture; though it must be added, that his view demands the modification of certain ideas, which have been derived from the perusal of Scripture and of certain Scripture expressions.

We say nothing here of the particular class of sin which brought down upon the Adamites the visitation of the deluge, beyond that we agree with Mr. M'Causland in thinking that it was probably one which involved the corruption of their race with non-Adamite blood.* Its guilt, therefore, was great. And the Cainites being absorbed in the pre-Adamites of Central Asia, it became necessary to begin the race afresh in the persons of those who were the only exceptions to the general wickedness.

But the popular view, which must be modified, is that of the universality of the deluge. There are few subjects upon which the results of scientific research may be said to be more decided than in the demonstration of its partial character—partial, that is, so far as the world is concerned; but universal, so far as the race of Adam, its occasion, and the perceptions of Noah were concerned. An *universal* deluge, in the strict sense of the words, appears to be an impossibility—impossibility, not in relation to the omnipotence of God, who of course can do anything, but in connection with phenomena existing in various parts of the world, which have to be accounted for.† But the really important question is, does Scripture assert the universality of the deluge? The texts which naturally will be produced in answer to this question are such as—"All the high hills that were under *the whole heavens* were covered;" "*All flesh* died, that moved upon the earth;" and "The waters prevailed on *the earth*."‡ Now, bearing in mind the occasion of the deluge, viz., the destruction of the Adamite race in particular, and not of man in general, we surely cannot do better than interpret Scripture by Scripture; that is, put expressions which in the Mosaic account seem to declare

* Adam and the Adamite, p. 202.

† Pp. 202—212.

‡ Gen. vii. 19, 21, 24.

its universality side by side with other scriptural expressions, which are of equal largeness, but which, from the nature of the case and by common consent, must receive a modified interpretation. And this Hugh Miller does for us in a passage from his "Testimony of the Rocks," which Mr. M'Causland quotes, and which we quote again:—

"It is well known to all students of the sacred writings, that there is a numerous class of passages in both the Old and New Testaments in which, by a sort of metonymy common in the East, a considerable part is spoken of as the whole, though in reality often greatly less than a moiety of the whole. Of this class are the passages in which it is said, that on the day of Pentecost there were Jews assembled at Jerusalem 'out of every nation under heaven;' * that the gospel was to be preached 'to every creature;' † that the Queen of Sheba came to hear the wisdom of Solomon from 'the uttermost parts of the earth;' ‡ that God put the dread and fear of the children of Israel upon the nations, that were 'under the whole heaven;' § and that 'all countries || came into Egypt to buy corn.' "

He then reminds us of "*all the earth*," which "sought to Solomon, to hear his wisdom;" ¶ and of "*all the world*," ** whom Cæsar Augustus made a decree should be taxed. Hugh Miller adds that, in some of these instances, the Scriptures themselves reveal the character, and limit the meaning, of the metonymic passages, as in that of the stranger Jews assembled in Jerusalem at Pentecost "out of every nation under heaven;" for, farther on, we read that these Jews had come only from "the various countries extending around Judæa, as far as Italy on the one hand, and the Persian Gulf on the other." But in most of the other instances the modifying element must be sought outside the sacred volume—in ancient history or ancient geography—as in the case of "*all the world*," whom Augustus decreed to be taxed. And to these remarks we may add that there are scriptural passages with reference to which the regions of fact and common sense alone have to be entered in order to modify their literal meaning—as, for instance, where God promises the land of Canaan to Abraham and his seed "for an everlasting possession," †† and as where St. John states that, if all the things which Jesus did were "written every one," "even *the world itself* ††† could not contain the books that should be written."

But, while we are thus led to reject the universality of the deluge, let us recollect that no untruth is involved in the expressions which have given rise to the conception of it. For though not actually universal, yet it was universal to Noah. Hugh Miller, in a passage quoted by Mr. M'Causland, §§ but too long for quotation by us,

* Acts ii. 5.

† Mark xvi. 15.

‡ Matt. xii. 42.

§ Deut. ii. 25.

|| Gen. xxi. 57.

¶ 1 Kings x. 24.

** Luke ii. 1.

†† Gen. xvii. 8.

†† John xxi. 25.

§§ P. 213, *et seq.*

shows that it was probably produced by the slowly sinking of the vast tract of country between the Baltic Sea and the Persian Gulf and the Black Sea. This would open from three separate channels the fountains of the great deep; and the country thus submerged would include, he says, an area of *about two thousand miles each way*—an area quite sufficient to warrant the statement that the deluge was at once universal to Noah and sufficient for its purpose to destroy his race.

But here it must be admitted, as we have already said, that—if Mr. M'Causland's view be adopted—though Scripture, rightly understood and followed, does not contradict them, yet some texts must receive an interpretation less wide than that which has been usually assigned to them. Of several which Mr. M'Causland cites, we will select but three, referring the reader for the others to the book itself.

"By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin."* This has been thought to assert the unity of all mankind in Adam; but it is difficult to see how it does so. The Bible, we have seen, is the history of a particular race—that of Adam—and does not declare that no man lived or died before him. Even though millions passed away before Adam existed, it still would be true that "by one man sin" (the particular sin of Adam) "entered into the world, and death by sin;" that is, death to that race, who were otherwise destined probably to be immortal. Nor can we admit that the work of redemption by the *second* Adam is thus limited in any direction. It still may extend infinitely forwards and infinitely backwards. It still may "sprinkle many nations"† in the widest sense. The Apostle's statement excludes no pre-Adamite or descendant of pre-Adamite. There is no more difficulty in believing that millions who may have died before Adam lived shall be redeemed by Christ, though they were necessarily ignorant of Him, than that millions who have died since Adam, equally ignorant of Christ, have been redeemed by Him. The penalty of endless death has been abolished for the inheritance of Adam, and all other races may be admitted to a participation in the benefits of its abolition. The apostle's real meaning appears—we agree with Mr. M'Causland—in his summing up of the argument:—"For as by one man's disobedience the *many*‡ were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall the *many* be made" (or considered) "righteous."§

Another text is 1 Cor. xv. 22, "As in Adam all died, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." As all in Adam's nature died in Adam, so all in Adam's nature shall be made alive in Christ. But not only all in Adam's nature. The effect of the text, taken by itself, is no doubt to show simply that what was forfeited by

* Rom. v. 12; Adam, p. 285. † Isaiah lii. 15. ‡ ὁ πολλοί. § Rom. v. 19.

Adam has been regained by Christ. But it is very seldom safe to take texts by themselves; they are almost always modified by their contexts or by other parts of Scripture. And, in this case, other parts of Scripture show that what was forfeited by Adam has been *much more than* regained by Christ. For that there is nothing in the terms of salvation to restrict it to one race or one people; but that, on the contrary, "*not as the offence, so is the free gift.*"* God's original promise to Abraham was, "In thee all the families of the earth shall be blessed;"† and that promise is without limit, for the word which has there been translated *families* (משפחות),‡ is the same that is used in Gen. viii. 19 to designate the various kinds or species of animals that went out of Noah's ark. Again, it is true that in 1 Cor. xv. 45—47, Adam is called "*the first man*;" but this is clearly only in contrast§ to Christ, who, in the same passage, is styled "*the last Adam*,"|| and "*the second man*."

And now, in conclusion, we would express the hope that nothing has been propounded in this article which leads to the opinion that it has been written in any other spirit than one which, delighting for itself to walk in the "old paths,"¶ gladly welcomes views which make

* Rom. v. 15. † Gen. xii. 3. ‡ Adam and the Adamite, pp. 289, 290. § P. 292.

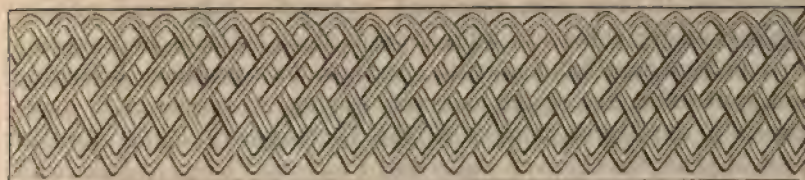
¶ We would here call attention to one grand error in Mr. M'Causland's work, which, far from strengthening, appears to us to weaken considerably the argument by which he arrives at his conclusion. We allude to the distinction which he draws between the meaning of the Hebrew words אָדָם (*Adam*) and אִישׁ (*ish*). He pronounces the latter to be the generic term for man, and the former to represent the individual man (page 163, *et seq.*), an error which leads him into the absurdity of interpreting Eve's speech upon the birth of Cain, "I have gotten a man" (*ish*) "from the Lord" (Gen. iv. 1), into a prophecy, which was fulfilled afterwards by the expulsion of Cain from the Adamite family, whereby he ceased to be an Adamite, and fell into the masses of mankind in general. Happily, the proof of that for which Mr. M'Causland is contending, depends in no degree, so far as we can see, upon this distinction. For assuredly it cannot be sustained. Indeed, both from Gesenius and from the passages which Mr. M'Causland adduces in support of his position, the very reverse of it appears rather to hold good; that is to say, "Adam" appears to be *homo*, and "*ish*," *vir*, the latter probably, in part at least, because it is the only one of the two Hebrew expressions, which admits of a feminine form (אִשָּׁה). In Gen. ii. 23, *ish* obviously indicates an individual man. In Gen. iii. 16, it is equally plain, and Mr. M'Causland admits that it means *husband*. And in Gen. vii. 2, it represents the *male of beasts*. In Gen. ix. 20, Noah is *ish Adamah*, the husbandman, or man of the earth; and in verse 6 of the same chapter the two terms "*ish*" and "Adam" appear to be interchangeable. But really the whole question seems to be set at rest by Gen. v. 2, where it is said that God "called *their* name" (*i.e.*, the male and female's name) "Adam." In which case it is obvious that it must be the generic and not the individual term. Again, Mr. M'Causland quotes from Gesenius to the effect (p. 150), that the name Adam is derived from the verb אָדָם, to be red, or ruddy, holding that in that fact there lies an indication of the distinctive complexion of the Adamite, compared with that of the Mongol and the Negro. But we think that he, at least, ought to have added that there is quite as much ground for supposing it to be connected with the word אֲדָמָה (*adamah*), the earth, from which Adam was taken.

¶ Jer. vi. 16.

those "old paths" thoroughly tenable, and show how not a word of Holy Scripture need fall to the ground before the advance of science.

The love of inquiry, it is needless to remark, is widely spread in these days; and, through impatience at not being fully satisfied at once, it has, in some painful instances, given birth to a spirit of doubt and scepticism as to the truth of Scripture. Under the influence of the latter it has been boldly proclaimed that the system of chronology in the Mosaic records cannot be maintained. No statement we believe to be more groundless; and it is simply because Mr. M'Causland's work enables us to see this, and offers a reasonable solution of difficulties which, we are convinced, are quite surmountable, but the existence of which it is idle to ignore, that his arguments appear to us to be valuable, and to deserve the notice which they have received at our hands.

C. J. D'OYLY.



THE EVANGELICAL CLERGY OF 1868.*

IT is constantly said, by those who claim to be informed on the subject, that the Evangelical clergy are on the decline. We hear it from foreigners and from Englishmen; from friends and from enemies; from those who have a character to lose for fairness and impartiality; and, of course, also from bitter partisans. To take four instances, Dr. Döllinger, in his "Church and the Churches," in the vein of sturdy satire, which indeed he impartially uses towards all Anglicans, thus writes of Evangelicals in particular:—"The present race of Evangelicals may, in comparison with the former, be called a declining one." Mr. Baring-Gould, in his contribution to "Essays on the Questions of the Day," † mars a paper, some of which is vigorous and sensible, by the unworthy sneer that, "in prospect of a battle with unbelief, little support can be expected from the Low Churchmen. They are desultory skirmishers, and their place will probably be, like David's warriors, to tarry by the stuff." The writer of an "Autobiography" in the same volume, expresses opinions about the Evangelical body which might justify serious

* The bulk of this paper was written eighteen months ago; some time, therefore, before the delivery of Mr. Ryle's addresses at Ipswich in the autumn of 1867, and at Islington in January, 1868, and before the publication in this Review (vol. vii. p. 321) of Professor Plumptre's paper on "Church Parties." With the exception, however, of occasional references to what these gentlemen have written, I have left it much as it was.

† First Series.

uneasiness, if they were supported by proof:—"Personal religion declines among them, and a high standard of holiness can now only be found among Catholics, with, perhaps, few exceptions belonging to a generation fast dying out, and leaving no successors." Once more, in the March number of the *Contemporary Review* for the present year, the able and cultivated Professor Plumptre feels it his duty to sum up his judgment of them in words such as these:—"And yet it is clear, in spite of all that is thus worthy of honour in their past and present action, that the Evangelical school is, as a whole, losing ground; that it does not promise, as it is, to be prominent as an element for good in the future history of the English Church." Now it is plain that if all this, or one-half of it, be true, it is a matter of some importance to Churchmen generally; and it is worth every man's while to inquire into the reasons of a decay which can be inevitable only if it is deserved. If there must be parties in the Church as well as in the State, let us at least make the best of what we cannot prevent. We may thankfully admit, with good Archbishop Whately, that there is at least some compensation for the scandals and sorenesses of religious parties, in the hearty co-operation which they generate, in the mutual regulation which they compel, and in the useful division of labour which they promote. If some things divide us, more unite us. Whatever may be the existing parties in the English Church, however marked their divergencies from each other, however sharp and inevitable their occasional conflicts, if each is an instrument of Providence for accomplishing the Divine purposes, then the decay of one is to the loss of all.

Professor Plumptre contemplates us as one standing apart from the battle, with the impartial yet friendly spirit of a neutral. I am sure he has endeavoured to do us justice: I also think it possible, that, had he known us better, he would have done us more justice still. Neutrality has its advantages; yet it is not unfrequently counterbalanced by a want of accurate understanding of both the persons and opinions over whom it holds, in such calm and motionless hands, the scales of Justice. I value Professor Plumptre's good opinion, I envy his culture, I respect his courage, I thoroughly appreciate and reciprocate the fairness with which, on the whole, he writes of the Evangelical school. Yet in the conviction that a friend's eyes see at least as well as a stranger's, and that in near and constant and familiar and unreserved intercourse there are opportunities for complete information which do not even exist for others, I am glad to be permitted to supplement Professor Plumptre's paper by this one of mine; not, however, in any way claiming to speak for one other human being beside myself, nor presuming or expecting to be thought an advocate for brethren who have not hired me, or a mouthpiece of

men whose opinions I have not asked. I write as one who, though he may not know as much as others know of the Evangelical clergy, himself is thankful to belong to them, has lived all his life among them, owns among them some of the dearest friends he possesses. The very name of Evangelical seems to him, when rightly understood and applied, to be the very fittest name by which a Christian man can be called. His great desire for himself is, that he may more and more deserve to be called by it; his one wish for his brethren is, that neither in doctrine nor in practice they may ever forfeit that name.

To glance for a moment at the entire field of which the present paper proposes to discuss a part, the three schools of opinion now existing in the English Church are the Anglican, the Liberal, and the Evangelical. Each has existed, at least in germ, from the Reformation; and it is a plausible explanation, that describes each as the expression of a distinct principle and the instrument of a separate purpose. As a matter of history, however, the Anglicans date their birth from the Stuarts, and their revival from the Oxford movement of 1832. The Liberals sprang from the Revolution. The Evangelicals during the Commonwealth and the Restoration were, perhaps, chiefly represented outside the Establishment; and as an actual Church party can hardly boast of more than three generations, owning as their immediate ancestors the Wesleys and the Bertriges of the last century. The Anglicans are the most numerous, the Liberals the most powerful, and the Evangelicals the most useful.

It is hardly a matter of question that the Anglicans are numerically equal, if not superior, to the Liberals and Evangelicals put together. For they not only include the Ritualists at one extremity and cautious old-fashioned Churchmen at the other, but they also fairly claim that large number of persons, both lay and clerical, who, not possessing any very definite theological opinions of any kind, prefer to identify themselves with that religious school which is, on the whole, most acceptable to the educated mind of the upper classes.

The Liberals are the most powerful. Not, indeed, that they have anything like a monopoly either of learning or of intellect, or that their system of doctrine can ever be expected to become a great spiritual power in extending the kingdom of God. Man pitted against man, the Anglicans are a match for them; and if the Liberals are led by the Dean of Westminster, the Anglicans follow the Bishop of Oxford. But it does so happen that the theological questions most interesting and most pressing at the present moment are being mainly worked out by the Liberals. Like Gideon's three hundred, if they are so few that you can count them on your

fingers, they are for the most part picked men—knowing what they want, and why they want it; quite unencumbered by unmanageable or intolerant followers, marching straight on in a well-considered line of their own. While, on the one hand, they do not irritate the advocates of religious liberty by lofty assumptions of apostolical authority, on the other hand they do not often care to disturb the repose of self-satisfied human nature by strong statements of natural depravity or solemn calls to repentance. Cultivated men of all classes are attracted to them by many and strong affinities, and until the Church has once more settled down from her present excitement into a permanent repose, the body that deposits the ideas, which cause the fermentation, must be a main centre of influence.

And the Evangelicals are the most useful. When, however, we venture to claim for them this great distinction, we would not say, for one moment, that the Anglicans have not laid the entire Church under the debt of a real obligation. The revival of church-building and the restoration of church-architecture, the vast and ever-spreading improvement in the solemnity and attractiveness of public worship, the great impulse given to the study and practice of church music, the extension of the Church in the colonies, and the stirring up of Church feeling at home are all of them services for which hearty praise is due to the great Anglican school. To the Liberals, moreover, we are indebted for the recent relaxation in the terms of subscription. It is they who have from time to time successfully compelled, if not always discreetly conducted, the thorough discussion of fundamental questions, which, in course of time, had come to be greatly overlaid with unauthoritative private tradition, and on which, confessedly, either the silence or the ambiguity of our formularies sanctions a considerable latitude of thought. All parties in turn may, sooner or later, have cause to thank them for having fought out the battle of religious liberty; and though in several, and these infinitely important subjects, some of them sadly fail to satisfy the just claims of strict orthodoxy, those who regard them with hopefulness and charity cannot help seeing, that it is in not a few instances rather a question of more truth to acquire than of distinct error to renounce; and to a greater extent, probably, than any other Churchmen, they bid fair to win back under Church influence that large and continually increasing section of educated society, which has hitherto been either indifferent or sceptical.

But, I repeat it, the Evangelicals are the most useful, and in asserting this I earnestly hope not to be thought guilty of conceit or arrogance. It may be quite true that their usefulness has not hitherto been of a very prominent or brilliant character; that, for very intelligible reasons, they have never much laid themselves

out for literary or scientific acquirements; that they have unfortunately failed to take their fair share in Church affairs, that they have done themselves positive injustice by refusing to come to the front, and assert their place among Churchmen. Their chief field of labour has been the heart and the conscience, by the sick-bed, and in the village school-room. Their first and perhaps their greatest victories were won, when they were either ignored or despised; and their highest claim to respect and gratitude, is the great extent to which, mainly through their instrumentality, the doctrines of the cross have made their way through all classes of Churchmen, and the devout consent with which almost the entire mind of the English communion recognises those vital and central truths, which two generations back were either pitied or denounced as the heresies of enthusiasm. Nay, we may almost go so far as to maintain it as in great measure owing to the Evangelical fathers, that the preaching of the living English clergy is so profoundly leavened with the teaching of St. Paul; and it is a result, not to boast over, but to thank God for, that the favourite hymns of the founders of Evangelicalism have not only made their way into every Church hymn-book, but are daily sung with heartiness by the grandchildren of the men who would have hunted them out of the Church. But they have yet other claims on us. If we are indebted to Anglicans for church-restoration and church-psalmody, surely it was the Evangelicals who disinterred preaching from the deep and cold tomb into which it had fallen, while they first, as a class, ventured on the experiment of extemporaneous preaching, now appreciated as it deserves by all practical men. Of church-building they have taken almost more than their full share, and perhaps no English clergyman has exerted himself more in this direction than Mr. Daniel Wilson, Vicar of Islington. In the establishing and conducting of national schools they have done their duty fairly, and in Sunday schools have been surpassed (this not by any means everywhere) only by Dissenters. Until quite recently, they alone among Churchmen have cordially taken up the ragged-school movement, and, but for them, lay agency would never have had the opportunity of supplementing the efforts of the clergy in populous districts. Though they have never shown much readiness to carry out the Church system in such matters as daily services and the observance of saints' days, the time thus saved they have generally been careful to spend on the more pressing duty of pastoral visitation; and perhaps this part of a clergyman's office may not improperly be said to owe, if not its origin, at least its revival to the Evangelicals of thirty years ago. In the development of parochial machinery, and in the promoting of the various benevolent arrangements which contribute so largely both to the com-

fort and even the maintenance of the poor, all sections of the Church show an admirable energy. But it is just indicative of an activity not yet quite extinct among us, that the parochial flower-shows now held in various parts of the country were first in the Metropolis held in St. George's, Bloomsbury, under the auspices of Mr. Emilius Bayley and Mr. Hadden Parkes; while, to pass from present to past times, the first cheap religious periodicals in the shape of the *Children's Friend* and *Friendly Visitor*, the first school for clergymen's daughters, and the first private training school for the teachers of infant schools, were set on foot and maintained at the cost of great personal labour by Mr. Carus Wilson, Rector of Whittington, who some fifty years ago was refused priest's orders by his own bishop on account of the supposed Calvinism of his opinions, and received them at last from Archbishop Vernon.

"Christianity, then, would sacrifice its divinity, if it abandoned its missionary character, and became a mere educational institution. Surely this article of conversion is the true *articulus stantis aut cadentis ecclesie*. When the power of reclaiming the lost dies out of the Church, it ceases to be the Church. It may remain a useful institution, though it is most likely to become an immoral and mischievous one. Where the power remains, there, whatever is wanting, it may still be said that 'the tabernacle of God is with men.' " *

Apply this test to the clergy of the Evangelical school, and they will not be found wanting. The British and Foreign Bible Society and the Religious Tract Society belong as much to Dissenters as to Churchmen, but the Churchmen, with the exception of a few Liberals, are almost exclusively Evangelical. But the Church Missionary Society, the Church Pastoral Aid Society, the Colonial and Continental Society, the South American Missionary Society, the Society for the Establishing of Irish Church Missions, owe their existence, as well as their support, to this school; while alone among English Churchmen, Evangelicals seem to look upon the Jews as either worth saving, or capable of being saved. It is true that they do not cordially aid the Gospel Propagation Society, and both on public and private grounds it is perhaps a far-seeing discretion that has kept that society and the Church Missionary on terms of friendly but complete independence. In the support, however, of the venerable Christian Knowledge Society the Evangelical clergy come forward in ample numbers; and the council of the London Diocesan Home Mission is almost entirely filled from their ranks. While the Anglo-Continental Society represents the hearty sympathy of Anglicans with Christian effort on the Continent, the Foreign Aid Society, through the experienced aid of Mr. Prebendary Burgess has for many years

* "Ecce Homo," p. 258.

dispensed the aid of the Evangelical body to the Protestant non-episcopal communities. Other associations of a religious and charitable nature might easily be named which have been started and maintained by the disciples of this school within the memory of living men; but the principal among them have been already mentioned; and indeed few will be found to deny that whatever may be the prudence of their enterprises, the skilfulness of their methods, the wisdom of their instruments, or the amount of their success, the Evangelical clergy of the present generation are justly entitled to the credit usually given to zeal, energy, and perseverance in furthering, to the best of their ability, the kingdom of Christ.

May I confess to a special motive for having so far traversed ground which Professor Plumptre himself, with a spirit of evident fairness, has already rapidly travelled over, and for having claimed attention to facts which, however creditable to those whom they immediately concern, have their true origin in the grace of God, and are not matters for us men to vaunt about. Professor Plumptre alludes to a prevalent notion (only, however, generously to contradict it) that the Evangelicals are "a party all but effete." I, too, deny that, and I bring these facts to prove my denial. It costs nothing, as we all know, to praise dead men. It is quite another thing to be just to the living, who are our rivals or our foes. But let the tree be judged by its fruit. If we are not as good as our fathers, I venture to say that we are still not unworthy to be their children. We at least in some degree develop their ideas, and maintain their institutions, and promote their plans, and cherish their traditions, and honour their memories, and contend for their faith; and when people say of us that we are dying out, or becoming worldly, or letting go our great traditions, or forsaking the place in the front of the battle, bequeathed to us by those who were at once the life-blood of English Christianity and the salt of the entire national Church, all we say is, God forbid. May we see our faults that we may amend them, our opportunities that we may use them, our dangers that we may avoid them, and our privileges that we may keep them.

So far we have considered the past and present efforts in Church work of the Evangelical clergy. There yet remain three chief topics, which we will take in their order. First, the subsidiary methods by which they use and extend their influence. Second, the questions, both of a doctrinal and practical kind, on which, from their own point of view, they are fairly liable to a reasonable criticism. Third, what they must consent to see and do, if they would take their right position and fulfil their proper work in the Church of Christ in England.

When we look for their organization, we find nothing among

them precisely corresponding to the English Church Union among the advanced Anglicans; and I, for one, confess I don't wish to find it. When Mr. Ryle says, in his address at the last Islington meeting, "For want of organization, we often find ourselves as helpless as a mob: we have numbers, strength, good will, and desires to do what is right; but, from lack of organization and generalship, we are as weak as water;" if he means that we want drilling for party warfare, as electors are drilled in the United States for political purposes, I regret to differ from him, but differ from him I do. Two or three Church Unions inside us would soon do the work of wild horses, and tear poor Mother Church into a hundred sects. Here I cannot but go with Professor Plumptre, and, using his words for the Broad Church School in reference to the Evangelicals, I would say our worst enemies could not wish for us "a more evil destiny than that we should attach ourselves to the agency of caucuses and committees, to an unscrupulous propagandism, to cheap organs in the newspaper press." But I think also that we have already to our hand quite machinery enough for all essential purposes. There is the London Clerical Conference, dating from 1859, numbering already not far short of two hundred of the metropolitan clergy, and affording a convenient opportunity during nine months in the year for discussing both practical and controversial questions. The Islington Clerical Meeting, born many years ago in Bishop Wilson's library, draws every January, both from the provinces and the metropolis, a large gathering of clergy to be addressed on selected subjects by the Evangelical leaders. One thing at least may be said of this meeting, that it is anything but a "Mutual Glorification Society." Our brethren and fathers are very faithful to us, and we listen there to the counsels of most candid friends. In the course of the summer another clerical gathering takes place in the eastern counties under Mr. Hollond's presidency; others occasionally at Southport, Weston-super-Mare, Peterborough, and Tunbridge Wells. On all grounds, meetings of this kind are a conspicuous good. Though the area of discussion is not so wide, nor the interchange of thought so complete as when men of different schools meet for the temperate discussion of open questions, there is still a real gain in bringing together men of congenial sentiments for personal and confidential intercourse; we consent to hear from friends, whom we esteem, what we resent from opponents, whom we distrust; and it is for the general advantage of the Church at large, that each party within her pale should from time to time clear their ground, ascertain their objects, define their principles, and improve their methods.

In their use of the press, the Evangelicals in the Church, like the

Conservatives in the State, have never sufficiently recognised the enormous value of that most potent instrument, and have been content to confine themselves to the publication of elementary tracts for working people, instead of also grappling with the questions that affect and interest the upper and educated classes. Their chief monthly organ is the *Christian Observer*. The *Christian Observer* has been sixty-six years in existence; and it may disarm the prejudices of any, who suppose it to have been started to undermine Church principles, and weaken Church discipline, if we copy here from the first volume a statement of the views of its original promoters:—

“ We wish to state, unequivocally, the theological principles which will obtain in this work so far as the sentiments or the conductors are concerned, and it may not be sufficient to repeat that they are the views which the Church of England maintains, because it is matter of controversy what those views are. We shall, therefore, occupy this division of our miscellany at present with the republication of three works which will most clearly define the sense of the Church in all matters necessary to salvation, and by which sense we wish our own sentiments to be inferred; we mean the Catechism of King Edward, the declaration of doctrines in Jewel’s Apology, and the Catechism commonly called Dr. Nowell’s.”

Possibly, if a publication claiming to be Evangelical were to be started now with such a prospectus as that of its views and intentions, it would be pretty warmly greeted by at least a few among us as mere High Churchism in disguise. It is difficult for us in 1868 quite to appreciate the day when bull-baiting was openly practised, when pluralities and non-residence were the rule, rather than the exception, when wakes and fairs corrupted our villages, when the slave-trade was yet to be abolished. Of course we do not say that the *Christian Observer* effected all these changes, but we do say that any one who will look through its numerous volumes will readily admit that its voice was ever consistently and continually, and too often singly, lifted up in protest against these evils. No one in the Church of that day much cared about the reforms that now we all rejoice in, save the Evangelicals; by them, more than by any within the Establishment, were they mainly brought about. The *Christian Observer* still exists, with all its hereditary moderateness of opinion, and much of its old quiet power. It is, however, but slenderly supported by the present generation of Evangelicals: a young and vigorous periodical, the *Christian Advocate*, is occupying precisely the same ground; and we are disposed to think that it might judiciously be transformed into a cheap quarterly, and do its old work under a new form.

The attitude of the Evangelical clergy towards Nonconformists has often been caricatured, and still more often misrepresented. We believe it, however, to be on the whole in perfect accordance with Christian principle and liberal sentiments; and though it

may not always have been reciprocated as we might wish, there can be no doubt that we have in a great degree conciliated the esteem and disarmed the prejudices of those, whom an attitude of stern contempt would soon goad into enmity. If Anglicans resist attack, perhaps Evangelicals prevent it. Which is better? To shake St. Peter's keys in the face of our opponents, and to claim to be obeyed on the authority of our orders; or, contented to prove our faith by our works, shall we use the weapons of Apostolical truth rather than of disputed authority, and prefer to win our way by exalting our Master instead of by asserting ourselves? This, indeed, is not the place for discussing Church principles; and there may be a better opportunity presently for pointing out how far we Evangelicals may move yet further in this direction in perfect consistency with our own principles. All I wish to say is, that by this line of conduct I am persuaded we have, in our own way, indirectly strengthened the Church's defences; and it is the hearty desire of many of us, not only not to go back, but to go forward; not only to join hands across the sea with the non-Episcopal communities of Switzerland and Italy, with the Scandinavian Churches in Norway and Denmark, but to welcome our northern brethren into our English pulpits, and to be in a position to share with men like Tulloch, and Caird, and Muir, and Boyd, and Watson, and Macleod (men with whom we have actually far much more in common than we have with Mr. Frederick Lee or Mr. Orby Shipley) the public ministrations of our common religion.

And now I come to the most delicate, the most difficult, in some respects the most invidious task of all, that of trying to point out what, in my humble and, I am sure, very fallible judgment, are the imperfections and errors both of our methods and our system; and to indicate, if hesitatingly, still with entire conviction both of mind and conscience, how, without any compromise of truth or surrender of principle, we may become more united, more powerful, more respected, and so more useful than now.

*"Ἀπαντῆς ἴσμεν εἰς τὸ νοθεύειν σοφοί,
αὐτοὶ δ' ἀμαρτάνοντες οὐ γινώσκουσιν.*

With respect, first of all, to doctrine, while content and thankful to abide steadfast in the teaching of our Evangelical fathers, in some points I fear we come somewhat short of it; in other points I seem to see a growing tendency to impose modern developments of doctrine, either as essential articles of the faith or as arbitrary tests of orthodoxy.

The question of inspiration, for instance, as affecting the meaning and value of the Book, which Christians should love more than the whole world, is, indeed, the crucial question of our time. Too much

patience and wisdom and acuteness and learning cannot be devoted to it; all schools in the Church recognise its importance: the wonder is that it has been so little discussed before. But it is just this last fact that makes forbearance and moderateness so essential in our controversies about it. That it is, in a broad and intelligible sense, a new question, should compel from all fair and modest thinkers the candid acknowledgment of difficulties not yet overcome, of inquiries not yet concluded. For inspiration lies in the region of fact rather than in that of theory; it must be worked out by simple induction from the Scriptures themselves, and in the light (not dreaded but welcomed) of science and history; not to be ingeniously constructed even by the ripest of scholars sitting down among his books to think out what it ought to be. Scripture itself has not given us any definition of it; the three creeds are silent on it; the fathers seem hardly to have studied the question at all; our Articles in no sense settle the difficulty in the point where it most perplexes us; and, therefore, however grateful we ought to be to good and able men who devote themselves to the subject, we positively decline to accept any individual theory about it as the Catholic faith: gladly and thankfully listening to whatever scholars and divines like to propound to us, we can permit no man, whoever he be, to impose his own views upon us, as if they were anything more than private opinions, or possessing an authority to which Churchmen must bow. "The Bible is the Word of God." "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation." Surely these two sentences—the former an orthodox tradition, the latter an authorized declaration—if sufficient for our fathers, may be sufficient for us. Let us have room enough to walk within these limits, refusing to see them narrowed. Let us give and take the liberty of believing just what we please on the great and almost insoluble controversy about verbal or plenary inspiration. Christianity is not endangered by the question being still in suspense, how much or how little the Mosaic narrative is in precise harmony with the discoveries of science. Christ is risen from the dead. This is the true foundation of our blessed religion, and the power of His word to convert and to sanctify is a simple fact, which can be made neither more nor less true by all the discussions of all the divines in Christendom.

As to the Atonement, it is the barest justice to admit, that to the Evangelical clergy it is in great measure owing, that the light and joy and power of this central Christian doctrine did not die out of our pulpits fifty years ago. They and the Wesleyans together kept alive in the English Church (so far as preaching could do it) the fact and the doctrine of our Saviour's passion. But it is just possible that through our intense conviction of the blessedness of this Gospel and our unwearied study of it, and our continued exposition of it,

some of us may have (quite unconsciously and unintentionally) overlaid the plain Scriptures of God with our own human deductions, making the Bible answerable for assertions and inferences, not fairly deducible from it, and so teaching for doctrines the commandments of men. Our own Article asserts, that Christ suffered "to reconcile his Father unto us, and to be a sacrifice not only for original guilt, but also for all actual sins of men." We are not, however, justified by this in encouraging our people to infer a distinction between the love of the Father, and the love of the Son, in their great redeeming purpose, or to speak of the Father's righteousness and the Saviour's pity, as if it was not God the Father who, in his love to the world, sent his Son to redeem it, as if the perfect and sinless Jesus did not abhor sin with all that entire and awful abhorrence, with which it must ever be regarded by the mind of God. And, surely, in our public expositions of Christ's death and sufferings, it is wiser, safer, humbler, to tread very delicately, very reverently, on such holy ground; neither to come short of Scripture in all that it tells us of His being made a curse and a propitiation for us, nor to go beyond Scripture in speaking (as some have done) of the Father's wrath with his Son, at the moment when the Son was most completely accomplishing all His Father's will. This expression can be no more than at best an uncertain inference, for it has no actual basis in the inspired narrative of the passion; and, while quite unnecessary for the full exposition of the vicariousness of Christ's atonement, is shocking and distressing to not a few simple hearts, which cannot bring themselves thus to understand the character of God.

As to Baptism, on the other hand, there is some reason to fear, not only that we are not abiding in the doctrine of our fathers, but that we too often practically fail in being consistent with our own views, scanty and imperfect though they be. The three Evangelical writers on this subject, that it occurs to me to mention, are the Rev. Charles Simeon, Dean Boyd, and Prebendary Griffith, of Ram's Chapel, Homerton. The work of Mr. Simeon, to which I refer, is a series of Sermons preached on the Prayer Book, in 1811, before the University of Cambridge. Dean Boyd's vigorous work on Baptism, published about three years ago, is a timely proof, that one at least of the leaders of the living Evangelical clergy is not disposed to look on Holy Baptism as but hardly more than an act of ecclesiastical registration. Mr. Griffith's thoughtful and valuable book on "The Spiritual Life," published in 1835, propounds what many believe to be the sound and scriptural, as well as really Evangelical, doctrine on the matter, and is the best protest I know against those, who accuse us of using the Baptismal Service in a dishonest and non-natural sense. To indicate, even in the briefest way, what to the writer at

least seems the true Evangelical doctrine of Baptism might be to turn this paper into a theological tract, and to enunciate an individual creed which could carry no kind of weight with it. This, however, let me say on this matter, that, though we may not be able to go all lengths with High Churchmen in their use of the word *regeneration*, we claim our own use of it as reasonable and scriptural; and while unwilling to affirm or teach about Baptism what Scripture does not, in our judgment at least, justify us in affirming, we deeply revere it as an institution of our Lord's, we thankfully welcome it as the sign and seal of the new covenant, as the method of our admission into the Christian family, as the sure pledge of grace and help from God. Never to explain the meaning, or to enforce the necessity, or to declare the responsibilities, or to expound the privileges of this sacrament is surely to fail in delivering all the counsel of God; while to address our people as if they were heathens, when they are, at least in name and position, Christians, is certainly not to imitate St. Paul's teaching, and is to forfeit a real vantage-ground for declaring the truth. Yet there is some reason to fear that, in not a few Evangelical pulpits, from one year's end to another, the doctrine of Baptism is not only never explained, but hardly even alluded to. What wonder if our congregations, never instructed by us about it, are easily led away after strange doctrines, either on this side or that? How may Christ be expected to regard a system of teaching, which may not only be said, (as may be said in a degree of all systems in turn,) to declare His truth imperfectly, but which deliberately consents to be altogether silent on one of the two sacraments, which He Himself instituted, and which our Church emphatically declares to be "generally necessary to salvation"?

From doctrine to preaching is a natural transition; and though I do not pretend to understand Professor Plumptre's precise meaning where he says, "it has been the weakness of the Evangelical school to ignore, more or less completely, the influence of art on men's religious life," I quite agree with him that our preaching has been "too bounded in its range:" in one or two respects also, it may be "pitched in too high a key" for average human nature; most of all do I concur with him in an expression of thankfulness (though possibly my grounds for it may differ from his) that—

"Regardless of logical consistency, they have proclaimed election as inviting every man to claim it. They have preached the Atonement as St. Paul and St. John preached it, as made, and that not fruitlessly, for all men. They have taught men that the root of personal religion lies deeper than in sacerdotal or ritual acts or moral actions. . . . and that there must be a change, a turning, a conversion of the soul."

This is valuable praise, and I only hope we shall always deserve it;

logical inconsistency being just that kind of censure to which scriptural teachers must always be liable. For thereby, while we are true to God and His word, we are also true to ourselves and our conscience. Logic, in itself, can do nothing but draw a straight line from a given point. It can neither make that point the true one to start from, nor so much as rightly select it. Believing, as I most firmly do, that, on the whole, logic has done more harm to theology than it has done good, and that in encumbering the way of salvation with intricate but inexorable propositions, it has made the way of life, intellectually, at least, far straiter than God ever meant it to be, I fervently hope we shall all of us be less and less anxious to reconcile logically the apparent contradictions of Holy Scripture—more content fully to preach both St. Paul and St. James—cheerfully leaving them to settle their own differences with each individual conscience, without too much interference or explanation of ours.

Some of the subjects, on which I venture to think our teaching defective, are, no doubt, of secondary importance; and any one can appreciate the value which an earnest teacher sets on his two half-hours a week, as well as the reluctance which ought to be felt in abstracting from matters actually affecting salvation attention to those which only accompany it. Still I am satisfied that our omissions even in these respects most seriously affect our usefulness. How is it, for instance, that we so seldom attempt carefully to instruct our people on the meaning of Church authority, and on the nature of right Church principles? Is it a matter of such utter indifference, to what Christian communion we belong, that not once in twelve months is it deemed worth while, by perhaps a great majority of us, to invite the attention of our flocks to the true grounds, for which reasonable people are justified in conforming to an Established Church, instead of separating from it; or to an episcopal form of Church government as best adapted to us, and in harmony with the Apostolic idea? It is really no exaggeration to say, that hardly from one year's end to another is one Evangelical congregation in twenty ever instructed on the essential differences, that distinguish the Church of England from the Nonconformist bodies; the result being that multitudes in our congregations are Churchmen, not by conviction, but by accident; attracted to church, not through any intelligent preference for the Church system, but by the uncertain and personal liking for an individual clergyman, with no answer to give to those who are on the watch to entice them to other communions—and so the easy prey of the Papist, on one hand, or the Plymouth sectaries on the other. Nor is this quite all the mischief; for through such imperfect teaching the attention is apt to be too exclusively fixed on the personal interests of our own spiritual life, to the neglect of those of the entire body.

To borrow Canon Bernard's idea, the piety of the present day encloses itself too much within the limits of the individual life: we forget that we are members of a family, and that on us and our efforts and our prayers and our sympathies the welfare of many others may depend.

It is the fashion now to say, and the remark is equally applicable to all the clergy alike, that the pulpit is no longer a power in the country; and that if there is more preaching, there is less result. I suspect this to be the truth, to some extent, and it is easily to be accounted for. Not, however, by supposing that English people care less for scriptural truth than they did, or that the English clergy are less robust and less cultivated in intellect than they used to be, or that the Spirit of God does not bless us as of old. The reason I think is this, that we preachers are narrowing more and more the area of our teaching; withdrawing a larger and larger surface of common daily life from the practical application of Christian doctrine; seldom condescending to those minute details of moral and commercial and social life, in which our people are naturally so deeply interested; preaching in the conventional language of theologians, rather than in the plain English of our week-day intercourse; coming forth on Sunday, transformed into other men, so that our hearers hardly know us again. The dignity of the pulpit has well-nigh crushed all life out of us; and the unfortunate misunderstanding of St. Paul's declaration, that *at Corinth* he was determined to know nothing among them but Jesus Christ and Him crucified, has actually preventing the life-giving waters of the Gospel from going forth to heal and fertilize the world's life, through our supposing that our only duty is to teach men how to think correctly about the fact of the Lord's cross; and not also to bring men's duties, and joys, and amusements, and temptations under the light of that cross, that they may see what it means for them, and how their Lord's death is to teach them to live.

In a few weeks' time the entire political life of the nation will be stirred to its depths, and a great struggle will be fought out among us. How many English clergymen will have the tact, the power, and, may I not add, the true sense of duty to enforce on their hearers, as citizens of a free country, the duty of taking their share in the decision of the question; and (*without in the slightest degree biasing the settlement of the matter one way or the other*) enforce in plain and manly language the right principles, on which a conscientious and patriotic Englishman should discharge so important and solemn a trust. God forbid that we should ever speak as political partisans in that place, where rich and poor meet together before God, the Maker of us all; or that every young curate should feel it

his calling to explain to his hearers his peculiar views on the public questions of the day. God forbid also that we should hang back from our plain duty, as from time to time there may be occasion for it, from a feeble apprehension that our words should be twisted for evil, or from a secret feeling that not only we are totally ignorant of the subject, but that it is not worth while to qualify ourselves to teach upon it.*

But to come to graver matters, Döllinger has observed that this party is "entirely deficient in everything that is called theology;" while Bunsen, in one of his letters to Archdeacon Hare, writes, "Z (the Evangelicals) go on threshing the old straw;" and I quote these opinions, not as altogether concurring in them, but with the view of hinting that the meagreness of many Evangelical sermons is often to be explained by the entire absence of theological study after taking Priests' Orders; and that it is useless labour to try to pump water out of a dry well. The plain truth is that, until the English Universities take up the subject in earnest, and enforce on candidates for Holy Orders one year at least of regular theological reading, there is no use in the Bishops raising their standard in the Ordination examinations; and the English clergy must remain, as a body, far less well theologically trained than the students of Trinity College, Dublin, or of the Scotch Universities.

Now it is quite true that the majority of English congregations desire nothing so little as elaborate theological essays. But it is also true that they have a right to full, and careful, and systematic instruction; and it is the very first duty of a clergyman to qualify himself by regular and serious study to be the teacher of all his people—rich and middle-aged, as well as young and poor. No doubt, in large towns, pastoral duties make regular study impossible; and those who expect a modern clergyman to spend his days, and even his nights, in laborious visitation, are unjust in demanding from him on Sundays that full and ripe teaching which ordinarily can be produced only in leisure and repose. But how many of us, who have the opportunity for study, use it as we might? How many of us feel it in any measure a duty at all to persevere in anything like steady theological reading, when our examinations are over? The consequence is, that we stop short at the very elements; we work ourselves deeper and deeper into the ruts of conventional phrases, and party shibboleths, and theological watchwords, instead of expanding safely, freely, and blessedly into the mighty tracts of

* "In politics, as in all else that relates to human affairs, we must be careful to inculcate certain principles, to instil certain feelings. I do not ask the clergy, for instance, to make the persons they influence either Republicans or Royalists; but I wish they would more frequently let them hear of the ties which attach them to the great human society in which God has placed them."—*De Tocqueville*.

Christian truth on our right hand and on our left. Through not moving forward ourselves, we cannot help our people forward; and while others cast the blame on the barrenness and poverty of Evangelical doctrine, what ought to be blamed, is the mental sluggishness and emptiness of too many Evangelical men. To attempt completely to indicate the direction in which we may profitably and justifiably develop, in our pulpit teaching, the great cardinal truths of the Gospel, would be to transgress the limits of this paper. Still, to prove my assertion, let me show how, in two instances, at least, some of us fall short of our duty in not preaching the truth as fully as we might. With respect to the Atonement (to go back to it from another side), do we sufficiently point out its connection with the Incarnation, and that it was not so much accomplished on the cross, as completed on it? all that blessed human life from the manger to the tomb being, indeed, the fulfilment of the prophetic word, "Lo! I come to do thy will, O God." Do we press, as we might press, that, in the Lord's death, sin is condemned, as well as expiated? Do we proclaim, that by the Lord's death, God is reconciled to sinners, and, with St. Paul, implore sinners to believe it, and, on the strength of it, consent to be reconciled to God? Further, do we invite men to see not only the goodness, but the wisdom of God, in effecting our salvation, by explaining, in the language of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the fitness and the power of Christ's blood to purge away sin? Do we enforce that, as Christ's Atonement in itself was a life-long act, so our receiving of it, and applying of it to our souls, is a life-long act also, commenced, indeed, at the moment when by the act of a living faith we lay hold of God, but continued daily in the mortification of sin, in the surrender of our personal will, in the reconciling of our own aims and wishes to the more blessed plan of His eternal purpose for us, till our will is swallowed up in His, in the rest and sinlessness of heaven? Once more, do we unfold before them that elevating and ennobling view of sorrow, which, while it shrinks from the very thought of claiming an expiatory value, to the dishonour of our Lord's passion, does dare and rejoice to claim for it a disciplinary, and purifying, and sanctifying purpose, to a share in the fellowship of His sufferings; whereby His disciples, like Himself, learn obedience through the things that they suffer, and "fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in their flesh, for His body's sake, which is the Church"?

With respect to justification, Hooker's famous sentence is still, as it always was, an accurate statement of Evangelical doctrine. Here, too, as elsewhere, we may prefer to abide by the simple teaching of our own Article, and to trust as little as possible to artificial phrases and explanations, which, if sometimes necessary, are too often embar-

rassing and obscure. The doctrine of imputed righteousness, when stated in its proper relation to other doctrines, is at once the glory of God and the confidence of men. Rightly understood, it is in full accordance with Scripture, and is, indeed, the exact ground on which the Psalmist encourages us to expect forgiveness from God. Viewed in connexion with our spiritual union with Christ, and as the result of our incorporation into His mystical body, it is no longer liable to be scoffed at as a pious fiction; for what He has, we have, what He is, we are, if we are "members of his body, and of his flesh, and of his bones." Apart, however, from the great truth of the believer's identity with his Lord, through vital union with Him by faith, this blessed doctrine must necessarily be liable to very serious misconstruction, and is an instance of the fact, that a maimed truth can sometimes do more harm than an entire lie.

Again, there is cause to doubt if we are as careful in inculcating the methods of holiness as we are earnest in pressing the necessity for it; and it must, we think, be loss to the spiritual life of a congregation, if their teacher does not fully and clearly explain to them, not only what it means to put on Christ, and to grow in grace, but also how Christ is to be put on, and how habits of sin may be overcome. In how many Evangelical pulpits is there once in ten years a plain, wise, and scriptural exhortation on the right use of money? To what extent do we give advice on the enormously difficult question of alms-giving? What are our exhortations about self-denial? Are we careful to press the privilege of the Lord's Supper in a wise and yet marked way?

In country parishes especially, but also in towns, short sermons occasionally preached on such directly ethical subjects as honesty, chastity, truthfulness, brotherly kindness, would be of immense value, and make our doctrinal sermons tell with far more power. If St. John lays equal emphasis on our abiding in the doctrine of Christ as necessary to salvation, with our walking in love, why should not we? I once heard it said of an excellent old clergyman, now dead, that (so far, at least, as his preaching went) he was "a little afraid of bad works, but exceedingly afraid of good ones." This may sound an exaggeration, yet it would be hard to disprove the assertion, that, for six evangelical sermons on the nature of faith, we have but one on the meaning of holiness; and this, not in the least because Evangelical teachers do not feel the necessity of holiness, or are indifferent to its abundant increase among their people, but because they do not sufficiently see the importance of minute, detailed, continuous exhortation about it, and because they forget that while a man's opinions may be known only to himself, his life is evident to his neighbours; and as long as human nature remains what it is, faith will be weighed by works, and God will be glorified by obedience.

A good deal more might be added to illustrate the serious deficiencies of our pulpit-teaching, and it is much to be wished that, where circumstances justify it, we would consent to borrow from our Swiss friends on one side of us, and our High Church brethren on the other, the useful but almost obsolete method of public catechising. I seriously doubt if we shall ever reach the adult poor without something of this kind. But we must now hasten on to glance at some of the more practical questions, in which, partly through indifference, partly through, what I hope to be pardoned for calling, narrowness of vision, we have thrown away opportunities which it is our wisdom to value, and so failed to occupy our proper place in the Church. With reference first of all to questions of external Church polity, we have hitherto treated them as not even worth thinking about; our parish boundaries limit the world to us; in the strife for truth all round us, many of us indolently refuse to take the least share. If it is a miserable want of foresight to suffer the other Church parties to appropriate to themselves the settlement of all Church questions, it may also be a very sinful love of ease in us, that suffers us to shut ourselves up in our gardens and studies, caring most for our own comfort. In the annual Church congresses our leaders seldom choose to show themselves; and when a good-humoured High Churchman whispers the question, where we are to be found, no one rises to answer him. Is not this unsociableness something of a mistake? For it is impossible to pretend that we have nothing to learn from meeting our brethren; nor is it presumptuous to hope that, if we learnt from them, they might learn from us. It is difficult to see, how those among us, who deliberately approve of this exclusiveness, can evade the horns of a serious dilemma. Either we believe in our own principles, or we do not. If we do not, it is of course prudent not to expose them to the cold draughts of open discussion: it is an instinct of self-preservation that forbids us to imperil our position by hearing the other side. In such a case, however, we ought to surrender our opinions, and take up those that will stand. If, on the other hand, we believe in them, then it is our plain duty to proclaim them to others, and to give our brethren the benefit of them by boldly maintaining them in the face of the Church. There would then be no longer any excuse for hinting, that we are silent because we have nothing to say, and I firmly believe we should be all of us much the better for mixing freely with men of other schools.

Some of our brethren are apt to charge us with a good deal of self-conceit, and in one respect it is partially true. Through an imperfect knowledge of what can be said on the other side, some of us, at least, without quite meaning it, virtually claim for themselves the gift of infallibility, and either censure or pity the astonishing blindness, that

refuses to see with their eyes. Now there are two sorts of theological narrowness; and if the one, which proceeds from a harsh and bigoted nature, is irremediable, the other, which is the result of deficient culture, is simply accidental, and may easily be remedied by that which is the only real widener both of the heart and intellect, a fuller knowledge of the truth. Self-conceit is not peculiar to any class of men; but circumstances of seclusion, and the misfortune of imperfect information, no doubt tend to aggravate it; and where any section of society (clergymen not less than other people) isolate themselves deliberately from their fellows, it must follow that they will soon come to think no one like themselves, and make no scruple of saying so, though as individuals, apart from their party, they may be perfectly free from personal vanity or arrogance. On this account, also, it is that I venture so much to wish that the Evangelical clergy would begin to breathe the open air of the Church outside. Mutual knowledge would disarm suspicion, pleasant intercourse would promote feelings of kindliness, and while there need be no surrender of principle, we should at least find out how to hold certain great truths in common, and, where we differ, to differ with feelings of respect and charity.*

As to Convocation, I say plainly, our course hitherto has been suicidal for ourselves and unjust to others. By refusing to stir in the matter, we have suffered others to get the start of us, and, with the exception of two or three such men as the late Sir Henry Thompson, Canon Harvey, and Mr. Ashton Oxenden, we have had absolutely no one either to assert our claims, to express our convictions, or to maintain our existence. And how can it be fair to find fault with Convocation, and to accuse it of being nothing but a clerical debating society, when, in the first place, discussion is about the best as well as the only thing it can be busy about at present, and when we ourselves resolutely refuse to do anything to make it better? The time is at hand when a new Convocation must be elected. Let us open our eyes, and look about us. If men like Mr. Bayley, Mr. Ryle, Mr. Garbett, Dr. Miller, could be sent up into the Lower House, and our other friends already there would think it worth while occasionally to attend, though very much good might not be effected, some mischief might be prevented, and the question would not be shelved until it is too late to act.

In the celebration of Divine Service, and in that decorous regard to externals which is at once so attractive and, within due bounds, so legitimate, we Evangelicals have, with all our progress, yet

* The Rev. W. R. Fremantle, Rector of Claydon, has for some years past promoted with the happiest success a gathering of clergy of all schools in the diocese of Oxford, under the Bishop's presidency, and thereby earned for himself much respect and esteem.

much to learn. Of course it is not in human nature to combine everything; and if it was necessary to choose between a dry and jejune preaching with an imposing ritual, and a dull but decent ritual with a style of preaching that should stir men to their heart's core, wise men would prefer the latter. But why cannot a bright and hearty service be combined with effective and scriptural preaching? Why need we suffer Anglicans to monopolise the good singing, the hearty responses, the evident love of the prayers for their own sake, the devout reverence of the worshippers, which we see, not without envy, in churches where St. Paul's doctrine is not fully preached, which we do not see, as we wish to see them, in our own? To confound good music, and even a surpliced choir, with either Romanism or Ritualism is not only foolish, but it is unfair. I would not in the least advise that we should *push* for anything of this kind; my own personal preference is for the greatest possible simplicity, that is compatible with hearty, solemn, and reverent worship. But let us have liberty in the matter to exercise our own judgment, without thereby compromising ourselves as sound teachers and good Protestants. All I wish to maintain is, that if our congregations want these things, and are ready to pay for them, why should we refuse? Our business is with the doctrine; the only thing worth seriously contending for is that pure Gospel which it is always ours to protect, and may be ours, just as much as before, to proclaim. The trial has almost yet to be made of combining with a moderate but well-arranged Anglican ritual the full and vigorous preaching of Evangelical truth; and where circumstances permit it, it is an experiment which, if entrusted to strong and skilful hands, might be rewarded with an unexpected success.

To estimate rightly the prospects of the party, as well as to define with anything like accuracy its exact force in the English Church of this day, we must glance, however briefly, at its influence over the rising generation of clergy, its method of conducting controversy, its attitude towards Church reform and physical science, its faculty of appreciating the meaning of passing events. All Church parties are at the present moment in a state of flux, and though the existing landmarks are likely to continue as they are, there will probably be a yet greater disturbance, before there can be a permanent settlement. During the last few years death has robbed us of some of our best men. Mr. Hugh Stowell was a genuine Englishman, of high disinterestedness, great oratorical ability, and unswerving honesty and courage. Mr. Garnier, Dean of Lincoln, had just begun to bring to bear on one of the most exclusive of cathedral cities the power of his cultivated mind and meek piety, when he was called away to his rest. Dr. Marsh may have survived his pulpit influence, but

there will survive him for years and years the inspiring memory of a devoted and saintly life. While St. George's, Bloomsbury, remains a parish, Bishop Villiers's memory will be cherished there. Mr. Hampden Gurney perhaps combined in himself some of the best qualities of all our Church parties; and it might be unfair for us to claim him as altogether ours. But if his sturdy nature always preferred an independent line of action, we have only to read his published writings to be thankfully convinced that his doctrine and preaching were Evangelical. Dr. McCaul is universally admitted to have been a man of varied and profound learning. Mr. H. V. Elliott, of Brighton, and Mr. John Cunningham, of Harrow, were both men of considerable accomplishments and widely extended influence. And the question is, who are coming on fit to carry forward the succession? So far as an individual judgment is worth anything, I venture to affirm, that there are a good many of the younger as well as middle-aged clergy, who, though they are not against us, are not with us. Evangelicals in doctrine, they are neutral in their Churchmanship. Preaching our Gospel, doing our work, perhaps respecting our motives, they are careful to keep aloof from us as a Church body, they decline to identify themselves with our policy or our organization. Perhaps there are three chief things that bring about this coldness. It is quite clear that the present movement of the Church, as directed by the civil power, is towards comprehension; and the recent relaxation of the terms of subscription will probably lead, not only to the absorption by the Church generally of a greater number of cultivated and thinking minds, but will also conduce to a greater latitude of opinion within the still definite limits of the several Church parties. Now this increased liberty our younger brethren are not disposed to give up at any man's call. Some, at least, of us have a good deal of independence. They see no cause to bind themselves to more than what the Church requires of them; they are unwilling to be needlessly convicted, some ten years hence, of inconsistency with the crude declarations of their youth; and they complain that we are somewhat too fond of protests and declarations, which as legal standards are simply worthless, as expressions of individual opinion are of importance only to those who concur in them, are apt to exercise an unfair pressure on young and dependent men, are most of all objectionable as practically enforcing a more rigid kind of subscription once in every three or four years. Many, again, think that the line taken by perhaps the majority of us, with respect to worldly amusements, is overstrained and injudicious; that while preaching with all possible boldness and fervour against the spirit of the world, and covetousness, and luxury, and that unbridled lust for pleasure that threatens to drown us all with a worse flood than

Noah's, we should be satisfied with laying down general principles without too much going into details; we ought not to measure the child by the man, nor attempt to govern mankind by the rules of the cloister. Thus to frown on a young man for going out with his gun, or riding after the hounds; to forbid a young girl to go wherever her parents choose to take her, is an offence, they say, to common sense, and tends to diminish the legitimate influence of all clergymen with a very important section of their flock. One thing more they object to us; and this, like the rest, I write down here, leaving it to be judged on its own merits. They say that we are narrow and intolerant in our opinions of others; that we are apt to use those very severe words, *unsound* and *unscriptural*, far too easily, far too hastily; that we do not sufficiently recognise the reasonable standing-point of others in the Church beside ourselves; that we do not honestly try to put ourselves in our opponent's place, nor to give full value to all his statements. If only we were wider and deeper in our sympathies, and more tolerant towards those who, though differing from us, possess an equal right with us to consider themselves taught of God, then we might hold our own position as sturdily and inflexibly as ever, and many of them would gladly come to stand at our side.*

Those who condemn the Evangelicals for being strong controversialists ignore both the meaning and object of party combination, and must in fairness condemn all Church parties alike. The object of controversy being to uphold truth against error, the only possible way of conducting it is to strike as straight and as hard as possible. The real matter of importance is not the reasonableness of controversy as an abstract question, but what are the circumstances that justify it; what are the fair and Christian methods of conducting it; what are the proper issues to which it may be legitimately pushed. The controversy of the hour is over what is called Ritualism; and happily we know from its own supporters so much of what it means and what it wants, that it is quite impossible from want of reliable information to describe it inaccurately or to explain it uncharitably. Dr. Littledale openly tells us, that "Ritualism is the object-lesson of religion," and that he and his friends value it, not for anything in itself, but simply as an appropriate and striking vehicle for conveying to the mind through the senses certain important truths and doctrines. Now, bearing in mind what these doctrines are, how is it possible that the Evangelicals can sit still and tolerate this? They would be unfaithful to every principle they possess, if they were to hold their peace. No doubt there

* * "Charity in the appreciation of opinions is the absolutely-needed counterpoise to theological inflexibility."—*Lacordaire*.

are more ways than one of protesting against false doctrine. In some cases it is quite sufficient to oppose the false by maintaining the true. The Pulpit and the Press are a two-handed sword at every man's disposal. And where the opinions from which we differ are nevertheless capable of a reasonable defence, and can honestly be held within the fairly interpreted limits of the Church formularies, all we need or should wish to do is simply to explain, where we think them erroneous, and why ours are truer. It never occurs either to a moderate Anglican or to a moderate Evangelical to wish to turn the other out of the Church. There is meant to be room, there is room, for both. We rejoice, where we can do so, to agree. We regret it, when we are compelled to differ. But there must be some limit to the expansiveness of theological boundaries; or why have them at all? and when men in our midst come out in our front and tell us, that it is their object to claim a place in the English Church, for what most English Churchmen hoped they had got rid of for ever at the Reformation, it is preposterous to talk about persecution or illiberality, because we try to ascertain by a solemn legal decision how far such innovations are justifiable. We have a plain right to know what sort of company we are to keep for the future, and if we are really reformed or not. How far it is wise to spend a great deal of good money in trying to decide such a matter, instead of waiting a little until there could be definite legislation on the subject, is a fair question for discussion, and there may be two opinions about it. Professor Plumptre's suggestion (if it were not almost too serious a question to joke about) is a very lively one, viz., that we should all of us begin to wear those pretty clothes, and so deprive them of their significance as symbols of doctrine. Worn for a month at Islington, at Cheltenham, and at Bath, they would, in another sense, soon be worn out altogether, and so we should hear the last of them. But I suspect that there must be a deal of hard fighting before the question is settled. We shall not so easily get rid of these daring innovations; and we are assuredly at the edge of a crisis which, unless there is unusual skill and firmness on the part of our ecclesiastical rulers, must sooner or later end in a disruption of some kind.

The future career and position of the Evangelical clergy may depend much on the part they take in the imminent and inevitable question of Church reform. We fear, however, that, with their usual indifference to external questions, they will not deem the matter worth thinking about; and they missed an opportunity, during Archbishop Sumner's primacy, which may never be theirs again. No doubt it is a question which, if prematurely handled, will be wretchedly bungled with; and if they have erred in not hastening

on a settlement of it, they have erred in common with the vast majority of cautious Churchmen. But a very ugly rush may be close upon us, and the Church may very soon be roughly told to set her house in order, and then Cathedral reform and Liturgical revision will be the cry of the day; and it is only too likely that we shall be found nodding when others are wakeful, and so those who have really thought about it, and know what they want to do, will have all the game in their hands. Why do we, who profess to be the disciples of Chillingworth, practically treat our most valuable but still uninspired formularies as if they were on an actual level with the very Word of God? Why is our English version of the Bible never to be improved, our Articles never to be revised, our Prayer Book not even to be touched? Words have changed their meaning; we have no longer even the shadow of Church discipline; certain portions of Scripture, that were practically a sealed book when the lectionary was settled, are now studied by thousands. Surely it is no presumption to say that no single age has a monopoly either of truth or wisdom. Surely it is a perfectly *reasonable* position to maintain that we, in our generation, are as qualified as our forefathers to draw up new Confessions or to revise old ones; nay, it is certain that not ten men could be found now who would re-write the Athanasian Creed precisely as it stands. Be it observed, it is not so much that we wish to alter these formularies at this particular moment—that is quite another question—and the recent relaxation in Subscription makes the necessity far less pressing: all we claim is the right and the privilege to alter them whenever we choose. Possibly, if we do not tolerably soon set about it ourselves, others will do it for us, and once more it will be found, when too late, that the true conservative method is a seasonable and temperate reform.

A very few words may suffice to prove that we have, as a body, by no means committed ourselves to any hostility towards science; and that though occasionally, like the rest of our brethren, we have yielded to the temptation of puzzling our hearers by premature and forced attempts to reconcile Divine Revelation with the imperfect discoveries of physical science, we have no fear that one part of God's truth can ever contradict another; the worst that can happen, is that some of us may be compelled to reconsider our theories of inspiration. Lord Shaftesbury—our great leader, who stands in his own lofty place as the first philanthropist in Europe, and the one man in England to whom, in a great social crisis, all eyes of all classes would instantly turn—has never proclaimed himself afraid of science, though he is very much afraid of sciolism. The following paragraph from one of the latest of Professor McCaul's writings will clearly show his views on the subject, and it may be safely affirmed that

every intelligent Evangelical clergyman will heartily endorse them as his own:—

“Let science pursue her boundless course, and multiply discoveries in the heavens and in the earth. Let criticism also continue her profoundly interesting and important work. Let her explore, sift, analyse, scrutinize, with all her powers the documents, language, and contents of Scripture, and honestly tell us the result. Faith feels no more fear of criticism than of science, being assured that neither can do anything against the truth, but for the truth.”

The last point I wish to notice is one that I had almost resolved to omit altogether, since it is an accusation which it is so easy to make, and so hard to disprove. I mean the statement already quoted, that personal religion is declining among us, and that as a class we now come far short of the lofty simplicity of earlier and better days. God grant that we may never deserve this reproach. God grant that, if we do, such a time of sifting and searching may come upon us, that, both for our own sake and for the sake of the Church at large, we may soon recover what we have lost. It is true, no doubt, that popularity has a tendency to deteriorate all of us; that when, for any reasons whatever, a system of doctrines or a set of persons become fashionable and sought after, worldly and time-serving men will creep in to wear the clothes, and use the phraseology, and profess the creed of those who do not want them, and who will not own them, yet cannot shake them off. And if Mr. Henry Venn's severe and solemn admonition at the Islington meeting of 1865, on the apparent flagging of our missionary zeal, was in any great measure well deserved, he may have probed a deeper wound than his hearers thought of. While, however, I dare not say that there is no cause for it, while it is certain that no creed, however orthodox, and no system, however scriptural, can preserve us from decay, unless we are striving to live near to our Saviour Christ, and to be made like unto Him in self-denial and humility, it is not necessary to accept all the harsh assertions of a not very wise or fair writer as accurate statements of the truth. It should be remembered, surely, that luxury is a relative word; that since the days of Berridge, and Flavel, and Walker the entire level of our English way of living has been very materially raised; and that, with the increased wealth of the whole nation, the incomes of the clergy, both from public and private sources, have increased in like ratio. It should be also borne in mind that the Evangelical clergy of these days are considerably recruited from the upper and wealthier classes,—consequently, live as clergymen just as they lived when laymen; most of all, let it be boldly asserted, that this new method of estimating a clergyman's personal character, simply by the supposed amount of his household

expenditure, may not only be an act of very petty espionage, but is certainly an unwarrantable interference with Christian liberty.

To draw to a conclusion, and to sum up most of what has been said before, if we mean to hold our own and maintain our present position in the English Church—already, as some say, slipping from us—we must be more quick to see the signs of the times, more ready and elastic in applying our great doctrines to the varying needs of human society, willing to take a share of the work that is ever going on outside our parsonages, endeavouring to make our teaching cover a wider field, and reach far more completely than it does now the educated classes of England. Let us be very tenacious about principles, and very indifferent about trifles. Let us not worship words, but earnestly contend for doctrine. Let us not confound doubt with unbelief; nor the habit of cautiously and patiently weighing evidence with a sceptical resistance to the truth. Let us be willing to co-operate with other schools, where we can conscientiously do so without compromise of principle; let us be sturdily, though pleasantly, obstinate where our paths diverge. Some say we want leaders. Our real want is the want of a policy. Resting on our oars, we make no way through the stream, while the later developments of the other religious schools are going fast ahead with all the fervour and with much of the rashness of youth. To go calmly but steadfastly on in our great crusade—not against each other, but against social wrongs, against brutish ignorance, against selfish luxury, against vice and evil of all kinds, against rationalistic and Romish aggression, in the old paths, but with renewed youth and freshness, be this the blessed aim of each of us; and then if it be true that the Church is really penetrating the masses, and leavening them with the truth of the Gospel, on one side while we shall show a noble and statesmanlike sympathy towards the small but real grievances of discontented Churchmen; on the other, we shall make a bold and decided movement for the healing of those far deadlier and sadder woes that are ulcerating our English life.

Those who remember Vienna ten years ago, before the fortifications were removed, and have seen it within the last few months, grandly growing outwards from the narrow and lofty Graben into wide and spacious boulevards on the very site of the walls that were supposed to protect the town, may be invited to recognise in it something of an analogy between the English Church as conceived to be guarded by the late rigid terms of Subscription, and now content to entrust herself to the less formally tested fidelity of her ordained sons. May we not hope that, in permitting more liberty, while there is no real danger to truth, there may be also more scope for expansion in the freer study of it; and that the most profound of all the

sciences—the only science which touches and hallows all others in turn—may come to be more fearlessly, more humbly, more patiently, more enthusiastically studied, whereby each school in the Church, moving more freely and easily, shall not only obtain a wider view of truth, but be mutually inspired with a larger charity, and so become a greater power for God in the world?

For what is it that a right-minded Churchman wishes for, as he looks round to consider the forces by which the Head of the Church fulfils His own will? Not the triumph of one set of men over another, but the victory of truth over error; not the supremacy of one party to the exclusion of others, but the continual improvement of those gifts of the Spirit with which each is endowed for the work it has to do. "The broken limbs of the world may yet be united if the broken limbs of the Church were united first." The Church indeed cannot be united by blinking differences, which will break out again with increased virulence—nor by compromising principles, which will soon re-assert themselves to our merited confusion. It can only be united in obedience to the immutable laws which have been ordained for it, and in a spirit of forbearance, and charity, and gentleness, and manliness, by preferring to follow conscience rather than to win popularity, and refusing to sacrifice truth for a hollow and worthless unity.

Oh, sometimes let us try to look on the Church as Christ looks at it from heaven, and love our brethren as He loves them; utterly disdaining to use the weapons of unfairness or detraction; thankfully consenting to see what we lose—nay, how we sin—by injustice or unkindness to those whom our Divine Master can consent to use and own, as He uses and owns ourselves! For He—the Lord of all who call upon Him, the Master of all who serve Him, the possession and reward of all who love Him—knows nothing of respect of persons, most assuredly is on the side of each one of us only just so far as we are on the side of truth.

ANTHONY W. THOROLD.



THE OLD MORALITY AND THE NEW.

FIRST PAPER.

1. *The Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson.* London: Bell & Daldy.
2. *The North American Review.* April, 1868. Article, "Quotation and Originality." By R. W. EMERSON.
3. *Poems of Walt Whitman,* Selected and Edited by WILLIAM M. ROSSETTI. London: J. C. Hotten.
4. *Poetical Sketches.* By WILLIAM BLAKE. London: Pickering.
5. *Quarterly Review.* Oct., 1867. Article, "The Talmud."
6. *On the Defective Morality of the New Testament.* By FRANCIS W. NEWMAN. Ramsgate: Thomas Scott.
7. *Against Hero-Making in Religion.* By F. W. NEWMAN.
8. *Fraser's Magazine.* August, 1867. Article, "Marriage Laws." By FRANCIS W. NEWMAN.
9. *Eccle Homo.* Eighth Edition. London: Macmillan & Co.
10. *Life and Writings of Emmanuel Swedenborg.* By WILLIAM WHITE. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co.
11. *Spiritual Wives.* By WILLIAM HEPWORTH DIXON. London: Hurst & Blackett.
12. *The Speculations of Lau-tze, the Old Philosopher.* By JOHN CHALMERS, M.A. London: Tribner & Co.

"GO far enough west, and you'll come to the east," says an old Slavonic proverb. In its original acceptance, no doubt, this simply expressed the idea which is embodied in our own time-honoured axiom, "Extremes meet." But we now propose to attempt giving it special illustration in the discussion of certain dominant and peculiar influences, which are unmistakably manifesting themselves on the other side the Atlantic, and even disturbing our quiet conservative repose as with troublesome electric thrills.

After some research, and not a little thought on the matter, our opinion is that the later intellectual or spiritual developments in America are essentially oriental—the return current of an electric

wave, which has its rise in the far East,—and that they cannot be fully understood till they are read in close relation with those earlier phases of thought and progress to which, although in a subtle, unaccountable, and most mysterious manner, they directly trace their root. Whatever may be said of Ralph Emerson and Walt Whitman, we fancy it will not be denied that they are typical of America. No man of the least knowledge, at all events, would dispute this assertion respecting the former. Our business shall be to show, in the proper place, that Whitman had not been possible save for the predominance of those peculiar forces which have gone to produce such a phenomenon as Emerson. While we were in the thick of reading over authorities, and cogitating on the ideas which we shall endeavour to develop clearly in the course of this article, by one of those strange coincidences of which life is so fertile, it was our good fortune to receive a letter from an old German fellow-student, who was known among us in those glad regretted days, as combining with German insight and German subtlety, a clearness and force which were scarcely German. What then was the writer's surprise and delight to find his unformed ideas thus confirmed by his friend, who wrote:—"Some kind English heart has been moved to send me a volume of Walt Whitman's poems. He is truly a strange figure that Whitman, with not only feet, but thighs of clay, and yet with a strange, not wholly irreverent eye, turned significantly to the orient. Whitman has a meaning; but not so much in himself as in his altogether unconsciously typifying the introduction of a new, or rather very old, electric wave into western culture. But there are hard enough things to be said of him, if one had time, and if fault-finding were more pleasant than it is."

This seemed in a general way to hit the mark; and as one's convictions gain considerably in strength so soon as they are found to be shared by another, we proceeded in our difficult task with renewed heart and larger confidence. We thus choose to make America our starting-point, because, although we have had in England very significant and surprising manifestations of the mystical, antinomian, properly oriental spirit, yet they have always been regarded as foreign, and looked on with distrust, taking no kind of practical hold on the minds and feelings of the great body of the people. In America, old ideas and feelings are held in solution along with the most puzzling elements of rude primitive life, especially that delight in mere physical strength, which, with all early peoples, has almost grown into a worship. Hence it is that those who have been almost outlawed in the court of morals and literature here, have found a happy resuscitation and a welcome in that country. William Blake and Emmanuel Swedenborg are more studied, and

looked upon with far more affection by the general body of thinking and reading people in America, than with us as yet; and before we have finished this article it shall be our business to inquire what has chiefly tended to this result. At present it will suffice to say that incidental glimpses at Blake and Swedenborg will furnish a good commentary and illustration to our text upon Emerson and the burdly poet of "fish-shaped Paumanok," when we come to speak of them in detail.

But it is possible we may be met with some objections to our at all treating of such a subject in these pages. It may be asked, for instance, Why force your readers into contact with that which admittedly tends on one side to license, excess, and obliteration of those old distinctions in which, as representing a corporate authority, safety, especially for the young, was conceived to lie? To this we answer, that exposure to such influences is not optional. Every reading and thinking person is now being appealed to by a hundred voices for his verdict on this very matter. The inmost moral fibre is constantly being stirred by a kind of subtle mesmeric touch, in which a body of accredited *littérateurs* are the expert proficient; and it is awakened to keen and eager activity, only to pass, by a law of reaction, into confirmed and chronic dulness and deadness. For these experts are earnest men, though their earnestness is galvanic and hardly healthily reproductive. In one word, we have a combination of reaction, grounding itself upon some laws of human development separated from their necessary and essential complements. What of truth they lay hold on, they know well will measure immediate result; and therefore it cannot be wholly beside the mark, since they are so busy at our side, to try and see how far they are in concord with the spirit of all the great moral reformers who have gone before them. "By their fruits ye shall know them;" by their kindred ye may know them also.

Nor can such a task, if well done, be without practical result, much as we shall have to deal with what is vague, doubtful, speculative. Men's lives and actions have always been peculiarly shaped and coloured by the creed they have held; and that again has, as of necessity, rested more or less securely on speculative doctrines. But the inquiry ought to be all the more interesting, inasmuch as it will involve issues of the greatest importance to each of us individually. For we shall from first to last be in reality studying the record of a great struggle, in which we find the human heart and intellect closely engaged, and driven restlessly from one point to another, almost like those spirits Dante paints in the fifth canto of his "Inferno." Mysticism and dogmatic belief; spiritualism, or the finding of the soul sufficient to itself; and religion, or the soul's

need of being steadied, anchor-like, by outer forms of revelation—these have been at strife from the moment men found mere instinctual reverence of external nature insufficient, and looked wistfully into each other's eyes, if perchance they might find there a clearer reading of the obscure lines of destiny and duty that vexed them night and day. And, as has been hinted, we shall find that this contest circles round two diametrically opposite forms of civilization; it is in its practical shape the duel of disparate moralities. It necessarily leads up, by many cross-lines and intersections, to that which is in essence metaphysical, speculative, and abstract, and which must be so far held in regard, if we would view the matter broadly and justly. For each speculative system, however nice and exact in its distinctions, must ultimately affect men's morals precisely in the measure that these distinctions can lay hold on convictions, and gather round themselves the affections of the heart. The subject must therefore grow in interest as we widen our range and try to bring the distant and the near so close together as to be mutually interpretive.

To make more clear many of the points which it will be our business to present, more especially in their application to individual writers, it is necessary that at the very outset we make a slight excursus to unfold our conception of the relation which necessarily subsists between morals and religion, since the whole conflict of which we have spoken results from these two being viewed falsely in connection with each other. Religion we regard as the full flower of the moral life. A moment's thought, however, convinces us that the first must be viewed as properly preceding and heralding the second. Mysticism, it will be admitted, is one of the most powerful mediums by which religion, in artificial times, has been divorced from morality; but mysticism, as we understand it, is not possible till the primitive or naturalistic impulse has crystallized itself into dogma, whose supports are mainly laid in moral conventions. Thus religion, so far as it is *supernatural*, precedes morals; morals, again, must precede religion, so far as it is *spiritual*. But we must at once explain terms. The word *supernatural* we here use as meaning that view of the universe which makes God an arbitrary power operating upon Nature from without, instilling fear in the minds of men, and setting them up against each other. By *spiritual* again we understand that associated consciousness which, through the ministry of symbols, aids men in approaching the ideal side of things, leading them to relinquish fear, and more and more to see in the sensible universe, down even to its lowest and commonest processes, a presence informed by spirit, and only existing to manifest its highest laws, as if through a graduated series of painful inversions. At first man only sees reflected in

external nature his own passions, his lower spiritual nature—that dim borderland of feeling and sensation which lies between the worlds of human and animal existence, uniting them, and yet strangely dividing them from each other. Moral relations gradually elaborated in shining symbols, like intensifying and quickening reflectors, are the mediums by which, through diffraction and intermixture, the simple and naturalistic instincts at length give place to those subtler and more complex spiritual affinities in which individuality seems to sink and disappear only to rise and reassert itself with multiplied power. Morals, we take it, are thus properly the point of union, the balance or medium of equipoise between the two great principles whose conflicts really make up man's intellectual history.

Bunsen, in one of those fine generalizations for which he was distinguished, significantly speaks* of a period in human history when there was no trace of individual consciousness of a divine government, though there were indications of such a consciousness in the community. Here we have in little the paradox and enigma of human progress as a moral development.

Individuality is the golden bridge between two universals. It stands strangely as a fluent middle term between the first vague instinctual turnings of humanity towards the divine and the social consciousness of Right and Justice. And this, we should not forget, issues mysteriously from the contact of manifold activities determined to a spiritual end, of which, however, each is unconscious, or but semi-conscious, till it beholds its own image blended with something of a divine perfection, on which, though absolutely different from it, it is upheld, and from which it derives all that gives it strength and promise of continuance. It is in this manner that the Divine appears in history. The ideal must reveal itself through individuals to the end that it may at length impress and permeate the whole; thus it becomes at one and the same moment historical and poetical, as we shall see hereafter; the primitive instinct being transmuted into a sentiment, and the social consciousness itself transformed into a great personality—a moral unity dominated by conscience. This is the secret of all external authority, which, so far as it is really prevailing, is so because of the dim shadow of a divine idea behind it, however obscured, as in a palimpsest, by being written over by human statute and precedent. Perhaps it is this which that fine and disinterested thinker Mr. Henry Holbeach means when he says, "There is no act of man possible which may not have religious sanctions behind it." Our preliminary inquiry shall therefore be substantially nothing else than a search for the origin of that social authority which determines the various forms of morality,

* *God in History*, i. p. 207.

—which, though varying greatly, have so much in common as to overbear their variations—and for the sanctions by which, from the fact of its presence, it is necessarily accompanied.

It may seem to be going far from our point, if we once more refer here to the old contrast between nature and human nature. And yet it seems necessary to lay our foundation on an assured distinction between the two; for the common meeting-point of our new schools of moralists—the sensuo-classical and the mystico-material—is the approach they make from different sides in identifying spirit with body or body with spirit, and destroying what is peculiar to men as men,—the aggregate symbols that come alone of spiritual community.*

Nature, we say then, so far as she is involved in human nature, suffers eclipse and arrestment in the glow of a higher consciousness, which *individualizes* in the very measure that it *universalizes* existence. Now, how is this? Throughout all nature we see forms of life rising up, falling down, in the process of reproducing other forms; but at no stage do we find these individuated members of the great body putting on such specific character as to relieve themselves from the dominating bond of generic force in which they are all held despotically. In nature, individual objects are differentiated by what they derive from the element of mere form, body, or material substance, and have their identity in that instinct which most nearly approaches soul. But no consciousness can be predicated of them; for consciousness is only found in the synthesis of a common spirit, signaling itself in single individuals, through the very alienation that comes of specific form. Community, in which individuality is swallowed up, seems the law of animal life. The same divine idea as reveals itself in the highest human relations is reflected here; but of this idea the individual creatures themselves have no consciousness, that being at most only the dim appanage of the race. In one word, race-force subordinates personal force to its own ends, and coerces it in the very degree of height the animal may be said to occupy in the scale of creation. A unity, objective to their own intelligence, deter-

* Another school of thinkers, the materialistic idealists, if we may coin a name for them, join hands with the two referred to in the text. All tend to annihilate the bond between the individual conscience and the social conscience, which, of course, is but the moral side of the divine consciousness as revealed in human history. Professor Bain, in his "Mental and Moral Science," can find no subjective ground for conscience or any innate type of it. Conscience, he says, is but the reflex of external forms of authority. We should like to ask him, however, how these external forms come to be there? Does man develop from him what has no root in him, or are these forms communicated direct from some wholly foreign supernatural source? Either way would be more wonderful than the existence of an innate conscience; the second—the communication of that to an intelligence for which the intelligence in himself holds no corresponding ground whatever—were simply more miraculous than anything for which our credence is claimed in Christian evidence.

mines their order and the procession of their actions, conformed to a fixed and unchangeable pattern, and it is only thus that they do not lapse into confusion and bewildered disorder. Thus, the lower world looks towards God; but it is all unconscious of those attributes of his, derived from the essence of his selfhood, towards which the heart of humanity unceasingly yearns.

In man, too, there is a deposit of Race-Consciousness. This seems the necessary medium of a primitive revelation. But men are not differentiated from each other by what is immediately derived from material form or body. From this very element, indeed, which gives difference and distinction to the lower creatures, man derives identity and generic substance. Nature here inverts her normal process on the threshold of a loftier unity, whose essence is will and self-determination. Spiritual community, unlike mere community of instinct, reveals itself only through the cross-lights of individual development. It is thus no paradox, but the statement of a simple fact, when we say that men derive real outward diversity from what they have subjectively and spiritually in common. That which is inmost in man's spiritual life, becomes outmost in those commonest and most objective relations, which crown themselves in marriage and the sacraments of a Church; and, as we shall immediately discover, these symbols, from the simple fact that they unite men and directly determine practical conduct, are in their objective aspect moral, as giving individual distinction through limitation of personal desire; while in their inward and subjective aspect they are spiritual, as giving identity, unity, common substance, to an aggregate of individuals who unconsciously see in them the expression and image of a collective conscience. Thus, through social conventions, the merely natural or objective distinction perishes in the indistinction of a spiritual and subjective identity which, mainly through the ministry of symbols, has issued in a higher form of distinction wherefrom individuality finally draws its purest food. The highest assertion of individuality, therefore, becomes possible through the means each man inalienably possesses to interpret or reveal that which inheres in, and specially characterizes, humanity in the whole. Wherever race-force, mere instinct, obtains among a people, there is, along with simple indulgence, a tendency to identity manifesting itself even in personal likeness or hard conformity to an external type. Wherever individual force asserts itself, there is a tendency to objective variety, to flexibility, but at the same time to subjective limitation, in respect of those natural indulgences by which individuality, at first view, would seem to realise itself most spontaneously. Even among the Hindoos and Chinese we shall see how the effort after gaining individuality by effacing the lines that relate men in objective spiritualized

forms, tends to this result. Morality then seals itself in the adjustment of personal tendency and need to the spiritual tendencies and needs of humanity, as exhibited or suggested by common symbols. Man can only feel satisfaction in the degree that his conduct, freely chosen, reflects that ideal of rightness which is the essential characteristic of human nature. It is only when he transgresses this to minister to some physical appetite that he disjoins himself from the great unconscious personality of the race, and immediately finds there springs up within him a self-consciousness which is his Nemesis. "Of the good we do we are never conscious, of the evil always," is a saying of Goethe * which may here have some significance. Even in common speech we say of one who is so given up to self-indulgence as to seem indifferent alike to the opinions of others and the restraints of society, that he is no man; he parts from his fellows in that ground of spiritual identity which is the birthland of all symbols, and the home of the ideal—which, like the cloud by day and the fire-pillar by night, leads in the van of progress; and he finds his only point of union with them in that realm of mere bodily instincts and material affinities where man and brute are gathered together in a bond of common appetite. In one word, his activity, so far as it is influential, cuts in twain the reverse line by which humanity ascends where nature descends; and he has thus no part in the heritage of his race, as identified and sealed in their spiritual commonalty. We may say, therefore, that the measure of manhood, or of pure individuality, is the unconscious assumption in one's own being of that which marks and identifies the race as such. Only that which in the race is inward and subjective, in the man is outward, formative, and active. "Man," continually reiterates Carlyle, "man is an incarnated word."

Now here we find the centre which we wished to win, and which it was needful for us to reach. The common consciousness of the race only rises into spiritual form through the medium of individuality, and the point in which these meet to generate symbols of union is the element of morals. Thus, since both art and religion are absolutely dependent on these forms, as needful "coigns of vantage" from which to charge common currents of sympathy and pathetic mysterious emotion along other lines, radiating them outwards, to interpenetrate even the lowest and most earthly relations,—art, as Hegel says, carrying these farthest into the realm of the concrete and sensuous,—we may safely say that the progress of the race lies in the harmonious adjustment of the social consciousness and the individual consciousness in a spiritual bond. The universal of nature is thus translated into the individual of character, the spiritual into the

* Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre.

moral, that so it may become yet more spiritual in being recommended by fitness, beauty, and outward harmony to the dumb imprisoned consciousness of the vast mass of men. The common instinct, in being brought face to face with the hallowed glow of spiritualized individualities, whether through the manifold forms of art or the simple records of brave and holy action, is lifted into sympathy with the enduring essence of humanity; and in the emotion thus engendered it gradually creates for itself new symbols, on the one side lengthening out like evening shadows into epic and myth, and on the other, into those social convictions and vague yearnings out of which Law is born as if in travail-throes.

The moral sense is, therefore, the medium of harmony, as bringing that which is most objective and spiritual into union with that which is most subjective and individual. The more perfectly the two elements of generic force and specific force—universality and individuality, the two factors in all existence—are involved in a man's life; in other words, the more the unexpressed ideal of all men reveals itself in the one man, the nobler and more perfect we say he is. The element of the ideal encloses the universal, and that in its objective relations is what individualizes each member of the community. And not only so, but, as we have seen, it mysteriously individualizes the whole, thus giving it also a history, whose root, as being laid in the conscience and ramifying all sections of the emotional being, cannot be reduced to mere facts, or enclosed even in the rounded succession of external events. It is a unity which can only be grasped in the loving embrace of the poetic, creative, or imaginative instinct. Thus, in religion and in art, the soul of humanity lives an individual and, in the deepest sense of the word, a regal life, gradually moulding all lower forms of individuality after its own image, and communicating continually a renewed sense of freedom and deliverance from restraint.*

And here again we are strangely thrown back upon the thought with which we started. Schelling has well said that history only finds true foundation as religion, through being reduced from mere species-conception, becomes individual in opposing yet coalescing

* And the statement in the text is in essence Christian in its last application. Let us try to explain. It was only as those elements by which Christ's finite individuality was related to Nature, were dissolved in the glow of this ideal life, that the Holy Spirit could reveal Himself, and He is for this very reason the most perfect form in which the idea of a spiritual personality in the race, or, in other words, the contact of a universal spiritual consciousness with the individual consciousness, could be embodied so as to be made intelligible at once to the commonest intellect and the highest. All the vain philosophizing of the eastern seers—which, appealing to the intellect alone, could be appropriated by only a few, thus giving rise to caste and other equally oppressive forms of social relation—here gives place to a spiritual-personality the very essence of whose existence is commonness, in that He "struggles with every man."

manifestations. In other words, the religion of instinct does not rest on historical grounds, which are, as we have seen, the most outward and spiritual signs and revelations of a religion.

We may here descend even to particular illustration. So far as the life of the individual citizen is elevated into this joyful sense of freedom, he is no longer bound by law, or has any relation whatever to the limits it prescribes. He is moral, he is spiritual; and for him the lower forms of restraint and limitation are actually non-existent save in so far as they symbolize the infinite depths and heights of attainment comprehended in his individual possibility. But, as has been said, there is no way towards this freedom save through this individualized consciousness of the race, without conscious or unconscious reference to which history itself were a mere congeries of dead details. Such freedom as openly opposes itself to this is, as we shall see, mere mysticism run mad—antinomian extravagance and perversity. Wherever the individual has risen to the consciousness of a right, the exercise of which was denied, and has defied outward authority in order to the realising of it, that individual has found his chief support in the firm belief that the deeper heart of his fellows once stirred will second him; that he is in accord with the universal and true, which by accidental accretions and conventions has been perverted. He feels that his convictions, like magnets, turn to the catholic and eternal which men had deserted, and that at length the supreme moral sense must prevail and shape to its own need outer forms and symbols. This is the ground of all self-sacrifice, of all heroism; but it is the very antithesis of antinomian indulgence, for it bases upon, and is not possible save in view of, the idea of the good of the whole which must in some way mysteriously lead up to a person. And men in all ages have died for it as enthusiastically as for a lover. The highest teacher of morals who ever trod this earth of ours continually told His followers that He came not to destroy but to fulfil, or more properly to restore; thus plainly confessing at once to an inner consciousness of which outward symbols are the finite and imperfect mirrors, but yet eternal in the very degree that they positively reflect and embody this consciousness. It is with a sense of the overcoming sacredness imposed on us by even a glance at such a topic that we make this reference; but we do so because we shall have occasion to point out by-and-by some fearfully misleading notions into which recent one-sided criticism has directed English readers with respect to the Talmud and the position in which Christ and Christianity stand to it, its writers and expounders.

Religion, then, so far as it is instinctual, or naturally inheres in the race as such, precedes morality: it is only through the path-

way of morals that the spiritual is or can be reached. What does not primarily do violence to the first form of the religious life can never issue in those symbols which at once give birth to morality, and to a community of spiritual life, or religion in the true sense of it. Men are ever essentially separated from each other by their instincts, notwithstanding that they are exteriorly identified by them. This holds not less truly of the primitive religious instincts than of any other, as the story of Cain and Abel may perhaps be meant to tell us. The objective form of those truths which, through individuality, mould the instinct into harmony with universal need, are, as we have already seen, of necessity moral, because their end is to unite men by common needs and affinities, with the view, however, of their attaining a higher and more subtle individuality. Every man who—moved by the desire after goodness, which is but the imaginative or emotive side of rightness or truth—seeks to subdue what is natural and spontaneous in him in order to shape his life into conformity with these external forms, is in one sense an artist, without whose struggling aspirations and painful oft-repeated efforts art, in the conventional sense, were certainly not possible. It is in the contact of the individual conscience with these symbols of the universal or common conscience, and the pathetic interest that arises from those manifold obstructions which, whether objective or subjective, set the soul in disharmony, and through the intellect arm it against itself, that the crowning interest of art arises. This is the soul and rudimentary germ of all drama, especially of all tragedy, which, therefore, as truthfully reflecting human life, reposes on morals and reaches upwards to religion. Thus it is that Mrs. Browning's words in reference to the artistic life have really a far wider and deeper range of application than she gave them. She speaks of—

"The flat experience of the common man,
Age turning outward, with a sudden wrench."

And why? That it may adjust itself according to this more spiritual objective standard. Morality, we see then, is action determined by the aggregate of those symbols which individual minds of higher reach have elaborated, and which, cast athwart the pathway of human progress, have been assimilated and accepted as the outward forms or embodiments of the people's inward consciousness of rightness and fitness. Art restores these struggles in the intensified because imaginative glow of the emotion in which they took their rise.

Religion, art, and morality we thus find to be essentially one, as sealing themselves in a common consciousness, which can never be absolutely and completely expressed, but whose symbols, as being

kindred in all times and places on their spiritual side, determine and dictate what shall be permanent, effectual, and prevailing in the utterance of the individual consciousness.* It is thus the secret, the open yet unexpressed, the common yet the mystical, which rules the special, the particular, the individual. This idea lies in the very essence of religion, which is simply the acknowledgment of common spiritual relations determining and effacing special and peculiar relations; but in art, too, we find clear and substantial manifestation of the same law. Everything special and individual prevails only as it is involved with what is common, from which, indeed, it wholly derives that suggestiveness to the imagination which links it by many invisible lines to the "one spirit to which all men bow, because they cannot absolve themselves of the dues of affection and sympathy."

And to this principle literature, which in its higher aspect is the most widely influential and therefore most subtle form of art, yields most conclusive illustration. For the commonest cannot be published. And this is simply because at its lowest point it involves the highest and most unspeakable as in a kind of conjugal bond, and infinite truth settles in the union. There is therefore a community of silence or identity, seen in relation to which each man, by his very individuality, is but the reflection of all other men; and literature is its frankest confession. There is a common point in which opposites seal themselves, as having no significance apart; and yet that which is realest in the bond cannot be expressed or publicly intimated. Its significance rests in an "open secrecy" round which perpetually play the thoughts and imaginations of the gifted among mankind; and yet the secret is not revealed, for what gives it validity is the way in which it *in-finites* the commonest, which seized on the sensual side, immediately loses that element by which it is human, generic, and universal.† Literature is thus moral perforce; simply because in its final form it strives to enlighten the line where body and soul, the specific and generic, the individual and the universal intermarry to beget the highest forms of joyous community. Mr. Robert Buchanan is thus so far right in his conclusion that the question of morality in literature is conclusively settled on its being determined what is literature,

* The Positivist art-critics, of whom M. Taine is the Coryphæus, persistently seize this law on its wrong side, and deny to it a spiritual face. They acknowledge special spirits as characterizing special epochs, and, in effect, deny a necessary element common to them all.

† The practical form in which this law expresses itself to the moral sense of mankind is very uniquely unfolded in these words of Goethe: "There are some things which although known to all should yet be treated as secrets, but this works on modesty and good conduct."—*Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre*.

and what is not so being rigorously rejected. But he seems to us to approach his result from a wholly fatal point of view, in virtually de-spiritualizing that which it is the very business of literature to clearly reinvolve in the spiritual, and so vivify, beautify, and universalize. The sexual bond, or the passion of man for woman, is just as much fitted to be freely made subject of art as any other fact of existence, and practically, indeed, that is just what *is* done, so that much of what he says seems gratuitous and impertinent. But there is one condition—that the spiritual affinity on which the sexual tie rests, and which distinctly humanizes it, or makes it specific in objective relation, be not coerced or put under the mere passion or appetite which animalizes it or makes it generic, so as to destroy the play of the individual conscience in relation to the social conscience. As we shall see hereafter, this is precisely what all Eastern forms of religion and life, and all Western mystico-material forms of thought which ally themselves to the Eastern, directly tend to do in effacing individuality and vacating the struggle by which individual freedom is made one with generic consciousness. In one word, the moral sense of society is but another form of the spiritual element which emerges, and practically emerges only, in the equal union of counterpart or sexual elements; so that in literature, though the outward conventional forms may slightly vary, we find exhibited the very same process as in society. Literature, in the true sense of it, only becomes possible by an approximation to that harmony of parts which is only of morality.

Here, then, we have found the centre towards which all the common links of sympathy converge, and working from which again art retranslates generic elements into individualized forms. For our view of the subject will fail in all its appreciations unless it is clearly perceived that the artist can of himself bring nothing as respects the essential matter or the soul of his work. That belongs to all alike. Here he is under proscription, and invention is a crime, punishable with death (or oblivion) in the high-court of humanity.* As a matter of fact, the poems and pictures founded on subjects linked to the common heart by thousandfold associations are the most enduring. In its expression of broad and common beliefs, lies the real and commanding power of a work of art. The Greek dramatists simply elaborated and framed anew the common fictions of their time, not yet seen as fictions, or rather truly seen

* Were it for nothing else but the clear way in which Mr. Ruskin (though perhaps with a little too lively a theological vein) has shown that the artist must not seek his own in nature and in history, but what is God's, or, in other words, what is all men's through the common moral and religious nature they have of God, he would deserve our deepest gratitude. See "Modern Painters," *passim*.

as the realities of which all fictions are the dim, visualized shapes. Shakespere's dramas are, at bottom, either common stories or bits of actual history. In Dante's "*Divina Commedia*" we see, musically emblazoned, the meeting-point of mediæval legend, history, and worship. And so it is in all. That can only be brought to humanity which humanity already holds within it; and that which is invented is of the individual, and perishes with him. So that, even from the technical point of view, as exhibiting traces of imitation and invention, it might be shown, had we time, how Art, Morality, and Religion are in essence one; or, in other words, how individuality, as expressing itself through outward detail and mode of treatment, is only prevailing so far as it rests upon and embalms the spiritual and common. The artist is for ever the servant of all, as pre-eminently dealing with soul and emotion of which all are heirs.

But we must not pass on without clearly noting one other thing here. Those wonderful quickening seeds of thought and opinion which seem sown by no man's hand, but spring up spontaneously in the furrows cast by the contact of men with men, as by virtue of a special power above them but ever present with them, pertain essentially to the ideal. Belonging to no individual, they yet rule and determine in a manner and degree that may well surprise the historical student, all individual development and growth. "Each man," says Emerson, glancing at this truth, "is a quotation from all his forefathers;" and again, "That which is true for all belongs to all alike, and no man can tell who first uttered it." In truth, it must have come as in the fire and mist of another Sinai; and even he who first said it, could we unearth him, would not claim it as his own. It, too, was *given* him in the joyous union of what is highest within with what is highest without him; for it only becomes common as utterance in the measure that it was before common as thought or belief. Hence the impressive heirlooms of thought and tradition, with their long array of myth, proverb, and song, to which each generation succeeds. But this is the source at once of that common spirit which marks a people and a period, and the golden chain linking it closely but kindly with all that has gone before, with all that will follow after. Thus there is a spiritual commonalty to which each may add somewhat, as the wayfarer adds his stone to the great Druidic cairns, but in which he can claim no exclusive proprietary, or even ask back what he has given. Nor can the individual refuse what, by the very presence of such memorials of civilization, is demanded of him, and escape without some injury; and this simply because he is a social and spiritual being. And hence arises, in the most mysterious manner, the idea of sacrifice to typical or representative forms of this shadowy but still sublimely real and persecuting consciousness which

is *not* of man as man, but is evermore dimly or clearly apprehended as being of God in men. All heathen religions, in the worship of their heroes—Greek Achilles, Scandinavian Odin, Indian Krishna—have had a sense of this, and have even tried to figure outwardly the point of minglement between the divine and human, inventing genealogies with a divine line on one side, a human on the other.* Roman Catholicism itself is retrograde and Pagan in the very measure that it separates individuals from the mass, and makes them heroes or saints; and precisely as it multiplies these it by necessity humanizes or lowers the divine, and makes it inseparable from human agency. All mysticism, as we shall discover, seeks to merge the element of individuality in the divine; and Comtism is the most commanding form in which eastern autotheism could speak through practical and exact western ideas.

Paganism is properly the multiplication of gods to the total destruction of that moral sense, which lies in each man feeling himself involved in the divine in the exact measure that he can rise up to the level of revelation—an idea which is utterly alien to all caste. In the very measure that men have multiplied their gods, true ideas of sacrifice, and along with them all adequate conceptions of individual right,—in other words, of moral sense,—have died out among them. The idea of sacrifice thus perverted or dissociated from the unity of life in which it seals itself, is made to give sanction to the most awful forms of cruelty. The priests, too, have usually lent themselves with readiness to reading into sacred books meanings which would justify such excesses; for polytheism is inseparably bound up with local religious rites, and local religion implies an ever-widening multiplicity of gods,† which, again, is found to be inseparable from priestly rule and inevitably involves it, caste as surely following in its wake. The proof of the first assertion might be found even in the contrast of the ideas of sacrifice entertained by the rude Khonds, and those held by the cultured Hindoos; while, as to the second, the corruptions of the Vedas, and the traditions of the Jewish elders are sufficiently patent instances.‡

The Hebrews, as we shall hereafter see, were, in the old world, the great race whose mission was expressly to oppose this form of thought and belief; for the most remarkable thing about the Jewish prophets is their absolute and authoritative renouncement of the idea that they brought anything of their own—a fact which in many ways coloured their literature, and the warp and woof of their history. And

* Gladstone's "Homer," ii. 42; and Mure's "Greece," i. p. 105. |

† See Arnold's note on Thucydides, vol. i., book ii., chap. 71.

‡ See article, "Khond Macpherson" in this Review, vol. ii. 212; and Ludlow's "History of British India and its Races," vol. i. pp. 25 *seq.*

in this respect especially, Christianity is seen to be the complete and final expression of the deepest idea in the Jewish mind. For there is nothing more remarkable in Jesus than this, that He repudiates all individuality in those elements of his being and of his revelation which, as being involved in Nature as necessary manifestation, were most calculated to elicit the feeling of worship. That mystical identity of Father and Son is the key-note to his place in history. In the Father only did He exist, from the Father only did He have that which He revealed. "Not I, but the Father who hath sent me," is the great, the centre formula of Christ's teaching. And here we have laid down clearly the deepest, most permanent lines of a common morality, which, running up and losing itself in the purified form of that idea which has ever mystically, in some form or other, drawn humanity into union with the divine, destroys individuality only to gain a higher and truer form of it, whose finest flower is self-assertion through the freedom of self-sacrifice.*

* This idea of Christianity never seems to have occurred to Mr. F. W. Newman, though its bearing on the question of New Testament morality is most deep and intimate. Morality, in our idea of it, is a certain state of mind viewed in relation to certain objectified forms of a wider consciousness; and preparatory to all discussion of minute and contradictory details, it is necessary to settle how Christianity affects the subjective condition in order to a modification through individual conviction of the objectified forms of the ideal, as they severally present themselves in art, law, and tradition. Mr. Newman so far holds with us as to the essential relations of morality and religion, and yet he most inconsistently seeks a logically exhaustive Christian morality, which of course immediately refers us to the external and so far arbitrary deposit of morality which we find in law. Now law is but one of the many forms of morality, and ought not to be placed over against it, or spoken of as though it were absolutely identical with it. And here, where we see the source of Mr. Newman's grave error, we find he is rowing in the same boat of inconsistency with Mr. John S. Mill, as we find from his "Essay on Liberty" (p. 28, People's Ed.), and with Humboldt, as we discover from his "Science of Government" (pp. 34, 35). The question of how far the New Testament morality is superior to any that preceded it cannot be determined by comparison of separate individual formulas; but by comparing with the old impulses to moral and spiritual regeneration, the new impulses it ministered to the eduction of the individual consciousness to show clear on the horizon of that wider divine consciousness, and so, in the harmony, to render possible new forms of art, order, and political economy, in which spirit and body, which had heretofore been allied very much as slaves, appear in completer and fairer harmony. In one word, the question is, Has Christianity or has it not introduced a new factor into human life, through which all that it has in common with old systems takes new value? The verdict of the civilized nations of the earth is clear that it has done this.

Christ's command to the young man who asked him how to obtain eternal life, "Sell all that thou hast," &c., seems to be a great stumbling-block to Mr. Newman. He finds much difficulty in reconciling this with the idea of holding any property whatsoever. But in opposition to his way of viewing the matter, it may be said that this command was only given in *exceptional* cases, and that Christ found it necessary to lay the deepest ground of His kingdom in inward regeneration and renouncement. The rest, he assumed, would freely follow of itself; and the principle, once well understood, he knew, would soon fall in with, and modify, though it could not render indispensable, the bonds under which alone men can be formed into permanent social communities.

History itself most unmistakably testifies to the degradation and filthy immorality which have always followed on a tendency to merge the divine in the human, dimming and effacing the lines of belief, and reducing man more and more to a creature of sense. Speaking strictly, it may be said, indeed, that a religion is moral in the very degree that it asserts and maintains a distinction between the divine and human elements. The last degradation of both Greek and Roman life was when the lowest of their kings or rulers asserted their right to be themselves worshipped as gods. And towards this, more quickly or slowly, all heathen religions tend as to an inevitable goal. It is here that all Pagan systems differ from Christianity. Its founder, though divine, claims no divinity for his merely human individuality, and constantly refers his divinity away from it to that Fatherhood in which all the children of men have a common hope in the measure of their spirituality. And all the other religions of the earth are powerful and victorious precisely as they give vantage to the idea of self-sacrifice here so simply yet sublimely revealed, and without which idea, and the possibility of men being awakened to it, there can be no morality, and, consequently, no true religion and no true art; for it is the foundation-stone of the ideal of which these are all but the varied forms and ministers. History, read on the ideal side, is but the record of men's awakenings to this fact; and, therefore, wherever the historian rises to true insight he becomes nothing less than an un-rhythmic dramatic poet, unconsciously, by faithfulness to the law of spirit rather than of fact, recording and celebrating the contact of the divine and human upon earth, and so necessarily, by unveiling the law of sacrifice in its outer phases, "justifying the ways of God to man."

Through the very presence, however, of manifold forms or faces of this ideal, which is only truly quickening as it is gradually developed and tested by the action of varied individuals and

But against this exceptional moral requirement we can set one which was assuredly commoner with Christ, viewed as positive command. The duty of giving alms to the poor was one constantly urged by Christ, and this of itself, in our view, falls into the mighty gap which Mr. Newman, with all his subtlety, can see nothing in Christianity to fill up; for certainly the giving of alms implies prudence and foresight in accumulating.

No moral system can be exhaustive in its mere formulae or applications. All these become fluid before the spirit of morality itself; and the glory of Christianity is simply this, that it does not in this direction seek to undertake the impossible. It does not attempt to legislate for every variety of race, circumstance, and condition. It rests secure in appealing to that spiritual perception, of which all detailed forms of right, so far as they are just—so far as they express the maxim, "Do to others as ye would that others do to you," are but reflections. It throws the understanding of men back upon a deeper, more catholic sense of right and fairness; and thus it does effectively what Comtism, for instance, struggles to achieve most imperfectly, because it is most persistent in seeking a purely abstract and philosophical base for action.

circumstances, periods of artificiality and imitation supervene on times of reaction and strong originality. Then art languishes, the moral light burns low, for it is unfed from the censer of sacrifice. Ideals stereotype themselves in dead lines, and a return to life is ever heralded by excess and riot of passion, which, however, is itself at last translated into a fiery pathway of purification, and unveiling once more of the rude strong heart of the race. Thus it was, for instance, in the Renaissance, in the work of the Restoration period; thus it is in the pseudo-classicism and sensationalism with which we are now so direfully infected. "Men," says George MacDonald, "are often drawn into life backwards by a hand stretched out from behind." Let us console ourselves with the thought that this may be the way in which we are to be drawn backwards to simplicity, reality, and truth. Art, as necessarily returning upon the catholic and common, is essentially democratic, and Mr. Robert Buchanan's songs of trulls and costermongers may thus have more significance in what they promise and dimly herald, than in what they are in themselves.

Therefore it is we are justified in saying that there has never been a period so low, or so sunk in moral blindness as not to deserve the historian's recognition; for in its deepest tendency it has been involved in that which yields the highest. It has ever been out of dense gloom that the vividest lightning gleams of man's spiritual necessities have come. As an unintelligent sacrifice of will and feeling—a prostration, in short, of mind, heart, and soul—before the wild forces of nature, is the characteristic of primitive man; so when the ideal, especially in its moral aspect, seems to have died out of the human conscience and imagination, and lost itself in the sheer licence and artificiality that polytheism in its last stages has ever bred, men eagerly return upon the instinct of sacrifice, which seems strangely to underlie, and inform and colour that ideal. What, for instance, does one of our most popular living writers say of the state of society under the Roman Empire in the time of Christ, amid which the seeds of the highest moral and spiritual regeneration earth has ever witnessed were nevertheless sown, and took root? This—"If morality depended upon law, or happiness could be measured by comfort, this would have been the most glorious era in the past history of mankind. It was, in fact, one of the meanest and foulest, because a tone or spirit is necessary to morality, and self-respect is needful to happiness."* And we may draw most fruitful inferences from a later fact. Amid the contest of Roman Paganism with early Christianity, a sense of the grandeur of sacrifice was strangely revived in the public mind by the Mithratic worship, with its cruel baptisms,

* "Ecce Homo," eighth edition, p. 125.

bloody sacrifices, and most painful rites. Soon after being introduced into Italy in the fourth century, it assumed a most powerful attitude. Dr. Döllinger* and M. Beugnot† have both much to say of this matter, and both seem to indirectly draw from it such a conclusion as we have here advanced. It brought back to the consciousness of the people, amongst whom all genuine belief in the divine seemed to have died out, those elements which had originally given their belief vitality and power. It did this in a form which they could readily read, and it thus became, by the very hold it kept of a great fact, a precursor for the acceptance of Christianity itself.

Sacrifice we find, then, to lie at the very root of the ideal, of which religion, art, and morals are but the various expressions.‡ And the ideal thus associated is the more clearly seen to be the medium of progress—the flaming crown of a graduated order of facts, which, without it, were chaotic. In this way it becomes itself the fact of facts, as being the generic revelation of God in men to man, that it may ultimately become the specific revelation of God in man to men. Art, as the brother at once of morality and religion, is therefore not so much a *revolt* against the tyranny of fact, as the clear and final expression of that aspiration which hides itself in the ceaseless search for fact—which, as ever confessing itself only the shadow of a reality in its very incapacity to bestow repose and freedom upon its votary, is itself the last witness to the ideal. And most of all does it bear conclusive testimony in the light of religious zealotry and puritanism, which proceeds on the confessed unreality of the very facts in which it vainly seeks satisfaction, and to which it would fain confine the minds and hearts of its devotees.

We cannot, therefore, abstract morality and deal with it as a series of barren propositions. It is intimately bound up with art and religion; for it is in truth only the point in which they meet. It furnishes the first and foundation symbols from which these others, so to say, elaborate special forms, shading away at the lines of divergence from morality into mere mystery and incomprehensibility. Fatal are the errors into which eminent thinkers have fallen simply owing to their absolutely separating morality from religion and from law, and

* Dr. Döllinger's "Heidenthum und Judenthum," iv. 4, 195.

† M. Beugnot, "Destruction de Paganisme," v. 156.

‡ "There is one particular with respect to which the admission will be generally made, that the Greek mythological system stood indebted at least to a primitive tradition, if not to a direct command: I mean the institution of sacrifice. This can hardly be supposed to have been an original conception in every country; and it distinctly points us to one common source. Sacrifice was, according to Dr. Döllinger ('Heidenthum und Judenthum,' iv. 5, p. 202), an inheritance which descended to the Greeks from the primitive time before the division of the nations."—*Gladstone's Homer*, i. p. 15.

opposing them more or less to each other. Of this much might be said: it must here suffice to say generally that morality, objectively regarded, is determined by those symbols in which the moral sense of a people or nation deposits itself, and which can never be dissociated from those common and universal principles on the ground of which we speak of communities of nations, as of communities of individuals, because of an immovable belief in a generic sense of justice and right pre-eminently human. Laws, so far as they are of the people, and not arbitrarily forced upon them, are thus the external and necessarily imperfect, because temporary, expressions of the moral sense—the moral sense, in short, seen in its most outward manifestation. But subjectively it reflects itself through an atmosphere purely spiritual, issuing at length from a loftier point and with new symbols, on which rest the immediate and sacred sanctions which come of a consciousness of contact, through subjective communion, with the divine itself. On the implicit belief in this consciousness as involved in the subjective or spiritual relations of morality, all religious teaching, or communication of truth from without, constantly proceeds. Mr. Erskine, in his able work on the doctrine of election, has pointed this out with peculiar clearness, though he seems to us to fail in perceiving the vast significance of the objective relation of the moral sense.* He writes:—

“The expansion of consciousness, from the acknowledgment of the voice to the acknowledgment of the speaker, marks the relation between morality and religion. . . . The difference between morals and true religion, therefore, is rather a difference in degree than in kind, although the difference in degree may be so great as to make them appear different in kind. A man is living simply in a moral state when he recognises the *light* within him as a righteous direction of his conduct and of his judgment of things; he is living in a religious state when he recognises it in his conscience to be the presence of a personal, infinite Being, the true, living personification of righteousness.”

In the multitude of testimony there is safety. Mr. Francis W. Newman, in one of those strange and sceptical tracts† which he has recently re-issued, and which move one to look to him with a kind of pathetic tenderness, writes thus:—

“We venerate religion only when built upon pure morals. *Moral religion* is notoriously a historic growth, and has depended on traditional culture at least as much as what is specially called science, and its progress is not more wayward and arbitrary than that of science, if the whole of human history be surveyed. The present is ever growing out of the past, with a

* The reader will get easy access to what is, undoubtedly, the most valuable chapter in Mr. Erskine's work, in a tract titled “The Internal Word; or, Light becoming Life,” edited by the Bishop of Argyll, and published by Edmonston and Douglas, Edinburgh. Pages 17 and 29 are specially worthy of notice.

† “Against Hero-making in Religion,” p. 6.

vigour and a certainty which never allow the fortunes of the race to be seriously dependent on any individual. . . . No wise man will claim originality for his moral judgments or religious sentiments. A foolish dogma, a fanciful tenet, may easily be original; but a pure sound truth is more likely to be old."

We shall have a good deal to say hereafter of Mr. Newman's opinion; it suffices here that, in support of our view, we have summoned two such diverse-thoughted witnesses as Mr. Erskine and Mr. Newman.

Having thus made clear the relation in which the social consciousness and the individual consciousness stand to each other in the generation of morals, and, consequently, of religion so far as it is spiritual, we may now proceed to a more defined historical view, in order to trace out the two great waves of human development, which may be roughly said to circle round either pole, more or less separated from the other.

Viewed historically, then, we may say broadly that morality is the middle-point between two extremes—the one mystical, tending in abstraction to merge all individuality in the element of identity; the other, logical or self-assertive, tending to divorce the spiritual more and more from the inward and universal, and to base it on hard distinctions and dogmas which commend themselves only to the understanding. The one stream of influence, taking rise in the far East, preserves traces of the primitive or race-revelation through the many-coloured strata over which it flows; while the other, essentially Western, implicitly denies the validity of race-inspiration, and insists on putting nature, so far as she is involved in man, like a solid wall between the individual and God, for ever separating the two from contact with each other, because of Nature's alleged inherent corruption. In the one Nature is opposed to the soul, and at fiercest war with it; in the other, she is but a lower and grosser plane of the life of the soul itself, and the only medium by which union with God can be attained. Though mere *maya*, or illusion, in relation to God himself, yet towards the soul, while prisoned in time, Nature is the great reality, as being the medium through which all man's varied and spontaneous energies, which are inherently spiritual, find manifestation.

The mystical idea, in some form or other, is a falling back from the moral face of things to find God *finited* in Nature; and identity with Him is held to be attainable by thinking away those very elements of diversity by which again spirit in its last individual forms *infinites* and unifies the manifold. The oriental mind, in thus falling back from the moral element just at the point where it seeks to embody itself in those symbols that, by unity, express the universal exteriorly, subjectifies the individuality, or, to frame a word for the

occasion, *inwards* it. Hence caste and patriarchal forms of government, utterly divorced from the spiritual roots from which alone they derive substantial sanction. Eastern thought thus, on the one hand, misses the medium by which Nature assumes its true place in the economy of spirit, and, on the other, annihilates that social or common consciousness by which art, as projected in accredited symbols, can express itself in faithful and enduring forms. The individual consciousness, unpurified and chastened, through reflection in the common consciousness, tends ever to hieroglyphics. Hence, although the language of mysticism has in all ages been the same, yet the sameness only reveals itself, like the identity of the symbol, through the intellect. It is in essence secret, and rich in hidden meanings, which, indeed, Mr. Vámbéry finds to be the characteristic of all oriental literature.*

Now, if the Eastern exalts the individual consciousness over the social or common consciousness, the Western mind tends in the very opposite direction. It faithfully follows the moral element till it closes in dogma, failing, however, to fix the point where it should unite once more with religion through the up-pressing of the individual conscience, disturbed in face of the awful and pathetic mysteries of existence. Thus the common and accepted religious symbols may be continually re-beautified and made venerable by oil poured on them from the lamp of sacrifice, as on the priest of old. But Western thought is jealous of what is individual and exceptional. Hence deference for mere authority, and a bowing down before those dead forms in which a living common consciousness had once breathed and moved. Morals tend to become dead statute-law, and religion mere ritual and rubric, to be settled or interpreted by the understanding. The imperial needs, and the inalienable rights of the soul are pitilessly subordinate to the hoary authority of the voice that speaks too often sepulchral from the tomb of dead ages.

Eastern thought is thus essentially inward and mystical. It seeks what it needs in turning from the outward world to the soul—only, however, to use the external world as a plastic medium of the soul's indulgence. It is isolated, scorning the restrictions of right and wrong, as these tend to embody themselves in human authority. It finds relief from the solitude it seeks in mystic revel and sensual excess, which breed the exhaustion that makes palatable and enjoyable the solitude which is its normal desire. The Western, again, seeks shelter in the moral or, more properly, legal sense, against its own tendency to any excess even of spiritual appetite; it is decorous even, and is dubious of its own inspirations, being careful to anchor itself firmly to approved and recognised dogma. The one religion has no centre save in the aggregate of numberless separate individualities; the

* "Further Chapters of My Travels," p. 357.

other finds centre in objective forms, viewed, consciously or unconsciously, as the symbol of the spiritual attainment of whole communities through long generations, which is neither to be taken from nor added to, save under sublime and generally accredited assurance of equal inspiration with that which it supplements. The one thus stereotypes itself in those outer forms of progress through which the other only looks more or less dimly on eternal realities, and which, though valued highly, are valued more for what they convey than for what they are in themselves. Under the one each individuality is valuable according to capabilities it has in common with all; under the other each individuality is valued for what is special and exceptional in it; by which, however, the sum total of civilized result is increased in the very measure of its difference. The one aims at effacing individuality, even by indulging it; the other at asserting and maintaining individuality by very stringency of moral requirement. Thus the one, as it affects the outer forms of civilization, is stationary, stereotyped, while the other is progressive, active, and assimilative, even by virtue of its very conservatism of recognised forms, which it never ceases vaguely to regard as the bond of the whole. And all this, of course, expresses itself most distinctly in art and in literature.

In Western culture, again, both forms of the divine consciousness have been so far preserved, chiefly through the unbounded influence the Hebrew books have exercised; and the result is profound reverence for those external symbols through which society struggles to express itself. Eastern conservatism springs from faith in self-God-hood; Western from doubtfulness of self-hood, which it would seem a heresy to identify with the divine, this being ever regarded as completely objective to it.

Thus we see how the two great forms of civilization err. The one withdraws the individual from contact with those elements by whose conflict and repercussion alone the sense of universality and commonness is kept living and active. The other would impose a rule of free action from without, and it thus sacrifices the aid afforded by that bond which unites the outward and inward consciousness as embodied in those symbols which are the foundation-ground of art. The one annihilates the race in the individual; the other tends to merge the individual in the race. Now art, as we apprehend it, is the voice of the race of which the individual is the willing instrument, touched to fine issues, in the very measure that the individual consciousness speaks out of what we have called the common or divine consciousness in the community.

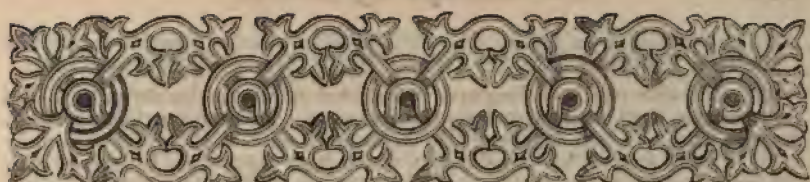
We have just noticed in passing how pre-eminently true it is of the Jews that their poets and prophets specially renounced and

proclaimed against the idea that individually they brought anything of their own. All was traced to a higher source. The individual accompaniment, as far as it was effectual, became so by being brought into harmony with that deeper consciousness which permeated the nation like a fibre, always stirring to the words, "Thus saith the Lord." In the Hebrew literature, more than in any other, the two elements of consciousness are balanced, whereas all other Eastern poetry is essentially individual, as having no contact whatever with a common element, which, like a filter bed, purifies and condenses the current as it passes through it.

The Hebrew idea is thus seen to be the truly moral or mediating, even in this, that while it gives marked prominence to the individuality, which is the great factor in Western thought, it as distinctly deprecates and puts under foot that perversion of it which, especially among the Italians and those who were brought into close association with the orientals in the middle ages, has issued in what is well called the artistic view of things. There is, as Mr. Isaac Taylor has so well said,* no point on which Hebrew literature, and more especially its poetry, is more conclusive than on this one, and it is simply because we find these two elements or sides of the divine consciousness more completely balanced, and tending to clearer and more definite presentation among the Hebrews than any other nation, and because this great fact specially signalizes itself in the grand impartiality and severe truthfulness of their literature, that we accept them as the specially God-inspired race, carrying down the centuries a deposit of morals, consistent and complete, of which other nations seemed to have possessed but the dim and distorted fragments.

H. A. PAGE.

* "Spirit of the Hebrew Poetry," pp. 24, 54, and 59. See also Ewald's *Alten Propheten*.



NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—THEOLOGICAL.

The Old Testament in the New : a Contribution to Biblical Criticism and Interpretation. The Quotations from the Old Testament in the New classified according to their Agreement with, or Variation from, the Original ; the various Readings and Versions of the Passages added ; and Critical Notes subjoined. By DAVID M'CALMAN TURPIE, M.A. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate.

A SHORT notice of a work of this kind must necessarily be written with some diffidence, seeing that nothing less than an elaborate study of the whole volume, and a *resumé* of that study presented in a review, would be a really adequate notice.

With this caution against our verdict being taken for more than it is worth, we will say that, as far as we have examined, the important task which Mr. Turpie has set himself is ably and wisely performed. His classification of New Testament quotations is thus stated in the preface :—

"Class A contains those which *agree* with the Original Hebrew Text, when the latter has been *correctly* rendered in the Septuagint.

"Class B, those which *agree* with the Original Hebrew Text, when the latter has *not* been *correctly* rendered in the Septuagint.

"Class C, those which *differ* from the Original Hebrew Text, when the latter has been *correctly* rendered in the Septuagint.

"Class D, those which *differ* from the Original Hebrew Text, but *agree* with the Septuagint version, which of course would vary from its original.

"Class E, those which *differ* from both the Hebrew and the Septuagint, which also would be themselves at variance, the latter *not correctly* rendering the former."

This classification gives rise to a corresponding arrangement of the whole work, which may appear complicated at first, but will, we are persuaded, prove perfectly easy to those who really want to work through the book. Two very capital indices are added, the one in order of the Old Testament, the other of the New, each with the places quoted, or quoted from, in a second column.

We regard the work as a very valuable accession to the library of a Bible student. It is one of those books which, as a New Testament editor, I look upon with some personal dismay, as entailing on me the labour of thoroughly digesting it in the preparation of my future editions.

H. A.

Thirteen Sermons from the Quaresimale of Quirico Rossi. Translated from the Italian. Edited by JOHN M. ASHLEY, B.C.L. London: Masters. 1868.

THE Christian public in England is indebted to Mr. Ashley for putting into its possession these eloquent and powerful sermons. Their author, Quirico Rossi, was born near Vicenza in 1696. He became a Jesuit in 1731, and ultimately gave himself entirely to preaching, in which high occupation he gained such celebrity that he was invited to preach the Carême at Parma before the Infanta Donna Philippa and Madame de France. He died in 1768.

The sermons must of course be taken for what they are, and Anglican readers must not be offended at finding that Rossi preaches as he naturally must have preached. When this is remembered and allowed for, great store of Christian truth and fruit of hallowed genius will be found in his discourses. The power of imagination is very remarkable; and as the editor observes, "in the days of pagan revival in which Rossi lived, it must have cost him somewhat of a struggle to have freed himself so entirely from the trammels of the popular taste, well read as he was in the heathen authors."

The spiritual applications of Old Testament events, and appropriation of its symbols to Christ, run through all the sermons, but are always chastened by a thorough sound judgment and discriminating taste.

Our readers will naturally look for a specimen: and we will select it from the sermon on the universal judgment:—

"Upon the dawn of that day, the last day of all days, after which, the spheres ceasing from their most rapid motion, and the moon and sun having stopped from their course, the immovable eternity will irrevocably begin; the angels, heralds of the formidable divine and last judgment, will sound the trumpets, and will make the authoritative command to be heard, 'Arise, ye dead, arise.' The shrill sound of those trumpets will penetrate into the tombs; will descend beneath the waters; will spread through the bowels of the earth; will resound in the deepest caverns, and in the remotest solitudes; wherefore the bodies being awakened from their long sleep, and the souls from their different resting-places, each one will resume its recomposed flesh. The elect souls will rejoice on beholding their bodies, once companions of their exile, whose members fought for righteousness; once oppressed and wearied, but now adorned again, and, according to the saying of St. Paul, clothed with immortal glory; and embracing them tenderly, they will be bound with them by a sweet and indissoluble knot. The soul of the reprobate 'shall see it and be grieved.' (Ps. cxii. 10.) This soul will see its own body, a body most infamous by sin, marked with all the characters of damnation, cadaverously pale in countenance, with matted hair, horrible in countenance; and terrified and angry, the soul will refuse to enter into it. Then indeed the angels, the severe executors, will say, 'Enter; these are the members which you loved so much; this is the body which you once nourished so effeminately, and whose unbridled wishes were the rule and the end of your works. Behold, O unhappy one, the beauty which you adored, and mark if it ends well, by the offending of God, by the fondling of that corrupting and abominable carrion.'—'Turn thee, and thou shalt see greater abominations.' (Ezek. viii. 13.)

"Mankind now regenerated to a new life, and the earth being obliged by God to ease itself of the great weight of its dead, it will bring forth in one moment all nations—'Shall the earth be made to bring forth in one day,' &c. (Isa. lxvi. 8.) Then will be seen for the first time mutually, grandfathers, grandchildren, fathers and children, wives and husbands, masters and servants, subjects and rulers. But what? No salutations, no questions, no courtesies, no sign of recognition or of honour: wherefore? 'And each one will wonder at his neighbour.' Each one will remain amazed in beholding the great desolation of the earth, the squalor, the mourning, the silence, the stillness: nobles without titles; princes without insignia; masters without badges; bishops without mitres; monarchs without crowns. Every one will hear the horrible roaring of the sea, which having broken the ancient laws, will rise up from its shores to overthrow the cities. The ground will be felt to be agitated as with a formidable earthquake, and the mountains to burst with a dreadful crashing. The sun will be seen to be dressed in mourning, and the moon dropping blood, and the stars, which were called by Isaiah the 'host of heaven,' to fall from on high—'And all the host of heaven shall be dissolved, and shall fall down as the leaf falleth off from the vine.' (Isa. xxxiv. 4.) Men being astonished, and dumb, and terrified, through fear, and through the expectation of that, wherein so much preparation will end; will again be shaken by the angelic trumpets, which clanging horribly in the air, will say to the valley, 'Let the heathen be awakened and come up to the valley of Jehoshaphat.' (Joel iii. 12.) When God in the first days made to resound on the waters that admirable

precept, 'Let the waters be gathered together in one place,' (Gen. i. 9;) you would have seen, O brethren, the immense mass of the billows, which according to the saying of the Bishop of Seleucia, were idly stagnating here and there, at the unexpected command, move from the bottom to the top; and the rivers running from the four quarters of the world, coming carefully to discharge the great flood there, where God wished to form of them the sea. So at the voice of the Divine criers, all the sons of Adam, who after the manner of stagnant water, for so long have been rotting in the tombs, will all be at once moved, and will advance to the valley. This journey of all men at the same moment, and directed to the same end, was evidently described by Joel. Without distinction, without tumult, without murmuring, without the honour of any precedence; deprived of beldness and of pomp, with bending head; trembling, pale, and thoughtful, each one will go in his own track: 'Neither shall one thrust another: they shall walk every one in his path.' (Joel ii. 8.) Having arrived at the valley, the angels will descend to separate—not between the plebeians and the patricians, not between the masters and the servants, not between the vassals and the monarchs, (these trifles cease at the end of life)—but only between the righteous and the sinners.—'In that night two men shall be in the field, the one shall be taken and the other left.' (St. Luke xvii. 36.) You were two knights of the same country; you were alike in the splendour of birth, but in the tenor of life very different: one was 'gentle and devout, the other arrogant and worldly; come away, be separated, one to live with the saints, the other with the devils.—'One shall be taken and the other left.' You were two merchants of the same piazza; you were alike in the profession of your employment, but unlike in the manner of carrying it on; one charitable and just, the other fraudulent and miserly; 'come away, be separated,' one to 'the right hand,' the other to 'the left.'—'One shall be taken, and the other left.' You were two servants in the same house; you were two joined together by the same marriage; you were two monks of the same cloister; you were alike in rank and condition, but entirely opposite in principles and in habits; 'come away, be separated,' these to eternal rewards, those to eternal punishments.—'One shall be taken, and the other left.' Fatal separation, and inconsolable division, cried Hosea.—'Comfort is hidden from my eyes, because He shall make a separation between brothers.' (Hos. xiii. 14, 15, Vulg.) Between the Abels and the Cains, between the Ishmaels and the Isaacs, between the Esaus and the Jacobs: 'He shall make a separation between brethren.' (Pp. 80—84).

We conclude this notice with the editor's last sentence in his preface:—

"Quirico Rossi stands before us with all his merits and defects, and his English readers can use these sermons, and alter them as they list. For the great use of Rossi will be as sermon helps to many who have well-nigh used up their accustomed modes of thought and expression, and who need some fresh thought, and another style somewhat out of the beaten track of their daily life. In these sermons is presented some new and fallow ground to be broken up, and scarcely can any earnest-minded priest fail to gain much material for a parochial instruction from our author. Would that the loving, reverential spirit of Quirico Rossi might fall upon many of us, and that of his holy zeal, and deep knowledge, and child-like love, we may, in part at least, become partakers."

H. A.

Aids to Prayer: a Course of Lectures delivered at Holy Trinity Church, Paddington, on the Sunday Mornings in Lent, 1868. By DANIEL MOORE, M.A. London: Rivingtons.

This little book is really that which it professes to be—an aid to prayer. It contains the good and profitable *commonplaces* on this important subject, well arranged, and ably commented on; and will therefore prove a useful manual for the closet where prayer is wont to be made. This is, in fact, the highest possible praise to which its author aspires, for it is to say that his end has been attained. That end was the edifying of his own parishioners as believing and praying members of Christ's Church; and he now puts that edification in a permanent form for them, and extends its influence to those who did not hear him.

That he does not grapple with the deep and difficult subject itself in its aspect *abstrâ* is no fault in his book, for this he never contemplated. No subject is so easy as prayer to him that prays: he knows the present and resulting benefit of communion with the Father of his spirit far better than any logical disquisition can put it before him; and he enjoys the access to the great Throne which has been purchased for him by the blood of his Redeemer too keenly to be robbed of it by any insinuations of doubt or distrust. It is for such as this that Mr. Moore has written. His work is pastoral, not controversial.—H. A.

II.—HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL.

History of the Inquisition, in every Country where its Tribunals have been established, from the Twelfth Century to the Present Time. By WILLIAM HARRIS RULE, D.D. London: Wesleyan Conference Office. 1868.

THE Papal Church, however humbled before Europe at this moment, has sufficient vitality still in various quarters to secure attention to any scholarlike and careful pains bestowed in illustrating her action and principles. The work before us is one indication that an interest in this class of subjects has not died out of England, written as it is by one who mixes and works with his generation, an associate with living men, not a mere dissector of the dead or an inquirer in the museum of antiquities. If an active Wesleyan minister, having himself laboured in the chief country of the Inquisition, could feel himself impelled to study this history, we may feel pretty sure that the impulse arose from the wide diffusion of a modern and contemporary interest, and that this will secure him readers. Dr. Rule shows that the Inquisition has been in the active exercise of its ancient functions down to very recent years in the lands of the Papal supremacy, and that it is not formally abolished even now by that inflexible See which never retracts, never repents, and always reiterates the past. The Pope at this day is Prefect of the Inquisition at Rome, and many will recollect that in April of last year a father inquisitor was canonised a saint of the Papal calendar by Pius IX. We must remember that the persecutions of the Inquisition have the special character of being against religious tenets strictly so-called. The victims were not armed Protestants, or men caught in those ambiguous situations where plots or political offences might be alleged and give the proceedings the colour of a civil punishment; but it hunted out the secrets of a man's bosom and dragged the suspected Lutheran from the sanctuary of his home. No more interesting chapters are anywhere to be read than those in which Ranke introduces us to the little societies of literary men in Italy, quite aloof from the reform and loyal to the ancient Church, but led by their studies to a more religious tone and verging in some respects towards the truth which Luther was then lifting up before Christendom. But the eyes of the Inquisition reached them and blighted them for ever. Dr. Rule has accomplished his task with ability and judgment, and with as much calmness as was possible in so sickening a tale. He evidently desires his style to be historic and scholarly, but his self-control plainly costs him some effort at times. He has preserved his balance in the chapters detailing the Spanish Autos-da-Fé, which bear every mark of research and historic fidelity, without an instance of declamatory impatience. We consider this to be the severest test to which a humane historian could be exposed; yet the only sign that we notice of his feeling a platform under his boot is (and who will not sympathize with him?). "If hell can be upon earth, it must be in the Inquisition." Dr. Rule will permit us to point out one or two minor inaccuracies not affecting his main narrative in any way. Charles V. was not "German by birth, education, and language" (p. 137), but Flemish. The Propaganda was not founded till many years after the "first Indian missions of the Jesuits" (p. 284). The term "Universitas" has been misunderstood at p. 335. A corporation was the thing meant by it. "University" would be a correct translation, but a misleading one, since the word is now applied only to academic corporations, though in mediæval latinity it included civic as well. We rather suspect another confusion in regard to this word at p. 111.

C. H.

Pompeii: Its History, Buildings, and Antiquities. An account of the Destruction of the City, with a full description of the Remains, and of the Recent Excavations, and also an Itinerary for Visitors. Edited by THOMAS H. DYER, LL.D., of the University of St. Andrews. Illustrated with nearly Three Hundred Wood Engravings, a large Map, and a Plan of the Forum. Second Edition. London: Bell and Daldy. 1868.

THE resurrection of this Roman town after an entombment of eighteen centuries has opened to us a large and superb volume of old classical antiquities, a thing that by no other means could have been done. And we have to thank the Vesuvian Cyclopes—little as the poor Pompeians of the year A.D. 79 had to thank them—for having secured us such a relic, and for having done it in such

a way as to have made it accessible in these later days. The specimens might have been buried so deep and sealed up so hard as to require subterranean tunnels and lanterns, and as to make any extended exhumation impossible. Herculaneum, in fact, which stood more within Vulcan's range, and was overthrown at the same time, now lies like this, at the bottom of a well. And yet even this is not without its compensating advantages; for Pompeii having been at first only partly overwhelmed was left for some time accessible and is accordingly found to be rifled of its chief portable treasures. While therefore we get here the map of an ancient town, the plan of its streets, habitations, tombs, and public edifices, we have obtained from Herculaneum our most valuable examples in marble and bronze, in domestic utensils, and in the smaller works of art. Thus each of the buried twins is a complement to the other. The disinterment of Pompeii began rather more than a century ago, and two-thirds of the town still remain under ground; but that which is brought to view contains probably by far the most interesting portion and enough to gratify abundantly that strange curiosity with which the imagination ever seeks to realise the earlier conditions of our race. This will be at once apparent on casting our eye over the first engraving of the volume. There lies beneath the observer's view Restored Pompeii, and perhaps very little of it due to conjecture. In the foreground is the heart and focus of all ancient town life: it is the Forum or Public Square pillared all around, each of its sides exteriorly lined with public edifices sacred and civil rising in stately forms of varied and harmonious blending. Instead of isolated temples scattered along winding streets, such as we are familiar with, let us imagine all the architect's creations gathered upon one site, conceived in unity of style, column, architrave, pediment, and climbing flights of stairs, set off at every available corner by the elegant works of the chisel standing on their pedestals. We seem to be looking down upon a city of palaces and divinities thrusting off into a hazy distance the mean-looking habitations of the citizens which spread around. Those houses were narrow and confined for the most part, and not one of them interesting to the eye from the street, and the inmates never spent more time in them than they could help, but flocked to the forum and to business and lived out of doors, taking all their pride, therefore, in the magnificence of the public property. Dr. Dyer's view of old Pompeii, embracing the sea which washed its walls and the sweeping coast-line of the bay of Naples—the old enemy Vesuvius too, which it is hoped will not clutch its prey again ere it is quite recovered—is indeed enough to awake the reader's longing to pore over the descriptions of the surviving masonry and of all the treasures of every sort that have rewarded the excavator. As might be expected, Pompeii though a second-rate town among its contemporaries and hardly honoured with notice in our extant classics, is now with a resurrection fame one of the lions of Europe, and has created a voluminous literature of its own, in all languages, from superb folios, the glory of national libraries, down to the popular duodecimo of our own U.K.S. This last has been too long the Englishman's handybook, and Dr. Dyer has conferred on us the boon of a new edition of our old friend, compiled from the best and latest materials, assisted by personal visits and inspection down to the very eve of publication. He has appended, also, a map on a large scale, by which we may find our way in every direction, to the Forum, the theatre, and the amphitheatre, the baths, the basilicas, and the tombs, and the temple of every divinity that was worshipped; we may easily call, too, upon the surgeon, the cook, the barber; paying likewise our respects to four or five of the town grandees, perhaps the very aldermen—we beg pardon, the decurions—themselves, whose curious mansions are kindly restored and thrown open for our special behoof.

C. H.

Sketches of the Last Year of the Mexican Empire. By HENRY R. MAGRUDER, M.D., Chevalier de l'Ordre de Guadalupe, late attached to the French Expedition in Mexico. London: Williams and Norgate.

DR. MAGRUDER arrived in Mexico in the beginning of 1866, and left shortly before the departure of the French troops. His sketches bear the stamp of first impressions. Everything was interesting to him, because everything was new. Besides descriptions of places, scenery, costumes, and customs of different peoples, he gives accounts of the brigands, the diligences, the miserable accommodation at the inns, and his sufferings from the musquitoes and cockroaches.

The most interesting chapter is the last, in which Dr. Magruder briefly sketches the political history of Mexico, from the time of Cortez till the beginning of the troubles of Maximilian. This is a small book, printed in English at Wiesbaden, and dedicated to the Pope. J. H.

Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy. ELISE POLKO. Leipzig, 1868.

ELISE POLKO tells us little that we did not already know about Mendelssohn: but that little is interesting. The man is never forgotten in the musician. His personality is seized at times with photographic minuteness, and his characteristics are lovingly dwelt upon. "It is not his genius," said Zelter, his old master, " (that comes from God, and many others have it also) which excites my wonder and admiration: it is his unceasing labour, his untiring industry, his inexorable severity in judging himself, and his utter devotion to the art. He will make a name for himself in everything he puts his hand to." Our authoress first met Mendelssohn on the promenade at Leipzig. She remembers her father exclaiming, as she walked by his side—"Look! here comes Mendelssohn with his wife!" She tells us how she felt inclined to stand aside, as if to make room for a king, then looked at his wife and then at him, then as they came nearer felt her eyes drawn to and fixed upon him with a devout girlish adoration. No portraits, we are told, ever did him justice. They all had a soft and sentimental look about them, which in no way belonged to him.

Then we have Mendelssohn at the Conservatory with his pupils, and a charming glimpse of him as he appeared suddenly at her own home in Leipzig, asking her to sing to him. Her master, Böhm, had spoken to him about her, and he had answered—"I will take a look at the little singing-bird one of these days;" and when he came in upon the family circle he was so kind and sweet that he won all their hearts, dispelled little Elise's fears, so that she sung her best and pleased him well, and, to crown all, her mother's objections to her daughter's becoming an artiste, seem to have suddenly vanished. The book contains among some hitherto unpublished letters, an interesting one to his friend Klingemann in London, recommending to his notice a boy of thirteen from Pesth, called Joseph Joachim.

"In the nine months that I have known him," he writes, "I have grown more fond of him, and esteem him more highly than I can express. I can't tell you how fine his violin-playing is—you must hear him yourself—and from the way he plays off all imaginable solos, can read anything and everything, and thoroughly understands music, you will understand what splendid prospects the art has in him, and think as highly of him as I do. Besides this, he is a thoroughly steady, healthy, well-educated, good, clever boy, full of intelligence and true honesty."

To all who know and love Mendelssohn in his music, we recommend this little book. They will here learn to appreciate how truly he deserved the love and admiration which all felt for him, and how his great genius was balanced by a noble character. H. R. H.

III.—PHILOSOPHICAL AND SCIENTIFIC.

Free Will and Law in Perfect Harmony. By HENRY TRAVIS, M.D. London: Longmans, Green, & Co.

DR. TRAVIS professes to have solved for ever the great question of Free Will and Necessity. It appears that he published, some time ago, a work which we have not seen, called "Moral Freedom Reconciled with Causation." His critics did not think that he had fully solved the question, but, to convince them, he publishes this shorter and more simple account of the subject, in which he omits much of the physiological part, but gives a more complete explanation of the harmony of free will and causation. Dr. Travis sees clearly, what we have long seen, that the real difficulty connected with this subject is the want of definiteness in the use of the terms. He therefore proceeds wisely by carefully defining what he means by such words as *will*, *motive*, *cause*. His chief controversy is with the Necessitarians, who maintain that our wills are formed "for us, and not by us,"—in the words of John Stuart Mill, "given us not by

any effort of ours, but by circumstances which we cannot help." In opposition to this, Dr. Travis shows that though we are subject to causation, we have yet the power to form the *final* will. We help the immediate causes by which our will to act is produced, and so form a will of self-control. Having established this against the Necessitarians, Dr. Travis turns to the advocates of Liberty, and shows them that *free will* is not *independent*; that though we are not the first causes or originators of our wills of self-control, we are yet the "efficient causes" of them. We do not know that the author of this book has said anything which has not been said before. The view he takes is so familiar to us that if the problem is solved, we are not disposed to give him the credit of being the first to solve it. We did not know that the advocates of *free will* ever maintained that the will was *independent* of causes or motives. We did not know that they ever contended for more than that we have the power to form a *final* will; that is, that we have control over motives. But though we do not give Dr. Travis the credit of having been the first to solve the great question of Necessity and Moral Freedom, we do give him credit for having expressed himself clearly and accurately. He is thoroughly master of his subject, and, in our judgment, his arguments are not to be overthrown. J. H.

Six Lectures on Harmony. Delivered at the Royal Institution, 1867. By G. A. MACFARREN. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1867.

THESE very able lectures are not addressed to the general reader. They deal with the theory of modern music, and unless the reader knows what is meant, e.g., by "enharmonic alterations of the inversions of a chord of the minor 9th," he may as well close the book. Almost every page is copiously illustrated by musical quotations, and without this it is impossible to understand the drift of the various analyses of harmony presented.

Throughout, it is intended to show how modern harmony is founded on certain natural relations of sounds, and has been slowly developed in accordance with necessary and fundamental principles.

It would have been well if, in a subject naturally abstruse, Mr. Macfarren had expressed himself simply when he might have done so, instead of "arrogating that the origination of polyphony," and so forth; and it may be doubted whether such idioms as "It is now to compare the beautiful and one may call it Protean chord of the minor 9th," &c., belong to the English language. But these are slight blots on a work that will be read with interest by every musician who wishes to understand the correct arrangement of chords, and the general principles upon which all modern harmonies have been constructed.

H. R. H.

IV.—TRAVEL.

The Olive Leaf: a Pilgrimage to Rome, Jerusalem, and Constantinople, in 1867, for the Reunion of the Faithful. By WILLIAM WYNDHAM MALET, Vicar of Ardeley. London: Bosworth.

MR. MALET puts this modest designation on his title-page as addressed *ad populum*; because, we suppose, if he had ventured on the fuller one which is emblazoned in the hidden recess at the end of the dedication, his book might have found fewer purchasers. For there we read his titles thus recounted: "Pilgrim for Unity; Vicar of Ardeley, Herts; Hon. Sec. to the Tithe Redemption Trust; Member of the Order of St. Joseph, and Chaplain of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem."

If this were a bit of prudence, the credit must, we suppose, belong to the publisher; for, we assure our readers, it is the only bit in the book. Never was a more painfully childish affair from beginning to end. We may sum it up thus. A man of mature years, in full possession of his faculties, makes a pilgrimage into the East, with the object of the reunion of Christendom. He dresses himself up in a costume altogether foreign to the Church of which he is a minister, and by virtue of that costume, and of putting in the forefront certain audaciously misinterpreted phrases and usages of that Church, he gets now and then a civil word and an apparently sympathizing reception, which would have been utterly denied him had he shown his true colours as an

Anglican clergyman. A more contemptible proceeding, if it were not likely to be productive of mischief, we cannot imagine. And, looking over his absurd narrative with a view to the result, what has he gained? In substance, mainly this. All Roman Catholic authorities to whom he applied, of course told him that there was no way but to submit to Rome: all Oriental authorities protested against the usurpations of Rome, but were equally rigid in their demands in turn. Poor Father Michael (such was our pilgrim's alias, when "Vicar of Ardeley" would have been fatal) was civil to one and another in turn; assured the Romanists that we in England were ready to go nobody knows how far in reconciliation to them, and recognition of the primacy of the Pope; and held out to the Easterns most comforting views of the non-binding on us of any heresy in our creeds; but, substantially, he could get no further than before. He was allowed to celebrate the "English Holy Communion" in a chapel on Mount Zion, on condition of using Edward's first communion office, to use which in a parish church in England would be an offence punishable by law. The account of this is too rich to be condensed. Here it is:—

"June 18th, Tuesday.—Up at 4. The Turkish *réveil* on Mount Zion had roused me from sleep. At 5.30 everything was ready for the English Holy Communion in the little chapel of '*le Saint Esprit*,' an 'upper chamber' of the Armenian Convent. There were three of us; an English traveller, whose acquaintance I happily made on the Mount of Olives, Mr. Eaton, and my guide Jacob, of the Greek Catholic Church, who had served me before as 'deacon' in the Mount of Olives' Chapel. Some may think me irregular; in these days a 'live pilgrim' is irregular, a bishop driving a gig, or riding a pony from village to village, and visiting the clergy, and the poor, and the churches in an English diocese, would be irregular. My appointing a common guide as my deacon may be irregular, but I say '*necessitas non habet leges*;' and I say, that for a priest to celebrate Holy Communion properly, he must have a 'server,' and the word deacon means a server or minister in Greek. And if the bishops do not call on the congregations of disciples, 'to look out men of honest report and full of the Holy Ghost' to act as deacons, but will arbitrarily decree, that before being chosen they must have such classical learning as will cost about £1,500 or £2,000, and impose other new-fangled restrictions, then the priests or elders of the Church themselves must look out for their ministering brethren, and appoint their deacons or sub-deacons. This poor Jacob, though he could not read, soon learnt the needful responses, and how to serve at the altar, and had the deepest reverence.

"The chapel is about ten feet wide and thirteen feet long; the coved ceiling is coloured blue with stars, the walls are blue: there is a Turkish carpet on the floor. The Armenian librarian, another priest, the patriarch's secretary and attendant are present, sitting opposite the altar at the end. The altar 3 feet high, and about 4½ feet long, is beautiful, vested in red, white, and gold; under a canopy over it is a silver dove, with outstretched wings. There are two candlesticks on the altar, and two on the super altar, with wax candles, and a wrought silver cross in the midst; fine white linen covers the top of the altar, on which are placed a gold chalice and paten, covered with a splendid veil of cambric of gold, having a lamb and a cherubim worked at each corner, a beautiful hand cross, jewelled with turquoises and emeralds, lays (*sic*) on the altar. The bread and wine, and the incense, are on the credence; two copies of the Gospels, beautifully bound in green velvet and silver, are on the altar. My vestments of the English Church, alb, white and red stole, white silk chasuble, with gold-coloured Y cross, agreed humbly with all this. Jacob lighted the candles, and handed the censer; the incense was of the sweetest gum of Lebanon.

"I used the First Liturgy of King Edward VI. of England, because it has in it the 'Invocation of the Holy Spirit' to operate, and make the bread and wine the body and blood of Christ. Throughout the Eastern Church this is held to be essential. In the examination I underwent, before his holiness the patriarch permitted me to officiate here on Mount Zion, I had explained the existence of this Eucharistic Office, and I had been requested to use it on account of this holy agreement with theirs. I was not asked to alter the Creed as to the *Filioque*, in which point the Armenians are not so strict as the other Easterns.

"They see that the Latin Church has omitted the Invocation, and think it strange that having once corrected this omission, we should have again returned to it in our present Liturgy. It would seem that in the Roman Mass it was omitted to exalt the priesthood, as though the priest by his office sanctifies the elements. Again I felt that I could not be wrong in using this first loved and ancient use of our Church, since by our law fixing the present one the original is declared to be 'agreeable to Scripture and to the primitive Church.'"—(Pp. 191—194.)

Our limits prevent us from making copious extracts from this book; but we

cannot forbear treating our readers to one, describing the "pilgrim's" interview with His Holiness in the Vatican :—

"The elder pilgrim asked permission to say a few words: 'He expressed their thanks for this opportunity of an audience with his holiness. They were pilgrims for the restoration of unity; and Rome was the first step to the holiest place, for here was the "crib of the child Jesus;" here the earth was consecrated by the blood of St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Jude, and thousands of other martyrs. They had not set out on a voyage of pleasure, or mere curiosity, but as real pilgrims, unworthy of themselves, but moved by the Holy Spirit. With this object in view, they represented thousands in England, who continually prayed for the reunion of Christendom, and in heart would be with them at the sacred scenes of its origin, and in every communication with fellow-Christians. No doubt His Holiness was aware of the great revival which was going on in the Church of England, proving that, though in times past Satan had tried to lower her to a mere sect, she was a part of the true Catholic Apostolic Church. He might instance, as "signs of the times," the restoration of the sacred fabrics; the increased reverence for the "blessed sacrament" as the "Christian sacrifice;" the acknowledgement of the five sacraments, besides the two "necessary for salvation" (the others never having been denied by our Church); the restored reverence to the blessed Virgin Mary, as the mother of God our Saviour; the restoration of sisterhoods and brotherhoods, under vows and rules, for works of faith and love, of two of which, St. Joseph's and St. Augustine's, they were the representatives (one a priest, having come forth, commended both by the Archbishop and Primate of England, and by the Roman Archbishop there); the restoration of prayers for the departed, and of communion with the saints "gone before;" the greater confidence and freedom of intercourse between the English and Roman Catholics in Great Britain and Ireland; ecclesiastical equality between the Roman and English clergy, &c., &c. All these were signs, they humbly suggested, that the time was come to abolish the sad division and to restore intercommunion. England has her holy orders and ordinances of worship from Rome. She recognises his holiness as the chief bishop of all. From him came the British sovereign's title, "Defender of the Faith," and the British Primate's "Pallium." Everything was ready for his holiness to dissipate the division by "Recognition!"

"Although these might not have been the very words of the pilgrim's address, they are the meaning of it, and most kindly was it received by the Pope, who then gave his benediction. Laying his hands on our heads, making the sign of the cross, and saying, 'You are blessed, and all that you have about you, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and the Holy Spirit: go forth in peace!'

"Now, previously, the pilgrim priest, as pastor of the parish of Ardeley, as Michael of the Holy Order of St. Joseph, had laid before the Holy Father's chamberlain and secretary, his letter of 'holy orders,' signed and sealed by the Lord Bishop of Rochester, on Sunday, the 7th of April, A.D. 1836; his letter commendatory of the Primate of England; his introduction from the Right Rev. Dr. Manning, R. C. Archbishop of Westminster; his commission for reunion of Christendom by the president and secretary of the society for promoting that union; his credentials signed and sealed by the rector of the Order of St. Joseph; and his passport as 'a priest of the Anglican Church,' signed and sealed by Lord Stanley, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, &c., &c. And it was in virtue of these presents (which he carried at the time) that this presentation of himself and his fellow-pilgrim, Brother Cyprian, was granted; therefore may not this benediction imply an earnest of recognition of the pilgrim's communion, 'the Church of England,' and of ultimate reunion; surely it would not have been granted to 'heretics' or 'schismatics!'"—(Pp. 37–40.)

The astonishing ignorance of this "address" only parallels that shown by the party represented in it, whenever they take on themselves to assume the religious feeling of England.

The *naïveté* of the following is remarkable :—

"If it were true that five thousand English clergymen signed the petition against the decision in the Gorham case, why did they not go on in their Catholic principles, and require the recognition of a patriarch for the English Church, who would acknowledge the presidency of the Pope of Rome, reserving independence of internal government? If there be such a Catholic party in England, why do they not confer with the liberal Roman Catholics, and send a memorial to Rome in testimony of their orders, acknowledging the seven sacraments, and prayers for the departed, in common with the rest of Christendom; and erasing the offensive articles abusing Roman rites, and the contradictory paragraph added to the office of 'Holy Communion,' generated in times of bigotry, bitterness, and contention, and unworthy of the present days of freedom and light?—(P. 43.)

In another place we are told that Mgr. Talbot "seemed pleased at the foundation of our Society of St. Joseph: there was now no danger of the heresy

which at one epoch questioned the miraculous conception of the Blessed Virgin."

The greater blemishes of this ridiculous book are kept in countenance by an abundant crop of lesser ones. On page 28 we read of a charming picture of the Virgin and Child by "Sasso Verata." On page 33: "The Order is for works of charity, and to fulfil the apostles' rule—'We give ourselves to prayer and the Word,' Acts vi. 4." To say nothing of the misquotation, the author seems to have no suspicion that the apostles were stating their own resolutions for *themselves*, as distinguished from other orders of the ministry. On page 45 we are informed that "a scudi (*sic*) is a dollar, 4s. 2d." On page 27 we read, "St. Maria Maggiora" (*sic*). On page 9 we are told that the cathedral at Milan is called the "'Dom.'" On page 47, S. Pietro in Montorio figures as "St. Pietro Montario."

The gem of all, perhaps, is the following:—"As we pass the street, on the offices of government are still seen S. P. Q. R. [may it have been turned from *Senatus Populusque Romanus* into *Sanctus Petrus-que Roma* ?]." After this, a question may well occur to the reader's mind, How did Father Michael come to attain to the office of priest in the English Church?

"We had, in the words of our English Prayer-book, prayed our heavenly Father 'to accept our sacrifice.'" No such words are found, in any such sense of words, in our English Prayer-book. Its words are, "Although we be unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto Thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech Thee to accept this our bounden duty and service." Another such piece of disingenuousness occurs at page 167: "The word 'mass,' the title given to the Sacrament of 'the Lord's Supper' in our reformed Church of England (see Edward VI., Book of Common Prayer)."

Our readers have probably by this time had enough of this nonsense. That such a book should be issued and should find purchasers in England, is sad enough; but it is only a symptom of a wide-spread and pressing mischief. These men who are united for what they call the Unity of Christendom, are treating their fellow-Christians at home with infinitely more haughtiness and exclusiveness than we experience at the hands of Rome and the East. While they compass sea and land, vainly seeking for the poor semblance of outward recognition, which would be worthless when obtained, they refuse the right hand of fellowship to the English Churches of Christ, and do what in them lies to hinder substantial and effective union with those of the same race and habits of thought.

The salutary action of English Christianity in the world does not depend upon its skulking in borrowed garbs into the favour of foreign Churches, but on the clearness of its apprehension of its mission for truth at this crisis of its history; on its vigour in asserting the rights of the Christian conscience, and its charity in reverencing their exercise.

H. A.

Around the Kremlin; or, Pictures of Life in Moscow. By G. T. LOWTH, Esq., Author of "The Wanderer in Arabia," &c. London: Hurst and Blackett.

MR. LOWTH has written about Moscow life in a pleasant and genial spirit, and his book may do good service in correcting some of the absurdly false opinions which are current among us as regards Russian men and manners. He does not profess to have any very profound acquaintance with the history or the institutions of this country, in which he seems to have passed a short time very pleasantly; but he appears to be an intelligent and unprejudiced observer, and his opinions upon what he saw going on around him are, therefore, worthy of notice. It is very surprising that so little should be known in England about Russia, seeing that it cannot well be looked upon as a small or obscure country, that it only takes three or four days to go to its capital from ours, and that its commerce is linked with ours by strong and long-established bonds. There are about five hundred English residents in Moscow, and three or four times as many in St. Petersburg, and yet we very seldom receive any information from Russia on which reliance can be safely placed. Of all the wonderful changes which have taken place in that country during the last ten years we know little or nothing; of the activity which prevails there in the realms of science, and literature, and art, we are almost absolutely ignorant. On this ignorance of ours Mr. Lowth does not throw any very startling flood of light, but his book

may at least serve to clear away some of the mist of error which has so long hidden Russian truths from English eyes. Of the various pictures of Moscow scenery on which Mr. Lowth so lovingly dwells there is no occasion to say more here than that they are very pleasantly painted, and that they convey a sufficiently correct idea of the city so dear to all true Russian hearts. But they represent objects which have changed but little since preceding travellers gazed upon them, so we pass on from them to those parts of Mr. Lowth's book which deal with the alterations which have taken place in the country within the last few years. By far the most important of these is, of course, the change which has been brought about in the relations between the upper and the lower classes by the emancipation of the serfs. About this we know so little that we should have been grateful to Mr. Lowth if he had given a little more time and space to the subject, and had contrived to let us know what has really been done, and how the great boon of liberty has been received by the people upon whom it has been conferred. But it is very difficult for a traveller in Russia, who does not speak the language of the people, to arrive at any certain conclusions of his own. All he can do, as a general rule, is to compare those at which other people have arrived, and from amidst their too often jarring opinions to try and deduce some approximately true result. Mr. Lowth tells us what some of his Russian friends said in the course of a few conversations on the subject, and, as he seems to have been fortunate enough to make acquaintance with several intelligent and impartial persons the information he is able to offer is by no means to be despised. At all events it will serve to give an idea of the former state of the lower classes in the country, when the nobles, if they felt so inclined, were able to treat the peasants like brute beasts, to inflict upon them cruel and shameful punishments, and to outrage their tenderest feelings, and of the improvement which has taken place in their treatment since the wretched institution of serfdom was abolished. Another interesting subject, but one on which Mr. Lowth touches very lightly, is the changes which have recently been wrought in the administration of justice, new tribunals having been established, a new race of magistrates having been created, and trial by jury in open court having been substituted for the old system of secret and irresponsible jurisdiction. Mr. Lowth tells us some of the usual stories about bribery and corruption; a little modified it may be, but still nearly the same as those we have heard so often before; but he says but little about the wonderful improvement which has been silently taking place in the behaviour and feelings of government officials as regards such matters. With respect to the altered position of the nobles since the emancipation of the serfs he cites some very sensible remarks made in his hearing by his Russian friends, and he appears to quote them correctly. But the few words he makes them say about the progress of Russian art and literature will create some amusement, perhaps even amazement, if they ever become known to the persons in whose mouths they are put. Mr. Lowth cannot be expected to be conversant with the music, the novels, and the poetry of so little known a land as Russia, but it would have been as well if he had submitted his remarks on those subjects to the criticism of some competent critic before committing himself to print. It is only, however, when dealing with matters which can properly be treated only by those who possess special information that Mr. Lowth becomes an untrustworthy conductor. As a general rule he may be accepted as an intelligent and well-informed guide, and the picturesque style in which his book is written will render it a source of pleasure to many who would perhaps derive very little satisfaction from the profoundest work on the Russian Empire which the correctest of statisticians could produce.

W. R. S. R.

V.—POETRY AND FICTION.

The Earthly Paradise: a Poem. By WILLIAM MORRIS. London: F. S. Ellis.

It is not long since we wrote in this journal the praise of Mr. Morris's "Life and Death of Jason." The poet who wrought that work could not but indite more. There was a power of sweet story which must be to him who wields it a charming thing to use—an exuberance of song which he who possesses trills forth as a bird on a tree, where one clear strain is only a promise of more. And here, indeed, we have that promise very amply fulfilled.

The "Earthly Paradise" consists of a number of legendary tales, having the following origin :—

"Certain gentlemen and mariners of Norway, having considered all that they had heard of the Earthly Paradise, set sail to find it, and after many troubles and the lapse of many years came old men to some western land, of which they had never before heard: there they died, when they had dwelt there certain years, much honoured of the strange people."

Hence the machinery of the poem :—

"For nigh the time when first that land they won,
When new-born March made fresh the hopeful air,
The wanderers sat within a chamber fair,
Guests of that city's rulers, when the day
Far from the sunny noon had fallen away;
The sky grew dark, and on the window-pane
They heard the beating of the sudden rain.
Then, all being satisfied with plenteous feast,
There spoke an ancient man, the land's chief priest,
Who said, 'Dear guests, the year begins to-day,
And fain are we, before it pass away,
To hear some tales of that now altered world,
Wherefrom our fathers in old time were hurled
By the hard hands of fate and destiny.
Nor would ye hear perchance unwillingly
How we have dealt with stories of the land
Wherein the tombs of our forefathers stand:
Wherefore henceforth two solemn feasts shall be
In every month, at which some history
Shall crown our joyance; and this day, indeed,
I have a story ready for our need,
If ye will hear it, though perchance it is
That many things therein are writ amiss,
This part forgotten, that part grown too great,
For these things, too, are in the hands of fate.'
"They cried aloud for joy to hear him speak,
And as again the sinking sun did break
Through the dark clouds and blazed adown the hall,
His clear thin voice upon their ears did fall,
Telling a tale of times long passed away,
When men might cross a kingdom in a day,
And kings remembered they should one day die,
And all folk dwelt in great simplicity."

First of all comes the old tale of Atalanta's race, and "how Milanion, the son of Amphidamas, outrunning her by the help of Venus, gained the virgin and wedded her." This is followed by eleven other tales, some classical, some fairy and mediæval. All are told in Mr. Morris's admirably smooth but never wearisome verse. There has hardly been such another story-teller since old Dan Chaucer, at whose well our poet has, of course, deeply drunk.

The metre of these tales is not uniform. Sometimes we have the heroic couplet, of the same broken character as to its pauses as that in the "Life and Death of Jason;" sometimes the octo-syllabic rhyme; sometimes the seven-line stanza, one of the best vehicles of poetic narrative.

The tales are divided according to the months, two to each, with a short description preceding. Some of these descriptions are very beautiful. Witness that of August :—

"Now came fulfilment of the year's desire,
The tall wheat, coloured by the August fire,
Grew heavy-headed, dreading its decay,
And blacker grew the elm-trees day by day.
About the edges of the yellow corn,
And o'er the gardens grown somewhat outworn,
The bees went hurrying to fill up their store;
The apple-boughs bent over more and more:
With peach and apricot the garden wall
Was odorous, and the pears began to fall
From off the high tree with each freshening breeze.

"So in a house bordered about with trees,
A little raised above the waving gold,
The Wanderers heard this marvellous story told,
While 'twixt the gleaming flasks of ancient wine,
They watched the reapers' slow advancing line."

When we say that the present volume, of nearly 700 pages, contains but half the year—from March to August—and that the next is promised shortly, our readers may imagine what a fount of song has sprung up on us in Mr. Morris.

We can only wish that his next volume may be as delightful as this one. The programme is very tempting:—

"The Story of Theseus: the Hill of Venus: the Story of Orpheus and Eurydice: the Story of Dorothea: the Fortunes of Gyges: the Palace East of the Sun: the Dolphins and the Lovers: the Man who never Laughed Again: the Story of Rhodope: Amys and Armillion: the Story of Bellerophon: the Ring given to Venus: the Epilogue to the Earthly Paradise."

We ventured to note in our former number a few feeblenesses and marks of negligence in Mr. Morris's versification. These have now mostly disappeared, but not altogether. Where all is so charming, it is the more pity that slight blemishes should meet the eye. Slight they are indeed; such, *e.g.*, as the use of the archaic "anigh" twice in three lines (p. 269); but all the more should the poem be carefully revised and cleared of them.

It is no small praise to Mr. Morris that in a day when two or three names and manners of poetic thought rule for the most part our lesser versifiers, he has been so completely the maker of his own verse and of his own fame in verse. But if we may venture to part with a word of advice, it shall be this:—The gift of well-nigh 2,000 pages of romance is about as much as the age will gratefully bear. When these have gone forth, let Mr. Morris try some other aim. His narrative verse runs from his pen almost without effort. Could he not give us something which has seen more elaborate pains—a work of art more redolent of the lamp than these charming stories? His command of legendary lore, classic and mediæval, must be great: can he not, out of the Christian treasures of the middle age, select some theme which shall go to the heart, as well as enchant the ear? Might not the "Earthly Paradise" lead on to a greater work with a more glorious epithet still?

H. A.

Lights through a Lattice. By J. E. A. BROWN. London: Strahan & Co. 1868.

It is more easy to do justice to a large work of history, philosophy, or science, or to half-a-dozen novels, than to one such book as this modest collection of delicately-conceived and delicately-written melodies. It claims nothing from the critic; it scarcely seems like a thing *produced* at all, as producing goes in book-matters: it is something like a blue-bell over-shaded beyond what is wholesome for blue-bells. It is so slender, so etiolated, and yet so graceful, and so evidently not *put* there or set up for a purpose, that one has nothing to wish for it except more colour. What a puzzle must sacred verses like these be to purely scientific men, and hard-headed people in general! The irreceptive get out of the puzzle by saying that the author's state of mind is "abnormal," or that he is "too mystical," or that he is under the influence of "morbid religionism." But such talk only proclaims the defects of their own nature. In "*Lights through a Lattice*" we have a continuous flow of perfectly limpid and spontaneous emotion all setting in one direction; just the devout passion of "a fair soul" presented in forms which are so full of gentle truthfulness as to touch, one would almost dare to hope, the hardest and most arid nature with some sense of spiritual realities. The moults, too, in which the author casts his thoughts and feelings are essentially modern, and we should suppose there must be a good many other "fair souls" that will like the book very much.

We cannot, however, affirm that the author has the true lyric vein, even of that peculiar kind which the "fair soul" (especially among women) so often displays. The best poem in the book is entitled

"MY WOOD.

"I know a little wood out in the west,
Set like a dusky cloud against the sky;
The flitting lights and shades pass silently
Across my lawn, but on my wood they rest.

It changeth not, as morn and evening change,
 Though sometimes it is darker, sometimes bright
 With pearly greys; but still the same low range
 Of forest—on its edge a line of light.
 Ofttimes my spirit wanders there, and sees
 In thought the living story of my wood:
 How the brown squirrel leaps among its trees,
 How the low-voiced dove sits there to brood.
 When I am weary, I can picture rest;
 When sad, I listen to the breeze's psalm;
 When with the turmoil of the world distressed,
 I love to think my wood is still and calm.
 It is too far to see the autumn glow
 Of golden brightness, as its branches wave;
 But rustling leaves fall softly there I know,
 And sink in silence to their winter grave.
 I hardly wish within my wood to walk:
 I love it as a something far away,
 Beyond the idle babbling of our talk,
 Beyond the changes of each passing day.
 So does the spirit show its inward hope
 Of something yet unseen, but still believed;
 Thus speaks its yearning for a wider scope,
 More perfect joy than it has yet received;
 Thus spreads its wings unto some distant rest—
 A land of shadows now, but surely fair—
 Content to linger here, while still possessed
 Of the sweet promises which centre there."

This modest little poem exemplifies the author's merits and defects at once. It is not concentrated; it is not sufficiently select in language. The first, second, and fourth lines, for example, are perfect; but then the third, fifth, sixth, tenth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and others, are, though inoffensive, weak and commonplace. The fact that in spite of the poetic tenderness of the author's mind, he has not the shaping power of the poet, of however humble a kind, may be noted in the manner in which the spiritual suggestion is *added* to the picture in the passage of eight lines (out of thirty-two—being one-fourth), instead of being made, by a touch or two, to interfuse or illuminate it all. We trust the author will not regret our saying these few words of direct criticism. It is impossible for a reviewer not to regard a book primarily as literature, and to wish that what, for any reason, literary or not, attracts him, were as good as it could be made.

M. B.

The Two Lives of Wilfrid Harris. By FREDERICK WEDMORE. London: Newby. 1868.

THIS is a very pleasant little book, with considerable promise in it. Its most obvious merits are, first, the unaffectedness of the writer's manner, which is of a kind that is inseparable from real truthfulness; and, secondly, the ease with which he produces quite charming effects out of rather small materials. In a word, the book is the merest sketch, yet done with a grace, an intelligence, and a broad economy of idea which speak well for the author's future, if he intends to continue writing novels.

Wilfrid Harris is a journalist, of some small resources, but still not the man, in the opinion of Mrs. Foster of Bath, for the hand of her pretty daughter Edith. To increase his income, Mr. Harris goes into the wine trade—and there you have his two lives at once. We hold that it is rarely quite fair to say in a review how a story ends, and only add that Mr. Wedmore keeps his secret very well up to pretty near the end; though the close of the story is just the one that most young ladies would guess, you cannot say you are sure of what is coming till within a few pages of the last.

There are faults of youth, or, at all events, of want of self-discipline, having all the effects of youthfulness, in this pleasant little novel. On pages 215, 216, we read:—"Of heart disease! What heart had she to die of?" This is an obvious thing for any man to say, and is not worth picking a bone over; but a healthy self-consciousness would have avoided repeating in this precise shape an idea which is found, in the same shape, in Mr. Tennyson's "Sea-

Dreams." Again, on page 186, we have:—"The mists of autumn twilight being curled over the low and level fields, lay *like a face-cloth over the dead earth.*" This is not quite an obvious comparison, and should have been avoided by a writer who, though he dedicates his book to Mr. Robert Browning, has assuredly read Mr. Tennyson, including the "Idylls of the King" (see "Guinevere"). Charges of plagiarism are, in all but one case out of every thousand, simple trumpery, and these are obviously mere reminiscences; we only refer to them to put Mr. Wedmore on his guard.

One other matter must not be passed over. Some of the quasi-personal pictures of living people are in bad taste; as nearly all such pictures are. They belong, in fact, to a much lower school of art than that to which Mr. Wedmore is inclined, we hope, to gravitate. Miss Hester Kettering, and the actress who criticised her "Juliet," are far too bad; and that touch about the shop in Regent Street is worse still. Why not, in the same style of parody as the name Hester Kettering, say Messrs. Lewenby and Allis at once, since all the world must recognise Miss Kettering, and all the world knows, through newspaper paragraphs, whom she married? On page 198, Mr. Wedmore says:—"Another professional player, a lady, *whose waning beauty not even the genius of Bond Street could perpetuate*, remarked of the same performance:—'*That woman my rival! Nonsense! She is a clever girl, if you will, and has a pretty clinging figure, and a good deal of quiet action. But to call that woman's love-making fit for Juliet, is absolutely preposterous. Why, it is just as real women make love, now, in England—just, exactly—and what could be more absurd?*' But less prejudiced critics," &c. &c. After the words in italics it is perfectly fair to add that there is "a professional player, a lady," to whom these words can scarcely escape being referred, who has been endowed with a form of such fine outline and such an effective general *physique*, that she can well spare something from her face. And it is still more in place to add that if this "lady, a professional player," did actually make the criticism in question on Miss Hester Kettering's Juliet, she only showed that she was as good a critic as she was an actress. The subjective level or perspective which permits us to enjoy the wild story of *Romeo and Juliet* is, compared with that which is appropriate to the contemplation of domestic drama (however refined), as blank verse to prose. Juliet must *not* make love like Miss Jones, or even like Miss Vere de Vere: and yet she must be natural. Constance, in *King John*, must weep naturally, but she must not weep as Mrs. Jones does. It would have been just as wrong for Mr. Holman Hunt to paint his Isabel like Miss Jones as it was for Miss Kettering to let her Juliet make love "just as real women make love, now, in England." But it was quite unnecessary to place two highly accomplished women in this kind of contrast; or even—for of course Mr. Wedmore may say he never meant it—to write what has the appearance of doing so. "Wilfrid Harris" is natural, bright, often thoughtful, and always readable: we sincerely hope to meet the author again in a book which shall give us unmixed pleasure. M. B.

VI.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Essays, Political and Miscellaneous. By BERNARD CRACROFT, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge. In 2 Vols. Trübner & Co. 1868.

MR. CRACROFT opens with four "pieces of resistance" on Reform. The first 181 pages of Vol. I. contain brilliant sketches of the Reform Session, 1866, and the House and state of parties in 1867. These essays are not superficial. Mr. Cracroft has been a close observer in the House of Commons, and a deep and loving student of politics. His firm conviction, easy frankness, and simple freedom from affectation, at once prepossess the reader, and inspire him with confidence. Acute without flippancy, and critical without spite, Mr. Cracroft is never unjust to his Conservative opponents, nor does he allow his judgment to be warped by his own passionate attachment to Reform. Men and measures are gauged with subtle refinement, and reasoned about with a power of illustration that never palls, and a closeness which never becomes oppressive. A few important points are treated exhaustively. The two fallacies of supposing, on the one hand, that the working classes are already represented, or on the

other, that under the full system of supposed representation they are about to swamp all the other classes, are triumphantly exposed. "The working classes with 130,000 votes at the polling-booth have two votes in the House of Commons." Again, "The swamping share of votes at the polling-booth is not in this country synonymous with a swamping share of votes in Parliament. At the polling booth, land and trade are swamped already by numbers; in Parliament they are supreme." These and similar assertions are reasoned out with no stint of facts and figures. Yet everything is picturesque and readable.

In the opening essay Lord John Russell is brought on the stage with admirable effect making his great Reform Speech of March, 1831.

"Reform is a matter of Right, of Reason, and of Expediency. The Parliament must convince the people of their public spirit. The whole people call loudly for Reform," &c. The very ring of the sentences is familiar. Not from the mouth of Earl Russell, the Lord John of thirty-six years ago, but from Bright and Gladstone of yesterday. The Opposition shade of the past then rises in the person of Sir Robert Inglis. "For the people to demand such rights was to threaten the House. Their deliberative character was going to be annihilated. Population ought not to be the test of representation. The Reform measure was a rash, untried theory, founded on a vain speculation. Besides, the people did not really care for Reform." The voice is the voice of Mr. Lowe, and the "it is nought, it is nought" argument is just the temper in which the Derby Ministry desired to treat the Reform question. It is with biting effect that Mr. Cracroft (after Gladstone) points out first, that Reform is no longer an untried or vain speculation, it has succeeded in a variety of cases, and (after Bright) that the people do care for votes and intend to get them, and that for Mr. Lowe or anyone else to rehabilitate arguments like those which came fairly enough from Sir Robert Inglis in 1831 is a mere trick in 1866.

Probably most of Mr. Cracroft's arguments are not new, but his selection of matter and pungency of manner are both admirable. For one man who can use there are twenty who can accumulate facts. Mr. Cracroft has done both. He not only knows what his facts are, but he can tell you what they mean, tracing them to their sources, and often foretelling their results. In July, 1866, he writes of the Reform Bill, "It must and will be carried," and of the Tory Ministry, "The only chance they have of remaining in power is to abdicate their character, and to pass Liberal measures. Nothing succeeds like success." This of course is an exact statement of what afterwards took place: but any one who will take up the papers of July, 1866, will see that there were at least as many speculations about the Tory policy as there usually are about the winner of the Derby. Many of Mr. Cracroft's good things deserve to become current coin: his picture of the land-owner's abhorrence of all that is new, and hatred of energy and fuss in the direction of progress. "It has the dignity of repose and the serenity of the everlasting landscape. Nature, he thinks, cow-footed, stands for ever—railways will pass away." "Mr. Disraeli went in boldly for a public and parliamentary auction. His attitude throughout was that of a clever agent trusted by his master; the agent's sole care being to see how little he can give for the purchase, and occasionally to turn round and touch his hat to his master with a whispered 'Can't have him for less, sir, I assure you.'"

To follow Mr. Cracroft in his careful analysis of the House of Commons and of the various Reform measures is impossible here. The attentive politician will find much worth reading, whilst the general reader will be attracted by Mr. Cracroft's earnest regard for the great principles at stake, and by his vivid portraiture of the great party leaders in the House.

The second volume contains, among other things, two important historical essays; one on the Jews of Western Europe, the other on Madame de Sevigné. The struggle between Christianity and Judaism in Spain is admirably described. The learning, science, and patriotism of the mediæval Jews is unfolded with enthusiasm. When, however, Mr. Cracroft escapes from history proper to politics, and describes, *e.g.*, the English Jews forcing their way into various civil offices, and finally into Parliament in the person of their champion, Mr. Salomons, we feel he is in his right element. He is, however, capable of taking philosophic views of history, and has thoroughly seized, in its social aspect at least, the spirit of France under Louis XIV.; and whilst he sketches bad witty fellows like Bussy Rabutin with a pardonable touch of sympathetic humour, his portrait of

Madame de Sevigné remains quite idyllic in its simple grace and candour. Several points in the education of women are also handled with admirable good taste and acuteness. To conclude, Mr. Cracroft is a fine Latin and Greek scholar, and his essays on certain characteristics of Ovid and Plautus, and on some translations of Demosthenes and Horace contain some of the best classical criticism we have ever read. Some amusing padding connected with *omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*, reprinted chiefly from the *Saturday Review*, completes two volumes of very considerable range, and remarkably vigorous thought.

H. R. H.

Speeches of the EARL OF SHAFTESBURY, K.G., upon subjects having relation chiefly to the Claims and Interests of the Labouring Class; with a Preface. London: Chapman and Hall. 1868.

It is no more than the truth to say that this collection of speeches gives, of itself, a nearly complete history of our social legislation for some thirteen years (1838—51). It is no less remarkable that it is almost a blank as respects that subject, for the sixteen remaining years over which it extends. Lord Ashley's name stands inseparably bound up with a group of the best and most widely important laws passed by Parliament in our century. The Earl of Shaftesbury is connected with the greatly needed, but ill-drawn, and still ineffective, "Agricultural Gangs' Act." . . . The last recorded speech of Lord Ashley is one on "Lodging Houses for the Working Classes," heralding two useful bills, which both passed into law. The first recorded speech of the Earl of Shaftesbury is on "Religious Liberty in Turkey." . . . Further on we find an elaborate one on the "Clerical Vestments Bill"; and the volume closes with one on "The Representation of the People Bill", in which, after professing the opinion that "some reform, though not necessary for good government, had become indispensable—indeed, inevitable," the speaker ends by cynically comparing the development of the franchise to the "peck of dirt," which we need not take "all at once."

The contrast is a saddening one, and it is not to the credit of the "Upper House" that the transition to it from the House of Commons should specially bring it out. But it would be unfair to attribute to the mere influence of a new surrounding medium the dwindling of a career once so noble and hopeful; and to which the highest offices of statemanship had seemed open. If the trusted leader of hundreds of thousands of factory operatives has sunk into the patron of dirty little boys, or the fierce opponent of clerical man-millinery—both the patronage and the opposition being good things in their way, but such as the Lord Ashley of 1836 would hardly have been expected to devote himself to—it must be that there was something in him to drag him down to that lower level.

And if we narrowly scrutinize the contents of the volume, we shall find that the tendency of Lord Shaftesbury's mind is essentially aristocratic—however generously and nobly so. He has glimpses of human equality, of the dignity of man as man. He can declare in the House of Lords that "if a man, whom I had known originally as a chimney-sweeper, filled the office of Prime Minister of this country, I should see in that issue one of the noblest proofs of the freedom and generosity of our institutions." He can warn his colleagues that "what the people of England want is not patronage but sympathy." But the promised outcome of that sympathy is that "the people might be led like a flock of sheep,"—dumb, instinctive obedience, not merely self-mastery in harmonious fellowship of work, being evidently his ideal condition for "the people." Thus substantially he must work *de haut en bas*. He delights in raising the humble,—and the humbler the better. Shrewd, hard-headed factory operatives, once emancipated from the thralldom of excessive labour, are apt to become too near neighbours, in the social scale, to a noble patron. Homeless boys to be picked out of the gutter, and placed on a training ship, are at a far safer distance. Hence, perhaps, the strange fact that among all the speeches in the volume there is only one,—that on "Literary Institutes for Working Men,"—which is connected with any effort for self-help among the working classes, which has not for its subject (if relating to them at all) something to be done for them, and not by them; that, for instance, the vast co-operative movement (although the noble Earl has elsewhere expressed a tardy approval of it) is, if we mistake not,

never once mentioned. It is difficult even not to suspect that long ere the great work of protective legislation into which Lord Ashley had so heartily thrown himself was complete, it had begun to pall upon its promoter; for how else can we account for his having denounced the condition of certain trades as early as 1840, and never having for years obtained any effectual measures to redress it? In the second speech of the volume, that on "Children not protected by the Factory Acts" (Aug. 4, 1840), he speaks thus (and the extract may serve as a sample of the whole earlier portion of the work):—

"Now the next is a trade to which I must request the particular attention of the House. The scenes it discloses are really horrible; and all who hear me will join in one loud and common condemnation. I speak of the business of pin-making. Several witnesses in 1833 stated that 'it is very unwholesome work; we do it near the wire-works, and the smell of the aquafortis, through which the wire passes, is a very great nuisance. Children go at a very early age, at five years old, and work from six in the morning till eight at night. There are as many girls as boys.' One witness, a pin-header, aged twelve, said: 'I have seen the children much beaten ten times a day, so that with some the blood comes, many a time; none of the children where I work can either read or write.' 'Each child,' reports Mr. Commissioner Tuffnell, 'is in a position continually bent in the form of the letter C, its head being about eight inches from the table. My inquiries,' he adds, 'fully corroborated the account of its being the practice of parents to borrow sums of money on the credit of their children's labour, and then let them out to pin-heading till it is paid. One woman had let out both her children for ten months, and another had sold hers for a year.' . . . Is this not a system of legalized slavery? Is not this a state of things which demands the interposition of Parliament?"

Yet, for seventeen years—notwithstanding intermediate inquiries by Royal Commission—pin-making remained outside the pale of all protective legislation, and was only at last brought within it by the very important "Workshops' Regulation Act" of last year; whilst clerical vestments appear to have assumed in Lord Shaftesbury's eyes far more importance than the sufferings or "legalized slavery" of the poor children employed in it; although it is but justice to say that he promoted the inquiries of the Children's Employment Commissioners.

We are bound to say, indeed, that the collection of speeches is far from being a complete one. We miss one or two of the most telling House of Commons' ones of the author, during the Factories' Act contest; and an election speech at Bath, which struck at the time the writer of this notice as the most eloquent one he had ever yet read of Lord Ashley's, delivered on the occasion of the Anti-corn-law struggle, and in which he illustrated most happily the interdependence of agriculture and manufactures by saying "that every revolution of the steam-engine drives the plough deeper and deeper into the soil of England." Generally, however, Lord Shaftesbury's characteristic eloquence is the eloquence of facts, when he has a good cause to plead. Many of the earlier speeches of the volume afford weighty specimens of this, the very weightiest form of eloquence; but none are more affecting than two which at the time were, perhaps, less noticed than many of the others now reprinted, as not involving any party contest or class-interest—the speeches on the "Treatment of Lunatics" (July 23, 1844), and on the "Regulation of Lunatic Asylums" (June 6, 1845). In point of mere style, however, perhaps the best and most original passage in the work—and one showing how far the noble Earl is yet from showing any symptoms of intellectual decline—occurs in the Preface, being a vindication of our friend John Clod:—

"I cannot refrain from making, on behalf of the first-rate agricultural labourer, a larger claim than is usually admitted, to be considered a man of education. That he is 'a skilled artisan' will any one deny? Look at him engaged with the plough; see the length and the straightness of each furrow, its mathematical precision, the steadiness of his hand and eye, and his masterly calculation of distance and force. Observe a hedger in all the various branches of that part of labour, and admit the acumen of judgment that is required for a calling so apparently humble. No spinner could do what he does, any more than he could do what is done by the spinner. His talk, too, may be of bullocks; it may be also of sheep; it may be of every parochial matter; but then it is talk upon his special vocation; and oftentimes how sound and sensible it is! He has not, of course, the acquirements and acuteness of the urban operative; his labour is passed in comparative solitude, and he returns to his home at night, in a remote cottage or small village, without the resource of clubs, mechanics' institutes,

and the friction of his fellow-men. Still, he may say, with the most scientific, that he is master of the profession to which he is called."

If the next compiler of any volume of prose extracts from contemporary writers omits the above passage from his collection, he is a fool. J. M. L.

Proceedings at the Laying of the First Stone of Keble College, Oxford, on St. Mark's Day, April 25th, 1868. Rivingtons, London, Oxford, and Cambridge. 1868.

A CROWD of thoughts arise at the foundation of this the second Oxford College that has sprung into existence since the reformation of the Church of England, and one in memory of the theologian and poet of a new school of Anglican Protestantism. We cannot separate these two aspects of John Keble's fame. But it is a striking circumstance that it was the poet, not the theologian, who was remembered on last St. Mark's Day. The "Christian Year" is the key-note of this volume rather than the "Tracts for the Times," though these are by no means undistinguishable among the undertones; they have not yet however lost their unhappy reputation, and could not be relied upon in a prospectus to collect fifty thousand pounds. As we peruse these "Proceedings" and read the list of the principal actors how impossible it is to avoid thinking of the name of Newman, the autobiography that he has written, and the college he was not permitted to found at the beloved university! How impossible not to anticipate with interest the forthcoming biography of Keble to be read side by side with the "Apologia." And then too we cannot forget how the tracts drew their birth from the Reform Act of 1832, and were a trumpet call from these two men rallying the defenders of the Church, Keble's assize sermon, "National Apostacy," July 14, 1833, sounding the first note. Keble College is founded in the course of another Reform Bill, when the same mutterings against the Church and the voice of the defence are heard again. Curiously enough too the second tract (Sep., 1833) is indignant at the idea of the State meddling with the Irish Church, which will be the first consideration of the new reform, and this crisis was evidently running in the mind of all who spoke upon the Day of St. Mark. Once more; whose name do we most miss in that brilliant gathering at Oxford? Whose striking oration, so full of religious thought, would in other days have been looked out for as the particular treat of the *fête* when the memory of a Keble was uppermost, and when anxious Churchmen were assembled to inaugurate a great work? But who would not have pronounced Mr. Gladstone's presence at the Sheldonian on that day as even more strange than his absence? Nor again are materials wanting in this volume to show how, after all, reality comes short of our fond ideal, and to discover the slave behind the triumphal car of the good and honoured man whose name was first on that day. The Bishop of Lichfield, whose speech throughout we cannot regard as extremely felicitous, makes a statement suggesting anything but a tower of strength and a wise guidance for others in the seclusion of Hursley amid the storm of conversion which raged so violently during one period. The guide's friends in fact seemed watching over him and trembling for his peril. "I well remember," says Dr. Selwyn, speaking of his New Zealand days, "how anxiously we waited for intelligence to inform us whether he had followed that other honoured name no longer ours (Dr. Newman) . . . and our thankfulness when we heard that 'Keble was safe.'" Can anything more clearly show on what slippery ground those honoured men felt themselves all treading? But lastly, as regards the great text of the day, the "Christian Year," welcome to many a heart and home did this sweet volume use to be where the Tracts would never have been harboured. But the college subscription list does not we think sufficiently harmonise with this undoubted fact, as Sir John Coleridge may perhaps have felt in his letter to the Archbishop:—"I fear it must be confessed that the heart of England has not yet been moved as it ought to have been and will be, I trust, in support of the undertaking. With submission to your judgment I think this ought to be avowed" (p. 22). Can this disappointment be accounted for by the remarkable posthumous emendation of one line in the book and the puzzling explanation offered to the world by the poet's friends? Will not the history of this immortal volume record to all time the extent to which the venturous theology of the Tracts had developed itself down to the era of the second Reform Bill? We will add no more, but quote from Dr. Pusey's speech the most affecting passage in the whole "Proceedings":—

"No! Viewing steadily in the face the awful life-and-death struggle around us and among us; viewing that more personal, yet in one way more miserable, strife, whereby some who love their Redeemer, Whom we too love, are by an inconceivable infatuation bent, if they could, to expel from the Church of England those of us who hold the faith which Keble held and taught, our confidence is not in ourselves—not in man, but in Him whose truth he taught." (P. 45.) C. H.

Méditations sur La Religion Chrétienne dans ses rapports avec l'état actuel des Sociétés et des Esprits. Par M. GUIZOT. Paris: Michel Levy Frères, Libraires Editeurs.

IN this new volume of "Meditations" M. Guizot treats of Christianity in its relations to liberty, morality, and science, then of Christian ignorance, Christian faith, and Christian life. He feels deeply that this is a time of trouble, not only from the general uncertainty that is taking possession of men's minds, but from the unwonted complication in which the questions at issue are involved. He comes calmly, impartially, and with that profound thoughtfulness which marks his character, to help in their solution. With Frenchmen in particular, and in some measure with the masses of all countries, it is important to know whether Christianity is on the side of despotism or of human liberty. M. Guizot says: "Parmi les amis de la liberté et de l'égalité, beaucoup regardent le christianisme, et spécialement le catholicisme, comme leur plus grand ennemi." The Christianity of France disappeared at the revolution. It could not stand before the cry of *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!* But was this the Christianity of the New Testament? Does not it establish the right of resistance to oppression? Does it not teach to obey God rather than man, to render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's; at once proclaiming human liberty and the rights of authority? Christianity, according to M. Guizot, is the only religion in the world which has helped the cause of liberty and progress. As a Protestant it is not difficult for him to show that this is essentially the character and tendency of Protestant Churches. The Reformation brought the clergy back to family life, and admitted the laity to share in the government of the Church. It has taken the priest from the false position of intermediary between God and man, and restored the individual freedom of the human conscience. It was not difficult, we repeat, to show that Protestantism was a friend to freedom; but the large, liberal, and candid soul of Guizot has a word to say for Catholicism. It is not denied that the fundamental principles of the Papacy are incompatible with the liberty of the human mind, yet the restorers of Catholicism in France, such as Chateaubriand and Lacordaire, were mostly men whose sympathies were on the side of progress. The Catholic Church in France has never wanted its martyrs ready to lay down their lives for the rights of the Church against the despotism of the State. At the present hour all the zeal and talent of the ablest men in its service are on the side of liberty. And Guizot testifies that throughout France the humblest priests are faithfully exercising their ministry among a population which they know and understand, and into whose sentiments they enter more and more every day. "Ainsi aux deux pôles du Catholicisme, dans les rangs plus élevés et dans la milice populaire, d'une part les lumières et les talents supérieurs, d'autre part le bon sens et la droiture des âmes, produisent les mêmes résultats; ainsi fait son chemin, dans l'Eglise Catholique l'acceptation, explicite ou tacite, de ces principes moraux et politiques de 1789 sur lesquels se fondent le nouvel état social, ses lois et ses libertés."

The least satisfactory part of M. Guizot's book is the *Meditation* on Christianity and Morality. The efforts made by moralists, Christian or not Christian, to establish morality on a foundation independent of religious dogma, he ascribes to the want of faith in religion. We can scarcely suppose M. Guizot to be ignorant of the fact that the Cambridge Platonists, the most strenuous assertors of independent morality, were also firm believers in external revelation. Their object was so to lay the foundation of natural religion, that revealed might rest securely on it as the superstructure. They so far succeeded in making morality independent of religious dogma, that they made it independent of God. Not that they denied the existence of God, but they felt that so far as they could establish the existence of independent morality, so far they had sure ground to proceed to the defence of Christianity. To conclude, as M. Guizot does, from the existence of this moral order the existence of God, is a fair inference, and it

shows the connection between moral obligation and a certain religious fact, but the moral obligation exists prior to the inference, and independent of it. Cudworth was logical when he made morality eternal as well as God, but he scarcely saw that in doing this he was making "two Eternals." Fichte was still more logical than either Cudworth or Guizot, when he said that this moral Order is God.

M. Guizot clearly announces his faith in historical Christianity. We have a revelation from without; a light come from God, not through our faculties, but to them. This revelation is in the Bible, which is inspired in a sense altogether different from the inspiration of Plato or Shakespeare. It is not, however, maintained that everything in the Bible is correct. God took men as He found them. There are errors of grammar, history, science, and other such things, which it was not necessary for the spirit of God to teach. There are also representations of God which are adapted to human capacity. Gaussen, the undaunted defender of the literal infallibility of the Scriptures, says that the ten commandments, from the *aleph* with which they begin to the *caph* with which they end, were entirely written by the finger of Jehovah on two tables of stone. To this Guizot replies in the words of Bossuet:—"Prenez garde, vous donnez à Dieu des bras et des mains." The progressive character of revelation shows that the Bible is not infallible. Jesus acknowledges the imperfection of the previous revelation, and took from it the human elements, leaving the divine. Among the passages of the Old Testament where the human element is strong, M. Guizot quotes the temptation of Abraham to sacrifice his son, to which he adds the comment of Dean Stanley, ("Un homme qui par ses lumières et l'élevation de son esprit comme par sa fidélité chrétienne honore l'Eglise qu'il sert,") that "Abraham reached the very verge of an act which, even if prompted by noble motives and by a divine call, has, by all subsequent revelation and experience, been pronounced accursed." "J'adhère," says Guizot, "pleinement au sentiment de M. Arthur Stanley;" and he adds that the intervention of God was to teach the Hebrews that the custom of offering human sacrifices, which they had in common with other fierce nations, was to be discontinued.

To these "Meditations" there is appended a notice of "Ecce Homo." After describing the *vive sensation* which it has produced, M. Guizot says:—"L'illustre chef du parti libéral, bientôt peut-être du gouvernement en Angleterre, M. Gladstone, vient d'en faire, dans l'un des recueils les plus répandus de son pays, l'objet de trois articles d'une pénétrante et élégante élocution." The *recueil* is described as "Bonnes Paroles, recueil mensuel publié par M. Norman Macleod." M. Guizot's judgment of "Ecce Homo" is that the author places himself in a false position to reach his object, and the result proves "l'impossibilité d'expliquer Christ par l'homme seul et la religion Chrétienne par le seul et nature travail humain."

The "Meditations" are preceded by a long and interesting preface, in which M. Guizot promises to enter specially upon the subject of historical Christianity. On the authority of a M. Pearson he learns that atheism is widely spread in England, and that in one year 640,000 copies of atheistical publications were circulated among the working classes. We are glad to inform M. Guizot that these publications have mostly ceased, purely through lack of people to buy them.

J. H.

NOTE.—The following letter refers to a statement in the *Record* newspaper of July 6th, that an article had been inserted in this Review showing that the Editor regarded the Resurrection of our Lord as an open question. The Editor having ascertained that the article referred to was a notice in the June number of Dr. Davidson's Introduction to the New Testament, has communicated with the writer of that notice, and the following letter is the result:—

"1, Hope Villas, Wandsworth Common, Tooting, S.W.

"MY DEAR SIR,—In writing the notice of Dr. Davidson's work, it never once entered my head to leave the Resurrection of our Lord an open question. I hope the *Record* will have the honesty to quote the passage, and append to it this my distinct and emphatic denial that it has, or was ever intended to have, in any way, any such meaning.

"Yours very truly,

"JOHN HUNT."

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